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THE
HISTORY OF NORMANDY
AND OF
ENGLAND,

BY
SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE, K.H.
THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF HER MAJESTY'S
PUBLIC RECORDS.

VOLUME I.

GENERAL RELATIONS OF MEDÆVAL EUROPE;—
THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE—THE DANISH
EXPEDITIONS IN THE GAULS—AND THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF ROLLO.

*Narratione autem historica (ait Augustinus) cum præterita etiam hominum
instituta narrantur, non inter humana instituta ipsa historia numeranda
est; quia jam quæ transierunt, nec infecta fieri possunt, in ordine
temporum habenda sunt, quorum est conditor et administrator Deus.*

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER AND SON,
WEST STRAND.

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TO

HENRY HALLAM

THIS WORK IS

SUBMITTED AND INSCRIBED AS A TOKEN
OF THE AUTHOR'S LONG-CONTINUED AFFECTION,
RESPECT, AND HONOUR.

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P R E F A C E.

THE circumstances leading me to undertake the present Work are fully explained in the third chapter of the Introduction. I have therein also given a summary of the different eras or periods which my design, as now modified, comprehends. The text of the fourth Book, or third Volume, containing the history of the Conqueror's three sons,—Robert, Rufus, and Henry,—in Normandy, in Palestine, and in England, is printed, and I am making every endeavour to complete the second, or intervening volume, as speedily as possible.

When I commenced, I did not contemplate a narrative history upon so extensive a scale as that which now appears; or rather, I proposed to myself a set of concurrent works (the History being one), so planned as that they should fit into each other,—mutually explanatory,—deducing and illustrating the mediæval history of England, not only as a Sovereign state, but also as a member of the Western Commonwealth, and exhibiting men and morals under different aspects,

varying the treatment according to the subject-matter; yet all combining into one course of instruction with my other works more particularly devoted to our Constitutional History, or containing the original muniments or materials for the same.


The History of England, properly so called, the recital of English events and affairs, was first composed with the intent that it should continue the History of the Anglo-Saxons, in about six volumes of the same size.—Essays upon Literature, Science, the influence of the Church, the antagonism of the World, the Fine Arts, Guilds and Fraternities, Commerce, Literature, the Crusades, general views of the French Provinces more peculiarly connected with England, and the like, were sketched for the purpose of forming another work accompanying the History.—Useful information relating to legal or political institutions, (themes in themselves rather arid,) might, I thought, be popularly introduced through the medium of fictitious narrative.—Lastly, retaining a vivid recollection of the delight which, when younger, I had received from Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid*, I gratified myself by the supposition that there were passages in our English annals susceptible of being presented in a similar style; and I began a "Chronicle of John Lackland" accordingly.

None of these subsidiaries to the narrative history, however, satisfied me.—In order to mitigate the inherent dogmatism of disquisitions, I introduced in the Essays many historical anecdotes; but by plucking out the interesting characters and dramatic incidents, the History became impoverished for the enrichment of the Essays, and I therefore found that I could not afford to spend my means upon them.

Sir Walter Scott having exhausted his pleasurable stores in his *Tales of a Grandfather*, thus ruined his *History of Scotland*. He anticipated that both works would be equally read; but it may be doubted whether one in a hundred of the innumerable readers who, as children, were enraptured by the fascinating, yet most instructive passages of history collected for their amusement in the *Tales*, have, according to the author's expectation, "perused with advantage the graver publication designed for their use, when their appetite for knowledge should encrease with encreasing age."

In *The Merchant and the Friar*, I employ Roger Bacon as the expounder of Mediæval Science, but the action of the story is conceived for the purpose of explaining some important passages of our ancient Constitution. One principal ob-

ject sought, was to depict the High Court of Parliament, during the period when service in the Upper House was deemed onerous, and the attendance in the Lower, though not altogether undesirable, was still reckoned a duty which many would shift off, just as we now endeavour to escape being put on juries, or becoming members of the Parish Vestry. The attributes of the Mediæval Parliament, moreover, require to be viewed under a different aspect to that which they now assume, (the Council being an integral organ thereof,) a Senate, and also a Supreme Court of Justice, to which the Subject could apply for actual redress of injuries—the poor man's Court, where the Englishman might sue in formâ pauperis without sustaining the poor man's degradation. It was the union of judicial and political characters in Parliament—the administration of remedial justice—which endeared that unparalleled Assembly to Old England: an attribute which has been completely ignored by foreigners, and never sufficiently acknowledged by ourselves. I therein also have attempted to correct the astounding misconceptions concerning trial by jury, and to substitute sober truth for the romantic fictions which exhibit a procedure—according to its present course and principles



scarcely older than the Tudors—as a judgment by the Peers of the accused, the inheritance of Alfred's wisdom.

An unpublished work of the same class,—three generations of an imaginary Norfolk family,—elucidates the relative positions of landlord and tenant during the transition-period of military and villain tenures, Wat Tyler winding up the catastrophe. But when this tale was completed it became evident to the manufacturer that he had spoiled sound materials.—Moral or social discussions, grounded upon past or contemporary history, rarely, if ever, make any beneficial impression when clothed in a garb by which existences and inventions are confounded. Any incontestable misery pourtrayed in the Socialist Novel, which pricks the conscience of the Capitalist, he refuses as an invention; and any invention which he can deflect so as to suit his own views, he adopts as a reality. Historical novels are mortal enemies to history.—*Ivanhoe* is all of a piece—language, characters, incidents, manners, thoughts, are out of time, out of place, out of season, out of reason, ideal or impossible.—When, on the waters of the gentle Don, there glided the Swan with *two* necks; then Gurth, with the brass collar soldered round his *one*, so tight as to be incapable of being

removed excepting by the use of the file, tended swine in the woodlands of Rotheram.

King John's mock black-letter Chronicle finally convinced me that modern antiques of every kind dispel all reverend notions of antiquity. The sensation of the sham is invincible. In the most perfect resuscitation of Henry the Third's "Early English," the tooling of the well-tempered town-made chisel inscribes "Victoria and Albert" upon every stone.

These adjuncts being discarded, I have absorbed any useful matter or reflections which they contained or suggested into this present history, thereby rendering it more diversified. Other considerations contributed to widen the field beyond the boundary I originally intended to occupy. Having in the history of the Anglo-Saxons introduced William the Bastard claiming as the heir-testamentary or expectant of the Confessor, I did not, according to my primary scheme, intend to deal with him in his earlier years: but when I worked upon the reign of William the Conqueror in England, I found I could not make out a satisfactory story otherwise than by presenting the same as a continuation of his previous life and fortunes. The like observation applied also to his advisers and companions, very particularly

to Lanfranc, the great restorer of the Church of England; and therefore the necessity of a history of the Duchy of Normandy became apparent. Such a history has hitherto been a desideratum in the English language; nor has this subject been sufficiently treated by the French. I would wish on all occasions to acknowledge the deep obligations we owe to our French fellow-labourers: but in Sismondi's history, Normandy constitutes but a very small episode; and the writers of less reputation, who have written special histories of Normandy, however useful they may be as pioneers, have not evinced the merits characterizing the French school.

The richness of our Anglo-Norman history is so exuberant that I could not bring myself to compress the vintage into a juiceless residuum. Therefore, renouncing the hope of prosecuting the work to the Tudor era, I finally determined to restrict myself to such a portion or portions as my times would allow:—not stintedly, but upon a scale commensurate with their value;—hence the bulk which the work has acquired.

Arnold was blamed for the length of his volumes. I would reply to the like objection, should it be raised, in Arnold's words: "I am "convinced by a tolerably large experience, that

“most readers find it almost impossible to impress
“on their memories a mere abridgment of history :
“the number of names and events crowded into
“a small space is overwhelming to them, and
“the absence of details in the narrative makes it
“impossible to communicate to it much of in-
“terest. Neither characters nor events can be
“developed with that particularity which is the
“best help to the memory, because it attracts
“and engages us, and impresses images on the
“mind as well as facts.” Not merely are meagre
abridgments devoid of interest, but, under the
existing circumstances of society, they become
snares for the conscience, seducing men to content
themselves with a perfunctory notion of history,
and, when occasion calls, to act upon imperfect
knowledge.

Historical truth never can be elicited save by
comparison. Particularly is this labour of com-
parison incumbent upon every one who, in his
sphere, may be called upon to legislate or influ-
ence the duty of legislation, a duty perhaps in-
volving the most fearful responsibility which can
devolve upon any human being ; for the function
of the Lawgiver is the highest exercised by man.
Human institutions are rarely, perhaps never,
beneficial or mischievous, simply in themselves ;

they become beneficial or mischievous by their relation to other institutions; and therefore when presented to ratiocination without these concurrent circumstances, they only mislead the judgment, substituting words and phrases for real knowledge. No one book, however excellent, can teach you singly and alone. History requires no less study than Law. We cannot dabble in its practical application. Would you take upon yourself to pay down your purchase-money for an acre of land, upon your knowledge of conveyancing derived from Blackstone's Commentaries?

The publication of a work which has occupied the best part of my life is not unattended by considerable anxiety. In every stage it has been spoken: that is to say, written down by dictation, and transcribed from dictation. Advantages and disadvantages, counterbalancing each other, attend this mode of composition. The sound of his own voice encourages the speaker to express his mind more fully than when he is sitting before his desk.—The single amanuensis represents a whole audience. But a speaker may also be seduced into many liberties of speech, and tempted to indulge in digressions and fancies which would not have occurred to him if penning his silent thoughts in solitude.

I therefore appear somewhat in the character of a lecturer, who prints his lectures as they have been reported under his direction. He addresses pupils who belong to him, who interest him, whom he exerts himself to teach, trying to render his lessons intelligible and agreeable, varying his modes of expression according to the spur of the moment or the play of thought, and throwing in occasionally a word, when he judges by the aspect and manner of his hearers that an explanation, or modification, or an awakening of attention, is needed.—Hence the composition has acquired a species of familiar and colloquial character; and the Author trusts he shall obtain the indulgence granted to those whose position he assumes.—May he not hope to be excused as an instructor intent upon his duty, however imperfectly he may have succeeded?

Fully am I aware that I may be thought, on some occasions, to have neglected “the dignity of history.”—But is any peculiar fashion of diction required for history? Wordsworth has for ever dispelled that notion with respect to poetry. Nor can history, otherwise than according to a remote analogy, be considered as a work of art, or subjected to normal rules. The notion of historical dignity may be as safely rejected as the

doctrine of dramatic unity. The more clearly the story is told, the better it will be understood ; the more amusingly, the better it will be recollected. The more the author has thought upon the subject, the more will he kindle congenial thoughts in others. Trite truths are often the most weighty ; hackneyed incidents the most influential ;—any manner or device, any mode whereby you can stamp them with a new form, renews their instructive value.—Tone, idiom, language, allusion or illustration, whatever tends to rouse observation, to stimulate perception, or aid the memory, adds to the power of instruction, in which consists the real dignity of history.

Any writer treating the dark or middle ages has a much more delicate as well as difficult task to perform than the historian engaged upon the antecedent periods of classical antiquity. His materials are more abounding, their compass and variety greater, therefore the greater danger of redundancy and confusion. The theme, and every point connected therewith, has been made painfully polemic and contentious.—The classical historian is supported by general prepossessions on his behalf: he has more than the old Prize-fighter used to crave, a clear stage and no favour ; he has already got a clear stage and favour be-

sides. All his readers go with him, so far as the subject is concerned. There may be great differences in historical theories, various estimates of character, conflicting opinions respecting the tendencies of institutions, or the political lessons to be derived therefrom : but, in essentials, opinions are universally consentaneous—all worship in the Parthenon, and crown the tomb of Leonidas ; all agree in admiring Greece and Rome, their mythology, their literature, their poets, their heroes. The unpleasant groupings of the picture are lightly touched, depravity euphemized, vice condoned, nay, rites and objects of worship, images of pollution which the archæologist dare not describe, elicit a conciliatory apology as primeval symbols of the powers of nature.

With respect to the mediæval era the case is exactly reversed. A dead set has been made against the middle ages, as periods immersed in darkness, ignorance, and barbarity. But most of all have these censures been directed against mediæval Christianity,—“an abject superstition, “tending only to the depression and debasement “of the human mind.”—According to the representations promulgated by a celebrated authority of the last century, who, in this Empire, has contributed more than any other, to direct public

opinion upon such subjects—"the barbarous nations, when converted to Christianity, changed the object, not the spirit of their religious worship. They endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the true God, by means not unlike to those which they had employed in order to appease their false deities. Instead of aspiring to sanctity and virtue, which alone can render men acceptable to the great Author of order and of excellence, they imagined that they satisfied every obligation of duty by a scrupulous observance of external ceremonies. Religion, according to their conception of it, comprehended nothing else; and the rites, by which they persuaded themselves that they should gain the favour of Heaven, were of such a nature as might have been expected from the rude ideas of the ages which devised and introduced them. They were either so unmeaning as to be altogether unworthy of the Being to whose honour they were consecrated, or so absurd as to be a disgrace to reason and humanity. Charlemagne in France, and Alfred the Great in England, endeavoured to dispel this darkness, and gave their subjects a short glimpse of light and knowledge. But the ignorance of the age was too powerful for their efforts and institutions. The

“darkness returned, and settled over Europe more
“thick and heavy than before.”

These calumnies,—which, if excused, are only excusable by the plea of insuperable ignorance,—not unfrequently exalted into fanatical hatred, have been produced by various causes, some so subtle that they escape us whilst we are recognizing them, others discrepant amongst themselves, all nevertheless tending to the same conclusions. Sagacious Fleury warns us that Christian antiquity was first decried in Italy. He dates the sentiment from the era of the revival of letters. The depreciation of the dark ages originated, according to Fleury’s indication, from the disgust excited by the barbarisms of mediæval latinity:—the Scholar’s enthusiasm, and the pedant’s conceit, combining with intellectual and moral tendencies adverse to religion. The agents he signalizes are a Politian, a Valla, a Poggius, a Bembo: men of critical taste, dubious faith and profligate lives, who cultivated the elegances of literature amidst the atheism of Padua, the paganism of Carregi, and the rank debauchery of the Vatican. But Fleury stops short in his deduction. In proportion as refinement advanced in modern Europe, so did most good men participate in the same ethos, swayed by that engouement for classical literature, which

rendered every name and thing connected with the mediæval periods baroque or absurd, whilst to heathenism, education and intellect yielded the deepest homage.

La Fable offre à l'esprit mille agrémens divers—
 Là tous les noms heureux semblent nés pour les vers ;
 Ulysse, Agamemnon, Oreste, Idomenée,
 Hélène, Menelaus, Paris, Hector, Enée.
 O le plaisant projet d'un Poëte ignorant,
 Qui de tant de héros va choisir Childebrand !
 D'un seul nom quelquefois le son dur ou bizarre
 Rend un poëme entier, ou burlesque ou barbare.

All classes responded to these modish sentiments. Dom Rivet and Dom Clemencet, Dom Montfaucon and Dom Mabillon endeavoured to shew that they were not strangers to good company; and, in order that they might not lose caste in the *Academie des Inscriptions*, or the *cercle*, spoke occasionally with fastidiousness of the dark ages.—Fenelon himself could find no better medium of inculcating the lessons of good government to the heir of the throne than through the adaptation of an Homeric fable.

Abstractedly from all the influences which we have sustained in common with the rest of the civilized commonwealth, our British disparagement of the middle ages has been exceedingly enhanced by our grizzled ecclesiastical or church-

historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, men who instead of vindicating the Reformation, by the advocacy of reverence for holy things, obedience, love, charity, sought to establish righteousness through vengeance, and in all ways rendering evil for evil. "Hate your enemies" is with them the Law and the Prophets. These "standard works," accepted and received as Canonical Books, have tainted the nobility of our national mind. An adequate parallel to their bitterness, their shabbiness, their shirking, their habitual disregard of honour and veracity, is hardly afforded even by the so-called "Anti-Jacobin" press during the revolutionary and Imperial wars. The history of Napoleon, his Generals and the French nation, collected from these exaggerations of selfish loyalty, rabid aversion, and panic terror, would be the match of our popular and prevailing ideas concerning Hildebrand, or Anselm, or Becket, or Innocent III. or mediæval Catholicity in general, grounded upon our ancestral traditionary "standard ecclesiastical authorities," such as Burnet's *Reformation*, or Fox's *Book of Martyrs*.—They are wrong when on the right side, false, when true.—The Judge drunken with party-fury, pronouncing the deserved sentence upon the guilty culprit, is equally a mur-

derer with the criminal whom he condemns:—cruelty may be reprobated so as to generate merciless malignity; idolatry, rebuked in a spirit of blasphemy; superstition so derided as to blot out belief in Omnipotence—never was any literature more calculated to derogate against the glory of God and destroy good will towards man.

But the most wide pervading and influential impulse to these sentiments emanated from philosophical France. The wit, the knowledge, all the acquired talents and mental gifts bestowed upon her men of letters, during the era of the *Encyclopédie*, were devoted to their sincere vocation, their avowed object, their pride—the subversion of Christianity. Every branch of instruction, themes and subjects in themselves the most innocent, the most agreeable, the most beneficial, were thus consistently and unceasingly employed, and none more successfully than mediæval history.

The scheme and intent of mediæval Catholicity was to render Faith the all-actuating and all-controlling vitality. This high aspiration failed, such a state of society being absolutely incompatible with the Kingdoms of the world. Nevertheless, so far as the system extended, it had the effect of connecting every social element with

Christianity. And Christianity being thus wrought up into the mediæval system, every mediæval institution, character, or mode of thought afforded the means or vehicle for the vilification of Christianity. Never do these writers, or their School, whether in France or in Great Britain, Voltaire or Mably, Hume, Robertson, or Henry, treat the Clergy or the Church with fairness; not even with common honesty. If historical notoriety enforces the allowance of any merit to a Priest, the effect of this extorted acknowledgement is destroyed by a happy turn, a clever insinuation, or a coarse inuendo. Consult, for example, Hume when compelled to notice the Archbishop Hubert's exertions in procuring the concession of Magna Charta; and Henry, narrating the communications which passed between Gregory the Great and Saint Austin.

By a peculiar ingenuity of disingenuousness, they convert the efforts made by the mediæval Church for the repression of vice and immorality into accusations against her. The woful examples of profligacy, avarice, worldliness, corruption, and depravity, abounding during the middle ages (as they do amongst all men and in all ages), brought forward so prominently, occurring in a state of society offering far greater temptations

than our own, and affording far fewer opportunities of concealment, are recorded by the Pontiffs, who warred against the delinquents—by the Canons of the Councils legislating against the iniquities, by the good and holy men who deplored the scandals and the sins of their times. Those who adopt a similar plan act as a foreign traveller might do, were he to gather from the metropolitan Police reports, and the trials at the Old Bailey, the peculiar characteristics of the morals of England.

But about the period when the doctrines of the French philosophical school were vigorously propagated with all the charms of novelty in England, the *rehabilitation* of the Middle Ages was preparing by a young Fellow of St John's, and a Collector of virtù, equally unconscious of each other's proceedings, and of the great moral revolution they were destined to cause. The future Bishop of Dromore, visiting at the house of a country friend, saw, lying on the floor beneath a bureau, an old, ragged, dirty, paper book, of which the housemaid had torn away half for the purpose of lighting her fires. Curiosity led him to rescue the remaining leaves from destruction: and whilst the gentle antiquary was editing the treasure of Minstrelsy he had acquired, the

Connoisseur was fitting up a tiny lath and plaster toyshop and raree-show in a suburban village:—Percy published the *Reliques*: Horace Walpole opened Strawberry Hill.——The term Gothic, in Addison's times the most intellectually degrading that could be applied, has become the symbol of admiration. The poetry of the Middle Ages is studied with delight; some respect is paid to Mediæval Philosophy, more to Mediæval Divinity: Mediæval institutions, manners and customs, are favourite sources of popular literature. The overcharged and overwhelming imputations of gross ignorance have received the most complete refutation. Yet in the same manner as the opponents of the Middle Ages have condemned them for their virtues, so have their defenders extolled their faults, justified their sins—Chivalry, not unjustly stigmatized by Arnold as embodying the spirit of Antichrist—the atrocities of the Crusades,—even that most fatal error, the breach of the second commandment,—and elevated them to an ideal excellence which the world never saw, of universal piety, content, and happiness—“merrie old England.”

May 2nd, 1851.

ERRATA AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page** 13, Marginal note, line 3, *for* Teutonic *read* historic.
- 69, line 8 from bottom, *for* *Julia bona* *read* *Insula bona*.
- 148, line 12, *for* Sithiu *read* St Quentin, and *dele* Saint Quentin line 12.
- 202, lines 6—9, *for* Roundhead or Cavalier, Papist or Protestant, &c., *read* "Roundhead" or "Cavalier," "Papist" or "Protestant," &c.
- 240, line 10 from bottom, *for* temptations *read* temptings.
- 406, line 6 from bottom, *for* Henry the Fowler, son of Otho the Great, *read* son of Otho the Illustrious, and father of Otho the Great.
- 608, Marginal date line 2, *for* 862, *read* 885.
- 610, Marginal date line 2, *for* 885—896, *read* 885—896.
- 709, line 12 from bottom, *for* Charles-le-Gros, *read* Charles-le-Gras.
- 718, line 3, *for* and faithful expositors of traditions, *read* yet a faithful exposition of traditions.

INTRODUCTION.

GENERAL RELATIONS OF MEDIÆVAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOURTH MONARCHY.

§ 1. FEW similes possess such truth as that most trite one—the *Stream of Time*—or rather the simile is the abstract idea of Time, presented to our sensuous perceptions, in the only form intelligible to the human mind. Every human being is only a bubble upon the surface of the water, conducted onwards, not according to his own choice, or in proportion to his own strength, but unconsciously, irresistibly, obeying the impulse given alike to him and to all others who have preceded him, even from the first Father of our race. Every event befalling the individual man or human society, every act and action produced by the instruments, often most strong when weakest, most subtly instigative when most obscure, appointed to influence, direct, or govern the fortunes of their brethren, is comprehended in the eternal scheme, whereby the

The Stream
of Time.

2 GENERAL RELATIONS OF MEDIÆVAL HISTORY.

whole creation, Spiritual and Material, ever was, is, and will be an unity in course, object and destiny.

The events appearing to us consecutive, are essentially consentaneous: indistinct and transient disclosures of the decree, foredoomed before all Time, and not to be fulfilled until Time shall pass away:—dim glimpses of the changeless sky, caught between the vaporous margins of the driving clouds. Eternity is the perfect union,—utterly baffling to the human understanding,—of unceasing energy and absolute repose; and the impossibility of conceiving this union compels us to make a deceitful distinction between efficient causes and final causes. The intentions we denominate final causes are eternally in operation: the beginning and the end are simultaneous in the designs of Him who is Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last.

But our intellect can only receive the idea of succession: no rest was intended for man: there can be none, till the power of Death shall be destroyed, and Heaven and Earth dissolved. No one generation can be severed from any preceding generation: we are all partners. Blessings and Curses are portions of our inheritance. The Father's sins are visited upon the Children; whilst again, the Children are benefited by graces not their own: the mercy as marvellous to us as the judgment.

History therefore becomes a continuous drama, wherein each scene conduces to the next, each act has its peculiar catastrophe, tangled into each other's chain, all inseparable. History is only another aspect of Time; and Time never stands still. Our grammar teaches us falsely: there is no such tense as the present, nor is the present tense admitted into the most philosophical of all languages; the only speech of man subsisting uncontaminated by any ideas resulting from the false worship of material idolatry, or the intellectual idolatry of false knowledge. To Man, all is either past or future: our mortal individuality has no other existence except in our recollections or by our anticipations. Before we think the thought, the Present, the indivisible moment has departed for ever, and merges in all precedent eternity.

But whilst the Stream, so truly depicting the sequence of mundane events, maintains the invincible downward course, it is otherwise with the agencies granted or permitted to Human Will—the consequences of the actions resulting from Man's responsibility. The current does not work alone: there are other forces which you must consider,—the forces originating in man's disobedience or obedience,—his seeking evil or good, his rebellion or his submission. You may reach the springs of the gushing waters, trace out the rills and rivulets as they swell

4 GENERAL RELATIONS OF MEDIÆVAL HISTORY.

and coalesce and fall into each other, delineate the feeders, map out the bights and bends, measure the banks and boundaries; but you must do still more.

Mark the turning of the tide: a semblance, though an imperfect one, of the manner in which the opinions and secret operations of the human mind become manifest in the stream. First, a slender and scarcely perceptible thread ascends, quietly and gently, yet most steadily and undeviatingly, through the centre, occasioning the smallest counter-current, discernible merely by the slightest undulating ripples or the floating weeds.

But this thread speedily opens wider and wider, expanding, winning upon the main current, which narrows more and more, yielding to the intrusion, until the fluvial course is evident only in the diminishing currents on either brink, and these at last disappear, and the tide is wholly turned; so that an Observer, who had never previously visited the river, or whose knowledge was limited to a portion of the banks, might well mistake the antagonistic counter-current for the regular stream.

Moreover, other causes may perplex him: the level of the stream, altered by the summer's drought or the winter's flood: the brackish or turbid springs rising from below, embittering or darkening the purer and clearer element, all may mislead him in his judgment; yet still the river will flow on, in perennial strength, nou-

rished by the descending clouds, branching, eddying, spreading, dividing, until the waves return to the ocean, hollowed by the Hand which separated them from the waters above the firmament.

§ 2. Even if the scheme of history deduced from the Four temporal Empires, as the progress of human events has been revealed by the Prophetic Vision, possessed no other authority or recommendation than the character of a technical or artificial system, calculated to assist the Master in imparting the lesson and the Pupil in retaining the instruction, none other so useful, convenient and consistent, could be found.

Say rather, no other historical theory can be devised, enabling us to teach or study, however erringly, the deeds, the institutions, and the unfolding destinies of mankind. Indeed it is not our knowledge, but our ignorance, which compels us to adopt this philosophy. We have no choice, save between the light and the darkness; for, with respect to the pristine ages of the world, we know nothing historically true, beyond the facts whereunto Holy Scriptures bear their witness. The same Ineffable Wisdom, speaking in them, has also annihilated every other authentic record of those remote eras, or covered the memorials, if any exist, with an obscurity which no acuteness can dispel. If the Enquirers, who, within the deserted temples of Misraim, interrogate the dumb oracles, imagine that an

The Four
Empires.

Revelation
the found-
ation of
Universal
History.

answer is returned, it is merely the echo of their own voice: the reply tells them only what they have told. If they fancy they see a living form amongst the monster idols, it is only the reverie of an opium-dream. The offering they have placed upon the altar is taken up again by them as their reward: they go out bearing the sacrifice they brought in, and nothing more.

Languages
totally lost
by the in-
terruption
of oral tra-
dition.

No language, and the mystic characters of Egypt are as a language, has ever been recovered after the interruption of oral tradition during one entire generation. Like the electric fire, transmitted through the living chain, hand grasping hand, if there be any break, the transmission ceases: let hand drop from hand, the ethereal energy is lost. In these latter days, all our converse with ancient speech results mediately or immediately from living tradition. Each scholar has been an auditor: the living lips have spoken to the living ear: each learner has received the doctrine from a living teacher; and, teacher in his turn, there has never been a dead silence. No languages are so truly living as those which have been consecrated to prayer and praise. The Hebrew has never died; it is a living language: the Greek has never died; it is a living language: the Latin has never died; it is a living language. No hour has ever passed wherein their voices have not been heard; and, if this enquiry be pursued philologically, it will be found that

even when the continuous line of descent appears to have failed, some other of the cognate dialects, some other testimony derived from the Tower of Confusion will still become the interpreter which we require.

With the exception of those races governed by a revealed or special providence, marked out thereby as lessons or as warnings—none more prominently amongst the uncovenanted, none more instructively, than that wonderful people, who, grounding their laws, their judgments, their usages, their entire policy and entire faith upon the first Commandment with promise, have been rewarded by a national longevity unparalleled in the world; for inasmuch as they amongst the Gentile Empires alone have collectively deserved the blessing, by them alone has the blessing been éarned;—all the history we know, all we really need to know, all we can ever really know, is inseparably bound in and wound up with the spheres of Assyria, Persia, Greece and Rome. In and by their successive developments, every other power has been, or is preparing to be, ruled, affected, or involved.

§ 3. Rome's cruelties, baffling conception by their infinity, her vices, so detestable that no tongue can risk the pollution of holding them up to infamy, her absolute hatred against God, received their chastisement; but her dominion was not extinguished. Races the most adverse, who

The Fourth Monarchy continued in the European Commonwealth.

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divided her provinces amongst them as a spoil, who executed vengeance against her temples, who led her children into captivity, who insulted and loathed her imbecility and baseness, nevertheless humbly knelt before their Captive as the dispenser of their temporal power. Not of the blood of Rome, they claimed to be her heirs, engrafting their heroic ancestors upon the stem of the Cæsars.

Develop-
ment of the
Romano-
Barbaric
policy.

This devolution of authority from Rome, this absorption of Roman authority by the Barbarians, this political, and more than political, this moral unity, this confirmation of a dominion which they seemed to subvert, this acknowledgment of the authority they defied, is the great truth upon which the whole history of European society, and more than European society, European civilization, depends.

Rome, working in dark unconsciousness, prepared the nutriment for the Kings who were to arise out of her State. Claudius, by that harangue which we read deeply graven on brass, in the great Capital of Celtic Gaul, taught the soundest lessons of legislation. The ascription of the ancient Gaulish families into the Senatorial rank gave them an interest in their own country and in the Empire. The universal concession of Roman citizenship removed the badges of humiliation, the sources of grudge and jealousy; yet, as in all human institutions, there was a

weakness counterbalancing the strength, an error neutralizing the wisdom. These privileges excited in the Provinces a tendency to separation, of which those bold, great, venturous, and often wise men, whom we too abusively call the Tyrants of the Lower Empire,—fully availed themselves. What possible reason have we to perpetuate the stigma unjustly conveyed by that term? Did the Empire offer any standard of legitimacy except success? Postumus was as legitimate in his great Empire of the Gauls as Aurelian. Can we deny that Carausius was the true Cæsar of Britain?—The provincial Emperors were in fact national Sovereigns; they founded the Thrones of Western Christendom.

The Romans had been gradually approximating to the Barbarians: the Barbarians, with even more alacrity and power, were wresting the dominion from the Empire. Were not the majority of the Emperors barbarians by name, by race, by lineage, by language, by character? These purple-clad Barbarians swayed the fortunes of the world. Long had this political commixture of races existed. The Romans taught their Vassals to become their Lords. They educated Goth and Celt and Teuton and Iberian for the Imperial throne, when they, the *Gens togata*, rejoiced in the submission voluntarily rendered by barbarian Sovereigns, who sought to encrease their own magnificence by accepting the Regal

The so-called Tyrants, the predecessors of the Dynasties of mediæval Europe.

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name and the Regal insignia from the Roman power. The first real king in Germany, Ariovistus, became King by the gratitude or favour of the first of the Cæsars.

Veneration
command-
ed by
Rome.

We have all read how the Gaulish Warriors were stayed in silent awe before the Senate, assembled in that Forum which they were about to destroy. The columns rose in glory, again to fall; but the same veneration hovered amongst the ruins, continuing to hallow the cruelties, the depravities, the feebleness, the decrepitude of Rome. When the barbarian Sovereigns established themselves within the sacred boundaries of the Empire, when the Ostrogoth held his court at Verona, and the Frank encamped in Gaul, they honoured the very Sovereigns over whom they had usurped. Flushed with victory, the Barbarians scarcely dared to own, even to themselves, that they were rebels against the ancient Mistress of the World. Her fear was yet upon them.

There are appointed seasons of crisis, when it pleases Him through whom Kings reign and Princes decree justice, to withdraw the authority He has imparted. The commission by which they rule is cancelled. Then, all sovereignty collapses, obedience is gone, command utterly lost. Kings and Princes, crownless though crowned, naked though invested with the royal robe, shiver, powerless before the blast. But except during these periods,—amongst which we reckon not

the established ascendancy of democracy, a regency the most despotic of all Monarchies, for Monarchy is irrespective of the number who may exercise the sovereignty, provided there be a sufficient coercive unity and singleness of spirit in the government—but except during these periods, man inclines far more readily to obedience than to independence. Yielding to the natural law, the instinct of submission clings to him. He succumbs pleasurable to the feeling, or rather the duty, of personal or hereditary respect—Such is the moral force of historical traditions, as they have been called by those politicians and writers who weakly endeavour to revive them by book antiquarianisms and æsthetic artificialities. And this duty honours him who renders the service as much as, nay even more, than the object to whom the duty is rendered.

Opinions and opportunities, war, policy, pride, necessity, co-operated in the transmutations whereby the Fourth Monarchy was vested in the Kingdoms which sprung from Rome; transmutations effected by simultaneous decomposition and consolidation. The Barbarians had healthy minds, rough, honest, devout. Ancient traditions taught the Franks to claim the Romans as their kinsmen. The fair-haired Germans of the Rhine traced their ancestry to the banks of the Scamander and the fugitives of Troy. Our Cymric tribes, as is familiarly known, asserted the like origin.

Supposed
kindred be-
tween the
Barba-
rians and
the Ro-
mans.

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The simple faith, accrediting such traditions, may have been fully as consonant to historical reasoning as the sceptical dogmatism of civilization, by which they are inexorably denied. An Anglo-Saxon Monk, deducing Cerdic's lineage from Noah through Woden, is, upon his theory, if you judge him merely by the logic of historical evidence, wiser than the philosophic historian, who commences his investigation by scorning at the common origin of mankind.

Traditional
Genealogies,
their truth and
authenticity
amongst
primeval
nations.

Amongst primitive races, whether flourishing in past ages, or lingering in our own, history is not distinguishable from genealogies. They reckon by generations, not by eras: man dealing with man, not deceiving himself with abstractions. It should seem that the literate mind is incompetent to judge fairly of the mind working through other instruments of thought. Our employment of writing, as the sole means of preserving knowledge, enfeebles the power of memory, and causes us to forget the powers of memory. Accustomed only to the cultivated plant, we do not sufficiently estimate the vigour of the natural growth. Could we penetrate into the inward mind of classes or races appearing to us the most stolid or degraded, we should know, that, vile as they are rendered in our sight by the squalor and stench of savage life, their capacities, perceptions and sensibilities, are identical with our own. The soul is not measured by the facial angle. The

Autochthon of Tasmania understood his law of real property and his canons of descent, as clearly as any English conveyancer; and his appreciation of his land's value was no less shrewd than that entertained by the Settler who cleared him off by gun, bloodhound, and poison. Genealogies entrusted to memory, known *by heart*,—that most forcible expression—are written in a living record, compared to which the Herald's Roll is chaff and straw. Flattery cannot interpolate a link in such pedigrees—not to be confounded with fabled dynastic lists:—ignorance cannot corrupt the manuscript: hostility cannot destroy the testimony, except by the total extirpation of the witnesses. Writing preserves ampler facts and transmits more accurate details; yet, in these instances, without affording greater certainty.

A very singular concurrence enables us to estimate the comparative trustworthiness of literature tradition, symbolical tradition, and oral tradition. Three remarkable migrations of the human race in these latter ages, have followed in close succession:—the settlement of the Northmen in Iceland and Greenland, and their occupation of America, so transient and so mysterious:—the Aztecs in their mighty march, descending to the plains of Anahuac;—and the wave of population which spread to the farthest verge of Australasia.

The Northmen engraved the letters of the historic song on the Runic stave.—Mexico em-

Comparison between Teutonic facts preserved by letters, by symbols and by memory.—

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—as exemplified amongst the Northmen, the Mexicans and the New Zealanders.

employed conventional imagery.—The Maoris, aided only by the rudest contrivance, the notched stick, trusted to memory; and so accurately are these gentilitial facts recollected, that throughout their Island, the tribes, separated by distance and disjoined by enmity, agree completely in their tale. Here, however, we appeal to these national traditions simply as moral persuasives, acting upon Celts and Teutons, and becoming more peculiarly efficacious at the period when the Barbarians were amalgamating themselves with the Roman world. Every Leader of a Barbarian tribe, every Aspirant to dominion, every Barbarian who wore the diadem in a province of the Empire, consecrated his authority and legalized his sovereignty by the recognition of the Cæsars, and till he obtained that ratification, whether express or implied, he hardly relied upon his sword. These transactions colour the whole history of the Lower Empire. We quote not the examples proving the foregoing propositions, having done so elsewhere; neither can we here moot the contending arguments.

Barbarian Sovereignty legitimated by Roman authority.

There may have been double-dealing in such negotiations; diplomatic skill, finesse, evasion: always the display of force, and frequently the direct exercise of force; but the territorial partition amongst the Barbarians had been long commencing. As is the case in all earthly dominions, the sentence of condemnation, though suspended

in execution, had been irrevocably passed upon Rome during her period of resplendant prosperity and glory. All conquering, all colonizing Empires,—colonization being only conquest disguised by a plausible name—increase by the appropriation of new elements, which, ultimately, separate either by direct and outward impulse, or through the inward fermentations and corpuscular attractions of human society.

The demarcations which the Romans assigned to the local governments created by them, had been regulated by the anterior organization of the Gaulish States and Tribes; and the Tyrants only obeyed the call of the Provinces, in which a new nationality, partly grounded upon race, was displaying itself. The Provinces sought to be independent, without ceasing to be Roman. The Barbarians and Romans had long needed each other, and had mutually abated their respective claims and pretensions. The Empire was becoming Romano-Barbaric; each party tried to profit by the other; neither was sincere. When the Chieftains, Rome's mercenaries, Rome's colonists, Rome's enemies, sued for the dignity of Consul or the title of Patrician, the Sacred Majesty of Byzantium might dread to refuse; but Byzantium could not do otherwise than grant, and the Ostrogoth or the Frank knew the worth of the distinction he craved. He honoured himself by the subserviency, protected himself by the

delegation; and this proud prostration of the strong before the weak, affords the clearest proof that the vassal fully understood the advantage which his obedience conferred.

Roman insignia and titles assumed by the Barbaric Sovereigns.

Contemplate the heroic Chieftains of the Barbarian dynasties, each assuming the semblance of the Cæsars, and wise in that assumption. They profited by the provincial nationality which had been growing up during the tyrannic era. Postumus had been preparing the way for Tetricus, and Tetricus for Clovis—Clovis the Sicambrian, hailed as Consul, worshipped as Augustus. Thus did Leuvigild, the Visigoth, triumph in the Imperial policy; and in Britain the same principles spread over from the Gauls. Our Anglo-Saxons hastened into the communion of the Empire.—Ethelbert impressed the Roman wolf upon the rude Kentish coin—Edwin raised the Roman Standard—Athelstan is enthroned as the Basileus of Albion and the surrounding islands.

Importance of symbols of authority.

In the employment of these titles and symbols, sound political prudence guided the clear-sighted Barbarians. Pageantry is a portion of Royalty which cannot be safely discarded; and such pageantry, such adoption of Roman insignia and imagery became the constant assertion of their authority; for they thereby declared that they applied to themselves the doctrines of Imperial Sovereignty. To estimate the real importance of these proceedings, we need only advert to the feel-

ings excited by analogous demonstrations in more recent times. The Cross-fleury and Martlets of the Confessor in the Howard bearing, cost the Earl of Surrey his life. Elizabeth never forgave the display of the English quarterings by her rival. France never liked the Lilies in our shield; not even when she had blotted them out from her own. Republican France, Consular France, inherited the sympathies of the Monarchy. The abandonment of the Fleurs-de-Lys, though indicating nought beyond the most obsolete of claims, was received as a message of kindness by the Great Nation: whilst at home, many politicians of no mean capacity doubted the prudence of maiming the Royal title, and discarding the honours for which Old England combated at Cressy and Poitiers.

But in truth any depreciation of these Roman titles and "trappings" is the expression of modern prejudice, rather than of antient feeling. Such regalia and regaline adornments were not the gays and gauds of a savage, aping civilization, but essential characteristics of the Monarch: the purple robe, transmitted by Anastasius to Clovis together with the diploma, gave him seizin of the consular dignity: the diadem, placed upon the head of the anointed Monarch, through the gift of the Emperor, conferred upon the Sicambrian the prerogative of Augustus.

§ 4. Amongst the most instructive lessons we

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Rome
never con-
quered by
the Barba-
rians—A
fact first
brought
forward
by Guizot.

derive from the history of discoveries, is the tardiness of their revelation, the eye sightless, the ear without hearing, the nerve without tact, until the inward perception be roused. This condition of progress in practical art and physical science applies to all branches of human knowledge. We praise the patient skill which uncovers the strata of the palimpsest, and admire the strange enthusiast, who, braving the lethargic atmosphere of the Academic library, ventures in, and draws forth the precious Manuscript from the stagnant pools, whose silent waters engulph the untouched treasures collected by Bodley or Laud, Junius or Rawlinson, Gale or Moor or Parker: yet fully as new and important is the information obtained from the trite, well-known, and familiar authorities, which have only waited for the Interrogator, asking them to make the disclosure.

Facts pregnant with most signal truths have, until our own times, continued uninvestigated and unimproved; though plain and patent, presented to every reader, fruitlessly forcing themselves upon our notice, against which historians were previously constantly hitting their feet, and as constantly spurning out of their path.

Such is eminently the case with that due conception of the Eternal City's destiny, which the illustrious historical investigator, now the honour and the reproach of France, has presented

with equal modesty and emphasis. Rome never was permanently conquered—never accepted the Strangers' yoke—never became subjected to the Barbarian. Rome alone continued purely Roman after the Imperial presence departed. Province after province was lost: plague, pestilence, fire desolated the City, the habitations shrunk away within the walls, a fierce and corrupt aristocracy, a depraved and cowardly populace, composed the community which defiled the Seven Hills; but the succession was unbroken, and Rome was Rome, and is Rome still. The glorious laurel-crowned phantasms of her ancient grandeur hovered amongst her ruins. Combining with her present degradation, the recollections of the past imparted inspiration and bitterness to the most polished Poet of the Anglo-Norman age.

Degradation and baseness of mediæval Rome.

*Par tibi Roma nihil, cum sis prope tota ruina :
 Quam magni fueris integra, fracta doces.—
 Non tamen annorum series, non flamma nec ensis
 Ad plenum potuit hoc abolere decus.—
 Urbs felix, si vel dominis urbs illa careret,
 Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide.*

Rome's outward aspect, her form and feature, vindicated her nationality. The Rome of the first Gregory—of Honorius, of Saint Leo, of Hildebrand, displayed the continuous transmission of ancient sentiment, living tradition, and proud and haughty spirit.

The Fine Arts, as such, had perished: the Sculptor's skill had been entirely repudiated by

primitive Faith. No majesty of expression, no loveliness of form, no magic of conception, no exquisiteness of taste, no delicacy of execution could in the firm minds of the early Christians atone for the impurity of the idols: they were without excuse.—Scarcely ever has there been an unmutilated statue of a Heathen deity excavated within the Roman territory. The effigies are ruined in the ruins. The fourteen fragments of Parian marble dug up in the baths of Nero, and now composing the Venus, the glory of the Medici, testify equally to the uncompromising zeal inculcated by the apostolic age, and the skill of the restoring artist, fostered by the patronage of those who, in the golden age of revival, derided the simplicity of the Apostles.

Nevertheless, the Romans clung to the memorials inherited from their forefathers: the Basilica repeated the forms of the Imperial structures: their architecture, however rudely, gave an outward testimony of the national sentiment.

Traditional
preserva-
tion of Ro-
man archi-
tecture in
Rome dur-
ing the
dark ages.

Such buildings declare that they are the productions of a people, who, fallen from their high estate, repelled the intrusion of a stranger. Mediæval Rome might be viewed as the palace of a decayed but noble family, retaining the tokens and symbols of ancestry, contrasting with naked walls and earthen floor. Of all the cities in Western Christendom, Rome was the only one in which Gothic architecture never obtained

naturalization: that mystic and imaginative creation, so inseparably allied in popular opinion with mediæval Catholicism, was excluded from the Capital of the Christian world.

Thus also the palace of Crescentius, inhabited generations afterwards by Rienzi, strangely compacted of ancient fragments, and standing desolate upon the shores of the Tiber, still displays the anxiety which the "Brutus of the revived Republic" felt to shew that he dwelt as a Roman. His medals tell far more than the pages of history. Crescentius usurped the state and insignia of the Empire.—In like manner, with national, if not religious consistency, the national feeling overcoming the religious sentiment, the ancient ensigns, consecrated almost as the tutelary deities of the Legions, the Wolf, the Minotaur, the Dragon, the Eagle, came forth from the Capitol, and inaugurated the Teutonic successors of the Cæsars.

Like the other Italian Republics, municipal Rome sustained incessant changes in her communal organization; but dull darkness shrouds her rude, convulsive, and turbulent destinies.

Obscurity of the municipal history of mediæval Rome.

How fortunate was fair Florence in her Chroniclers: their gifts, their talents, their industry, their knowledge: the tender affection of Malespini; the earnest pathos of Dino Compagni; the graphic inspiration of Villani, and the rich fund of information which renders him the second in

order of the great European Historians of the mediæval period—England gave the first, Matthew Paris the Monk of Saint Alban's; and Flanders in her Froissart, the third—Rome had none like these amongst her sons. Uncouth diaries, meagre annalists, scattered and fragmentary muniments are the failing and imperfect sources of Rome's local and peculiar history. Few, indeed, comparatively, of the renowned names which have illustrated Italy, imperial Italy, mediæval Italy, or modern Italy, whether in literature, or poetry, or science, or arts, or arms, can really be assigned to that City which has given the intellectual impulse to the civilized world.

Moral pre-eminence of the City of Rome despite of her poverty and degradation.

Antiquaries have painfully retrieved some indications of Rome's mediæval magistracy. Senators, Consuls, Patricians, glance and retreat before us. The authority of the municipal rulers was continually disturbed by popular dissensions, and disgraced as well as enfeebled by the baseness, levity, avarice and venality which rendered the people—the dregs of the dregs of Romulus—the very proverb and bye-word of the nations. Nevertheless, mean and mendicant as Rome had become, the honour of opinion was continued to her; men bowed before the Community they despised, just as a Tiberius or a Caligula, brutalized by vice, was still an Emperor. Rome still enjoyed a preeminence which none could contest. The brazen Wolf dwelt in the Capitol, and the four

letters, which, by an almost magic influence, convey the concrete idea of Rome's Empire, decked her monuments. Tattered and sordid and faded was her Imperial robe, still she triumphed—the Queen of Cities.

Unworthy of her trust, her trust was continued to her; and in the highest of her functions Rome retained her authority. Whether sincere or venal, whether prompted by veneration or suggested by faction, the Roman Municipality presented the Pontiff to the Primatial See of Christendom. That transcendent function, after many conflicts and contests and changes, became finally vested in the Cardinal hierarchy of the Roman Diocese; yet, whilst the popular concurrence subsisted, the postulation was the legal right of the Roman Commonwealth; nor did the demerits of the Patrons contaminate the Pontiff, unless he personally participated in them, or any how detract from his canonical authority as the consecrated successor of the Apostle. The foulnesses of the soil do not infect the fruit of the tree, which may ripen, sweet and nourishing, out of the impure earth by which the roots are surrounded.

§ 5. In physical Geography, the features of each district must be united to the rivers and mountain ranges beyond the square of the map. You must over-pass frontiers and artificial limits. Neither can the history of any particular State be comprehended in the European Commonwealth

Charlemagne's history enters into the history of all the European States.

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be studied profitably or properly, unless in connexion with the universal history of Western Christendom. Hence the great difficulty of treating Modern History. The utmost expansion given to the history of any particular State or Nation must necessarily fail to include the general information, needful as the complement of the speciality. Perhaps there are few branches of human knowledge concerning which it may be so truly said, that the Learner must be his own Teacher: and many portions of history, apparently the most familiar, offer the greatest difficulty when you attempt to grapple with them. Such is the history of Charlemagne. Every State which arose within the compass of his direct dominion has been shaped through his influence, however diversely, nay contradictorily, that influence may have been modified; whilst his moral dominion extended far beyond the geographical boundaries of his Empire. It was not arrested by Eyder on the North or Ebro on the South, nor even by the waves of the British Channel. The Anglo-Saxon Empire ran parallel with the Carlovingian Empire until the Norman Conquest, that junction which completely let in all the principles appropriated by the Northmen, when they themselves accepted the doctrines and policy proffered by the Institutions of Roman France.

The ideal
Charle-
magne.

It seems Charlemagne's fate that he should always be in danger, of shading into a mythic

Monarch—not a man of flesh and blood, but a personified theory. Turpin's Carolus Magnus, the Charlemagne of Roncesvalles; Ariosto's *Sacra Corona*, surrounded by Palatines and Doze-Piers, are scarcely more unlike the real rough, tough, shaggy old Monarch, than the conventional portraitures by which his real features have been supplanted.

It is an insuperable source of fallacy in human observation as well as in human judgment, that we never can sufficiently disjoin our own individuality from our estimates of moral nature. Admiring ourselves in others, we ascribe to those whom we love or admire the qualities we value in ourselves. We each see the landscape through our own stripe of the rainbow. A favourite hero by long-established prescription, few historical characters have been more disguised by fond adornment than Charlemagne. Each generation or school, has endeavoured to exhibit him as a normal model of excellence. Courtly Mezeray invests the son of Pepin with the faste of Louis-Quatorze; the polished Abbé Velly bestows upon the Frankish Emperor the abstract perfection of a dramatic hero; Boulainvilliers, the champion of the Noblesse, worships the founder of hereditary feudality; Mably discovers in the Capitulars the maxims of popular liberty; Montesquieu, the perfect philosophy of legislation. But, generally speaking, Charlemagne's historical aspect is

derived from his patronage of literature. This notion of his literary character colours his political character, so that in the assumption of the Imperial authority, we are fain to consider him as a true romanticist—such as in our own days we have seen upon the Throne—seeking to appease hungry desires by playing with poetic fancies, to satisfy hard nature with pleasant words, to give substance and body to a dream.

The real
Charle-
magne.

All these prestiges will vanish if we render to Charlemagne his well deserved encomium:—he was a great Warrior, a great Statesman, fitted for his own age.—It is a very ambiguous praise to say that a man is in advance of his age: if so, he is out of his place: he lives in a foreign country. Equally so if he lives in the past. No innovator so bold, so reckless and so crude, as he who makes the attempt (which never succeeds) to effect a resurrection of antiquity.

Charle-
magne's
practical
character.

We may put by the book, and study Charlemagne's achievements on the borders of the Rhine: better than in the book may the Traveller read Charlemagne's genuine character pictured upon the lovely unfolding landscape:—the huge Dom-Minsters, the fortresses of Religion: the yellow sunny rocks studded with the vine: the mulberry and the peach, ripening in the ruddy orchards; the succulent pot-herbs and worts which stock the Bauer's garden,—these are the monuments and memorials of Charlemagne's mind.

The first health pledged when the flask is opened at Johannisberg should be the Monarch's name who gave the song-inspiring vintage. Charlemagne's superiority and ability consisted chiefly in seeking and seizing the immediate advantages, whatever they might be, which he could confer upon others or obtain for himself. He was a man of forethought, ready contrivance and useful talent. He would employ every expedient, grasp every opportunity, and provide for each day as it was passing by.

The educational movement resulting from Charlemagne's genius was practical. Two main objects had he therein upon his conscience and his mind. The first, was the support of the Christian Faith: his Seven liberal Sciences circled round Theology, the centre of the intellectual system. No argument was needed as to the obligation of uniting sacred and secular learning, because the idea of disuniting them never was entertained.

His other object in patronizing learning and instruction was the benefit of the State. He sought to train good men of business: judges well qualified, ready pen-men in his Chancery; and this sage desire expanded into a wide instructional field. Charlemagne's exertions for promoting the study of the Greek language—his Greek professorships at Osnaburgh or Saltzburgh—have been praised, doubted, discussed, as something very paradoxical, whereas his motives

Charlemagne's cultivation of the Greek language—how misunderstood.

were plain and his machinery simple.—Greek was to all intents and purposes, the current language of an opulent and powerful nation, required for the transaction of public affairs. A close parallel, necessitated by the same causes, exists in the capital of Charlemagne's successors. The Oriental Academy at Vienna is constituted to afford a supply of individuals qualified for the diplomatic intercourse, arising out of the vicinity and relations of the Austrian and Ottoman dominions, without any reference to the promotion of philology—We find the same at home. If the Persian language be taught at Haileybury, it is to fit the future Writer for his Indian office. He may study Ferdusi or Hafiz if he pleases, but the cultivation of literature is not the intent with which the learning is bestowed.

Theory of
Char-
lemagne's
elevation
to the
Imperial
authority.

Apply equivalent reasonings to the event common to all Europe, and in which all Europe is concerned—the gathering-knot in the annals of modern Europe. It has been said that the restoration of the Empire by Charlemagne was a great idea; but his elevation to the Imperial dignity is denaturalized by conventional historical phraseology.—The erudite Jurist of Germany gives you his treatise *de fictâ translatione Imperii*—a title-page conveying a double misinterpretation of the truth. No feigned or poetized pageant was Charlemagne's Imperial elevation, not a fiction fostered by school-boy sentiment, or artistic

enthusiasm, or scholastic pedantry, but a reality of realities. Neither was the transaction a translation of the Empire, for the seat of the Empire was still referred to Rome; nor a restoration of the Empire, for the Empire had never ceased. Strange that Historians should have encouraged each other in the error that the Empire, extinguished, as they say, in Augustulus, was now restored.—Restored!—never had it been suspended, either in principle, maxims, or feelings. The shattered, pillaged, dilapidated Empire was still one state, one community: the nations of Christendom were bound together by one common Faith: they accepted Religion, according to the etymology of the term, as the real connecting bond, tempted as they might be by the seductive error that the Church needed the protection of the Secular arm.

Distracted Christendom fell miserably short in practice, nevertheless the idea of religious unity was firmly inherent. This principle then subsisted like an instinct, upon which men acted unconsciously, without effort and without thought. But new thoughts were now awakened and new efforts roused: the usurpation of Irene endangered the very existence of the Empire: how could a female wear the Imperial diadem? Moreover, Christendom had to dread a rival Empire,—the Empire of Islam, under one Chief, one Caliph uniting temporal and spiritual authority;

Charlemagne elevated to the Imperial authority for the purpose of continuing the Imperial succession.

and was not one Emperor equally needed for Christendom? Hence Charlemagne's call:—*Ne Pagani insultarent Christianis si Imperatoris nomen apud Christianos cessasset*—Pope and Clergy, Bishops and Abbots, Franks and Romans, advising, as they best might, with the people and communities of the West, acknowledged the Son of Pepin as the Cæsar, and invested him with the Imperial authority, bestowed by the Church, consecrated by the Church, but yet antagonistic to the Church of which the Emperor was the defender.

Charlemagne failed to perpetuate a dynasty. There was a deadly worm curling around his sceptre; but he fulfilled his vocation by imparting a new energy to the drooping genius of the Fourth Monarchy. Henceforward the Imperial principles of government, the doctrines, sentiments, jurisprudence and policy of Rome, became still more intimately kneaded into the Teutonism of the Western Commonwealth, causing the fermenting elements to enter into new combinations, and imparting that aspect and idiosyncrasy which distinguishes the civilized European from the other families of mankind.

Monarchical character of Modern Europe grounded upon Roman policy.

§ 6. We, therefore, all live in the Roman world: the departed generations are not distinguishable in these reasonings from ourselves; the "dark ages" and the "middle ages" are merely bights and bends in the great stream of

Time, which we contemplate from the bridge by which the river is arched over. Rome conferred upon the Sovereigns of Modern Europe their principles of prerogative, their attributes of majesty.

The powers of the State were concentrated in the Monarch by the *Lex Regia*, he the sole Legislator, though acting by advice; he the supreme Magistrate, delegating his powers. The Comites, the companions of Augustus, installed their successors in the palace of Clovis. European aristocracy is plumed by the stately nomenclature of the declining Empire. The Romans bestowed upon us that Institution so directly antagonistic to Teutonic ethos, nobility created by the Sovereign's grant. Every Duke and Dukedom, every Count and County, testifies to the Roman influence, and confesses the Barbarian's exulting appropriation of Roman spoils. No King of the Cherusci or of the old Saxons, no Marcomannic or Alemannic Sovereign, was ever the fountain of honour.

Policy of the Empire, how perpetuated in the European Commonwealth.

The titles, the dignities which adorned the Monarchy, participating in the splendour of the Throne, and adding to that splendour, are Roman in their origin: the civil hierarchy of Modern Europe, though quaintly gorgeous in heraldic glory, was grouped by Roman hands.

Dignities and Nobility.

Rome penned the oath of fealty, Rome tram- melled her Conquerors by her doctrine of allegiance. The policy pursued by Rome towards

Fendality.

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her dependents, who sought to avert her hostility or purchase her more dangerous aid, who sheltered themselves beneath her destructive power: the reception by Numidian or Parthian of the Crown, the Sceptre, the purple robe—that policy, conjoined to the territorial dotations of the Legions, and assimilating therewith the trusts and duties of the Leudes and the Vassi, prepared for mediæval Europe the inheritance of feudality.

Moreover, the Roman legislation, leaving undisturbed in the provinces all ancient customs of occupation and cultivation of land, readily entered into combination with Teutonic usages. The popular stigma of the Middle Ages, Villainage, was the universal law of the Roman Empire, nor did the barbarian invaders make much alteration, though they changed the forms; and, on the whole, diminished the oppressions and bondage which the coloni, the husbandmen, the servile peasantry of the Empire, sustained.

Fendal jurisprudence mainly Roman.

Whatever there be of system or consistency in mediæval feudality, whatever renders feudality a jurisprudence, chiefly results from the doctrines of the Empire. We read the history of Anglo-Norman England in Cisalpine Gaul. How does the expulsion of the English Thanes sink into insignificance compared with the feudality of Sulla!—*Veteres migrate Coloni*.—One hundred and fifty thousand land-holders expelled from their possessions to gratify the murderous Le-

gions. It is from the Imperial jurists, from Code and Pandect, that you recover the pristine maxims and principles of feudality: it is from the technical nomenclature of the Civilian that you enucleate the Feud's very name.

The jurisprudence of Rome had been respected, and partially adopted by the Barbarians, even before they established themselves within the Empire. In many provinces the authority of the Roman law was never intermitted. As time advanced, the civil law gained even more rapidly upon the Teutonic legal forms, legal customs, legal principles; upon "Dooms," and "Weiss-thumer," upon "Morgen-gesprach" and "Sachsen Spiegel;" so as to efface them in many States and Kingdoms, and to modify them in all. No European Lawyer has failed to profit by Rome's written wisdom. The Roman municipalities and colleges of operatives and artificers, shooting forth their offsets, and consecrated by Christianity, covered Europe with those Guilds, Corporations and Communities, which fostered her social prosperity.

The Atlantic does not divide European society—Rome presented to Europe the platform of her great Councils: but for the Imperial administration of the Empire combining with the Synods and Councils of the Church, never would the European Commonwealth have known her Diets, her States-General, her Cortes, her

Parliaments, her Congresses, her representative Assemblies.

Romance
and Chivalry.

When they built the Cloister and raised the Dungeon Tower, virtue was learned from Rome's lessons; her Sages heard as the revered teachers of temporal wisdom; her Legends inspired the nation's fancy; her Warriors were contemplated as the bright examples of prowess and valour; her Poets, her Historians, her Mythographers, her Fabulists furnished the Gothic Minstrel with the choicest subjects for geste and lay.—Alcides : the Fleece of Colchis : Alexander : the tale of Troy-divine. Amidst the ruins of Rome, Frank, and Goth, and Lombard listened to the awful tales of magic and enchantment, suggesting the very substance and character of Romance. In her annals, the Knight sought his pattern of courage, adventure, and strenuousness; and if there be such a sentiment as Chivalry, that sentiment in all the purer and nobler forms was nurtured and disciplined by Rome.

Arts and
Architecture.

Roman taste gave the fashion to the garment; Roman skill the models for the instruments of war. We have been told to seek in the Forests of Germany the origin of the feudal system and the conception of the Gothic aisle. We shall discover neither there. Architecture is the costume of society, and throughout European Christendom that costume was patterned from Rome. Unapt and unskilful pupils, she taught

the Ostrogothic workman to plan the palace of Theodoric; the Frank, to decorate the Hall of Charlemagne; the Lombard, to vault the Duomo; the Norman, to design the Cathedral.

Above all, Rome imparted to our European civilization her luxury, her grandeur, her richness, her splendour, her exaltation of human reason, her spirit of free enquiry, her ready mutability, her unwearied activity, her expansive and devouring energy, her hardness of heart, her intellectual pride, her fierceness, her insatiate cruelty, that unrelenting cruelty which expels all other races out of the very pale of humanity: whilst our direction of thought, our literature, our languages, concur in uniting the Dominions, Kingdoms, States, Principalities and Powers, composing our Civilized Commonwealth in the Old Continent and the New, with the terrible People through whom that Civilized Commonwealth wields the thunderbolts of the dreadful Monarchy, diverse from all others which preceded amongst mankind.



CHAPTER II.

THE ROMAN LANGUAGE.

Origin of
Language
not the
subject of
human phi-
losophy.

§ 1. HE who breathed into Man's nostrils the breath of life, first opened the lips of Man. Adam first spake when he was solitary. No human ear but his own could hear the sound of the human voice; called into action under the immediate tuition of the Power from whom the faculty emanated.

No new
mode of
Language
since the
confusion
of tongues.

Never since the Lord scattered mankind from the Plain of Shinar, has any distinct mode of Language been evolved. Or, if we place the same consideration under its subjective aspect, each nation and family, the progeny of the Preacher of righteousness, received a peculiar speech, the means and token of their division, but conformable to the talents lent to them for their Creator's service and glory.

Henceforward, until we pass far below the commencement of the period which Palætiologists denominate the *historical period*,—a period so well understood in the philosophical sense as to require no other definition—all enquiries concerning the formation of languages must cease. Excepting from Revelation, it is a thorough delusion to suppose that by our unassisted reason we can ascend to any more ancient condition than the

World now exhibits, or to any past state of the World, for the purpose of discovering the causes which produced the present order of things.—If that knowledge be happiness, there is only One who can bestow it upon man. The materials for colligation possessed by Inductive Philosophy consist only of the facts collected from actual observation or verified experiment, (the latter being in truth merely another expression for observation), and these only admissible upon the assumption that all laws of nature governing the premises are taken into the argument,—that the same laws have acted uniformly during the whole process of operating causes,—and that all correlations have continued unchanged.—The soul cumbered in her veil of flesh, can by her own powers study nothing in material philosophy but the outward appearances, the phenomena which creation now presents, and the working of the laws of nature cognizable through sense, within the sphere appointed for our sojourn. Her striving to know more is rebellion. All essences; all modes of primordial production are completely beyond the compass of human understanding, and utterly unattainable by the researches of human science.

We must not fret at the limit thus assigned to scientific enquiry; Newton did not. Newton was content to abide by it.—Do not call it a miserable limit. It is the immovable limit of human intellect designed by Infinite Wisdom, and to which intel-

No inductions admissible in science except grounded upon observation and experience.

lect must succumb. It is with the mind as with the body. You cannot add one hair to the finite number of the hairs of your head. You cannot increase by one molecule the bulk of your members beyond their measure written in the Book when as yet there was none of them.—We gain nothing by hypotheses of causation, or by speculations concerning the origins of planetary systems, or the former structures of our Globe, or the successive introductions during unnumbered ages of the Earth's vegetations or inhabitants, excepting the exercise and the sport. When we indulge in the pastime, we become like small children striving to gather fruit out of their reach or climb.—We jump and jump, and one of us may be a little taller than the other, or jump a little higher; but the height of the leap is predetermined for each of us by the length and strength of our little limbs. To rise above the mathematical line where the propulsive forces of nerve and muscle are finally conquered by the Earth's attraction is impossible. And clutching our little fists with nothing in them, down we all come again empty-handed to the ground.

Period
during
which
human
languages
were more
flexible
than at
present.

§ 2. The phænomena of our Globe declare that the laws of nature, or the operations of secondary causes, physical or physiological, have not been invariably uniform or absolutely similar; some peculiar to the nascent world, all more intense; the collective life of all classes of animated

beings endued with the vigour and flexibility of individual youth. Species and their varieties seem to have been produced by an inward nîsus which decreased with the advancing age of the world. The like with respect to languages. The process of linguistic formation did not suddenly terminate. A certain degree of vitality in language, now lost to us, was still subsisting; somewhat also of the generative energy of speech, until about the era when the Canon of Holy Scripture was closed by the last mysterious Book of Prophecy.

The miraculous judgment dividing and confusing the human speech into its present alliances and families, working with continued though diminishing cogency, long permitted the diversified classes and orders to retain so much affinity, that words and roots, now seemingly most wide apart, were in their inception so proximate as to enable us, even now, to determine their cognate origin. Can any three languages, cursorily examined, appear more alien to each other than the Cymric, the Latin, and the German?—any three, in which three speakers could less understand each other?—any three groups of words which presented severally, and without interpretation, would look more unconnected than *gmraig*, *virago*, and *frau*? —Yet they are one and the same. Advert to a slight permutation of letters in the first, a softening in the second, and restore the original ortho-

Ancient
identity of
Language
now dis-
sonal, still
percepti-
ble.

graphy to the third ;—*frau* was first spelt *crauch*, and their identity flashes on the mind.

Arnold's
supposition
that Bodeny-
nos, given
as the
name of the
Ply, may be
Celtic.

No small portion of the pleasure accompanying Historical investigation, results from the stimulus afforded by the attempts to expound the dark riddles of past ages: the more difficult the problem, the greater the interest attending its solution. Imperfect are the data upon which the Etymologist investigates the early history of the great Teutonic and Celtic families, somewhat more extensive than the two words which include the whole pith of the Pictish controversy, but not very much more: he has to deal with scattered, scanty, and unsatisfactory materials, usually a name of town, mountain, or river, misheard by the stranger, mis-read by the author, or corrupted by the transcriber. *Bodenkos*, as we are told by Polybius, was the name given to the Po: *fundo carens*, is Pliny's interpretation. Metrodorus informs us that it was a Ligurian word. Is it not Celtic? for there was a town *Bodincomagus*—and we are asked whether *bodenkos* can be explained from the Celtic tongues? Read *bodenlos*—amend the penman's error, and you will have a pure German term.

Catholic
Altars
found be-
neath the
High
Altar of
Notre-
Dame,

Then we have inscriptions, so curious, so tempting as to be susceptible of almost any direction which the Philologist may choose. Take, for instance, the votive monuments buried beneath the Eucharistic Altar of Notre-Dame, and brought



to light again as trophies of triumphant Christianity. These stones, with their rude imagery, are coeval records of the language, the faith, the nationality of Paris, when Tiberius ruled the Empire. You see on one the Ship, the symbol of the Waterman's Guild, adopted as the armorial bearing of Lutetia, retained by Paris in her shield notwithstanding every vicissitude, every change of people, religion, state, and monarchy, the heraldic emblem which has outlasted the banner of Saint Louis. On another, you observe three birds: you may count their number—so does the inscription, which also tells you their species, *trigaranus*.

And of what race were the Parisian Gauls? *Tri* Ambiguity of the linguistic evidence they afford. is what its sound suggests, *three* in the Teutonic dialects, *three* in the Celtic, and how far shall we pursue the numeral through every branch of the Caucasian family?—And the *garan* is first cousin if not brother to the crane of the German, the crane of the Cymri, the crane of the Greek, and how many more?—And when we hear of the Gaulish fane, which, from its iron portals, was called *Isarnodor*, the sounds, so intelligible to the English ear, do not impart any certain information concerning the nationality of the tribes to whom they belonged.

§ 3. Fourteen centuries have elapsed since the authority of the Roman Emperors ceased in Britain, yet scarcely does the farmer's ploughshare ever furrow the soil where a Roman City has flou- Efforts made by the Romans for the purpose of compelling the nations to adopt the Latin.

Stukeley's
supposition
that the
Romans
buried their
coins pur-
posely as
memorials.

rished, or the stern Roman castramentation controlled the land,—whether the down or heath be still surrounded by the vallum, or the memory of the station preserved by the Notitia or the Itinerary,—without turning up the medals bearing the laurelled head, the weeping captive, the trophy, or the triumphal car, the tokens of Rome's sovereignty.—The husbandman's toil, the infant's busy hand, the excavator's pickaxe, the crumbling cliff, the rush of the rain, have constantly disclosed the Roman hoard during fourteen centuries; and yet that hoard seems as inexhaustible as if throughout the whole length and breadth of our Island the coin germinated in the ground. So vast are the quantities, that the imaginative Antiquary, baffled when he attempted to ascribe their multitude and dispersion to accident or chance, suggested the theory of design—the Romans, as our Archæologist tells us, purposely sowed and buried their mintage in the glebe, to the end that future ages might receive continual manifestations of their almost super-human power. Fanciful as the theory may be, accept it as an expression of the effect produced upon the mind by the irresistible instinct which impelled the Romans to build in all things for historical eternity.

Such have been the results of the endeavours made by the Romans to impose their language upon the vassal world. The mastery of language

is the mastery of thought. They strove for that mastery, gained it, kept it, keep it: they, dead and gone, that Empire still is theirs. They would fain compel the subject nations to adopt their Latian speech; and the conquered obeyed, accepting the enjoined conformity as a high privilege, a bond of union, the creation of a new nationality.

The general submission of the Provinces is rendered the more conspicuous by the exceptions.

The Semitic races resisted the Japhetic influence: perish they may, but they cannot change.

Proconsuls and Prætors of Numidia might promulgate their decrees in Latin; but though Carthage was deleted, Thimiliga and Themetra retained their Suffetes, their Judges, who prided themselves upon their ancient patronymics, Hanno or Asdrubal, whilst the community retained their primeval tongue. Augustine acquired the Latin as the language of education; but when the peasantry of Hippo were interrogated who they were,—“Canaanites are we—*Canaani-anachnu*,”—was the reply—unchanged from their Punic ancestry.

The influence of the Latin language resisted by the Semitic races and the Greeks.

Beggarly starving Greece, cringing beneath the yoke, flexible as the reed, complied grudgingly, unwillingly, awkwardly, partially conforming when sustaining the pressure, but casting away the dialect of her Masters whom she dared not call Barbarians,—though she thought so in her heart—as soon as the pressure was removed.

—Greece testified her deep disgust by the rejection of Latin literature. Love of knowledge might tempt a Greek to consult the Latin Historian. Convenience, duty, interest, or the desire of advancement, compelled the Græculus to study the Roman Jurist; but he would have nothing to do with the language of Rome as the source of intellectual pleasure. It is more than doubtful whether any existing Latin manuscripts, excepting the magnificent volumes of the Pandects, exhibit the hand of a Greek Scribe. Stamboul does not know less or care less of or for Virgil and Horace, than Constantinople under the Comnenian family.

But the partial repulse which the Latin received from the Hellenic and Semitic provincials, to whom we must also add the sturdy Celtiberians and the Celts of Armorica, was far more than compensated by the success attending the Roman policy in all other portions of the Continental Empire. All the primitive dialects of Tuscany, Liguria, or Umbria, all national tongues of the Transpadane regions, all the linguistic memorials of the Boian and Insubrian were consumed by the dominant language. The Latin penetrated into the deepest recesses of the Cottian and Rhetian Alps, became naturalized in Dacia, firmly implanted amongst the rude Sardis, and covered the Gauls. The Teutonic languages of the Barbarians who inherited the Imperial

authority melted away before the language honoured by the purple—and the term *Latinitas* was adopted as the synonym of Western Christendom. The Ripuarian Franks assimilated themselves to the Romans: the Salic judges who administered the laws of Arbogast and Widogast attempted to record the Doom of the Mallum, like the Magistrate disciplined by the forensic labours of the Roman Colony; and the “Malberg glosses,” so perplexing to the philologist, rendered the national code intelligible to the Barbarian, who sustained a new subjection under his native Sovereign.

Latinitas
the name
given in the
Middle
Ages to
Western
Christen-
dom.

Rarely, if ever, did the Barbarian Conqueror dare, when acting as a Ruler, to speak his native language: he endangered his Royal caste unless he comported himself like a Roman on the throne: the very sound of the Latin language implied supremacy and command. The Latin was the only recognized vehicle of official business in the Romano-Barbarian States: the Sovereigns of Teutonic blood promulgated their laws, asserted their prerogative, bestowed their bounties, or rebuked their people in the language of the Cæsars. Capitulars, Statutes, Rescripts, Charters, all public documents are written in Latin. Until the collapse of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, no Chancellor of an Anglo-Saxon King or Basileus, ever repudiated the precedent derived from the Scribes and Notaries who had sat behind the

General
adoption of
the Latin
by the
Barbarian
Conquer-
ors.

gilded barrier at the feet of the Emperor. With this exception, if it be one—for we may conjecture that the vernacular Charters are authentic versions of a Latin text, nor are we certain whether the Latin texts of our Anglo-Saxon laws may not have been the originals,—the Latin continued to be the living language of the State, the instrument of reasoning, the predominating vehicle of thought. When the Norman ruled in England and the Capetian in France, the Latin language constituted the educational test and token distinguishing the plebeian orders from the aristocracy of rank and talent.

The
Romana
Rustica.

§ 4. Hitherto we have principally adverted to the effects produced by Sovereignty; but Rome was to be aided by auxiliaries more mighty than her wisdom. The Roman language was destined to conquer an intellectual Empire, through the medium and by the co-operation of the Peasant, the Colonus, the Freed-man, the Stranger, the Slave, the Jew, the Christian, the Bishop, the Priest, the Deacon, the Faithful, the Catechumen, the Confessor, the Martyr, invested moreover with varied forms, altered influences,—powers unpremeditated, unforeseen, unattainable by any device which human wit could have framed.

Whilst the *Urbane Latin*, the *Lingua Nobilis* of Quintilian, the Latin flourishing in the Augustan Age, was employed by all the cultivated

classes, there existed by her side a sister, a rival, and yet a friend, constantly making inroads upon the classical territory. This was the Language known as the *Sermo pedestris*, the *Sermo simplex*, the *Lingua Rustica*, or *Ruralis*, severed into various cognate dialects, plainer in construction, not accentuated as in the tribune; some sounds elided, others exaggerated, divested of many inflections now found in the Latin language, as the latter became modelled by processes to us unknown, and fixed by the rules which the Grammarians laid down. A remarkable characteristic of the Latin language in the earlier age was its mutability. The hymns of the Salian priests became, after an interval of five hundred years, utterly unintelligible to the Romans; and, though in an opposite direction, ten times more distant from Cicero's language than the Norman dialect of Master Wace's *Roman du Rou* is from Cicero.

Some remains of the *Lingua Rustica* are extant in sepulchral inscriptions, which, however, exhibit this common parlance rather according to an amended or artificial form: that is to say, they shew an attempt to write Latin, but a Latin yielding to the pronunciation and idiom of the *Volgare* of the land. Not less remarkable is the existence of a Roman dialect in the parts of Dacia now constituting the modern Wallachia, where the language seems to have been perpe-

Idea of the
Lingua
Rustica,
afforded
by the in-
scriptions,
and the
Daco-
Roman
dialect of
Wallachia.

tuated from Trajan's Legions, settled as feudatories in the Kingdom of Decebalus. Strangely disguised by Greek, Turkish and Sclavonian intermixtures, the Romanian or Daco-Roman, nevertheless, still displays a close affinity to the South-Appenine dialects of Modern Italy. When cleared from these additions, the Daco-Roman language approximates to the Roman *volgare* spoken by Rienzi, soft and euphonic, though uncongenial to Dante's taste and dissonant to his ears. Anyhow, the before-mentioned specimens and fragments afford some notion of the *Romana Rustica* during the Imperial Age. Dante reckoned fourteen principal dialects of the *Volgare*, whilst, as he says, those of inferior consequence were countless. The Bolognesi of the *Strada Maggiore* spoke otherwise than those of the *Borgo San' Felice*. Italy was unquestionably circumstanced under the Roman domination nearly as she is now: a variety of dialects flourishing in each locality, concurrent with one predominating language, which, consecrated to literature, afforded throughout the Peninsula the means of common intercourse.

Influence of
the hostile
and pro-
liferation
population
upon lan-
guage.

§ 5. Whilst the Romans triumphed in all the merciless insolence of baneful prosperity, another nation writhed in ceaseless anguish amongst and beneath them, the vast nation of slaves, the crime, the cancer, and ultimately the punishment of Rome, constantly recruited by fresh captives,



hundreds, and thousands, and myriads, and chiliads, and millions.—The delicate matron and tender damsel of Corinth, the grey-haired Senator of Epirus, the athletic Goth, the blue-eyed Teuton, the supple Sarmatian, the accomplished Lydian, the Greek emparadised by luxury and intellect, the Barbarian who had ranged in the free delights of mountain and steppe, forest and wave, swept away from every country which had been lacerated by the fangs of the Roman wolf, or torn by the beak of the Roman eagle, fit symbols of Roman power.

Each miserable importation, circumstanced like the Africans in European settlements, could only obtain an imperfect knowledge of the language of their tyrants. Filling every employment, from the lowest to the highest, swarming in every villa, congregating in every atrium, chained to every rich man's door, their modes of speech accustomed every ear to their locution and infected the vernacular tongue. This servile talk would readily combine with the vulgarisms of the mob, the proletarian populace of the great cities, but most especially of that foul Capital: the vicious pronunciations, the clipt vocables, the solecisms and blunders, the slang and cant, the obscenity and ruffianism, the corruptions of language corresponding to the debasement of the mind.

In the midst of this dinning tumult of tongues, the Classical Latin, the Latin of the standard au-

Influence
of these
vulgar dia-
lects at
Rome.
Latin
taught to
children
of good
families.

thors, the Latin of literature, the Grammar Latin, retreating amongst the higher orders of society, struggled for existence. So actively pervading were the deteriorated dialects at Rome, that constant exertions were required to preserve the children of good families from the vernacular which constituted the language of the masses. Latin did not come by nature at Rome, any more than Greek. Both were languages of education; both required to be bought and taught.—To this effect are the instructions given by Saint Jerome, in his most curious letter to Læta, containing a complete system of education: his precautions for securing the infant against the colloquial language of the nurse, being scarcely less stringent than those which might be considered needful for Calcutta at the present day. Saint Jerome was any thing rather than a precisian in style, but he was anxious that Læta's daughter should speak honestly, as fitted her station, a Christian gentlewoman.

The
military
dialect
of the
Barbarian
auxiliaries.

§ 6. A third powerful agency of mutation resulted from the employment of barbarian auxiliaries, half taught, well trained, very useful, though dangerous members of the Empire's military strength. The broken Greek of the Scythian Bow-bearer at Athens, was probably scarcely worse than the Latin mangled by the Illyrian or Tungrian Legionary. The promotion of their Chieftains to station and consequence did



not necessitate any increase in liberal cultivation. Merobaudes, the Frank, who held so high a command in the Imperial army, inscribing his despatches upon his waxen tablets, (supposing he could write), would produce a Latin, rivalling in purity the French of Marshal Saxe. A military dialect must thus have been formed in and about the camps and stations of the Empire; the more readily, from the circumstance that the *Romana Rustica* prevailed amongst the armies. Though in regular Latin,—or at least corrected into Latin by the Historian,—the camp-song chanted by Aurelian's soldiery sounds exceedingly like the burden of a Mediæval popular ballad.

Nor are we without examples of similar medleys in more recent times. From the commixture of the Mahometan invaders with the Hindoos, arose the language which we call Hindoostanee, a name conveying no distinct idea; whereas its native denomination, *Ordoo Zabaun*, the speech of the Camp, the tongue of the Horde, commemorates its origin. In like manner, a military language, resulting from a rude and clumsy eclecticism, appeared in the *Grande Armée*; to which they gave the name of *Parler-soldat*. Its basis was the vernacular French of the Capital, but exceedingly deteriorated and amply vocabularized from the other languages of the mixed hosts whom Napoleon had assembled: this jargon became the medium of mutual communication

The *Ordoo Zabaun* of Hindostan such a military dialect, also the *Parler-soldat* of the *Grande Armée*.

between Polish Lancer and Lombard Carabineer, Swabian Boor and Parisian Garde.

Changes
produced
by pro-
gress of
Society.

§ 7. All the before-mentioned agencies and impulses were, however, subordinate to the *primum mobile*, the orb in which they were universally involved. The subject of language, the instrument, but also the restraint of thought, is endless. The history of language, the mouth speaking from the fulness of the heart, is the history of human action, faith, art, policy, government, virtue, and crime. When society progresses, the language of the people necessarily runs even with the line of society. You cannot unite past and present; still less can you bring back the past: moreover, the law of progress is the law of storms; it is impossible to inscribe an immutable statute of language on the periphery of a vortex, whirling as it advances. Every political development induces a concurrent alteration or expansion in conversation and composition. New principles are generated, new authorities introduced; new terms for the purpose of explaining or concealing the conduct of public men must be created: new responsibilities arise. The evolution of new ideas renders the change as easy as it is irresistible, being a natural change indeed, like our own voice under varying emotions, or in different periods of life: the boy cannot speak like the baby, nor the man like the boy: the wooer speaks otherwise than the hus-

Effect of
political
revolutions
upon lan-
guage.



band; and every alteration in circumstances—fortune or misfortune, health or sickness, prosperity or adversity, produces some corresponding change of speech or inflexion of tone.

In French, the language of the *Ancien Régime* has been revolutionized with the State. English Constitutional language created by the Commonwealth. Bossuet or Fenelon, Montesquieu, Helvetius, and the Patriarch of Ferney all together, could not have supplied *incivisme* or *tricolor*. Our English Parliamentary or Constitutional language dates from the Commonwealth, since which period our political vocabulary has continued enriching itself by every alternation of party, or fluctuation of national feeling. We have gained so much upon the old Heroes of our language, that their panoply would be insufficient in the day of battle. Did we determine to employ in political discussion no other words or expressions than those warranted by judicious Hooker or sagacious Verulam, we should be utterly at fault. We might as well attempt to make observations upon Jupiter's Satellites with a Gorhambury astrolabe. The sonorous periods of old Whitehall would so stiffen and starch a despatch, that the subject-matter could never be opened. Nay, were Burke to re-appear in the House, and be restricted to the phraseology consecrated by his own oratory, he would feel himself no less ill at ease than if attired in his silk coat, silk stockings, hair-bag, buckles, and sword.

Acquisitions of knowledge, improvements in science, commerce, manufactures, and arts, are still more creative: you must invent new words and phrases in sequence of every new invention. Let the Teachers who, with the best possible intentions advise us to draw exclusively from the well of English undefiled, try to follow their own counsel, and they will find the water utterly inadequate to supply the consumption of a single steam-engine boiler. No European people may seem better able to depend upon their own resources than the Germans, possessing in their language such treasures of words, and retaining the most unfettered powers of combination; yet so delicate are the shades of ideas, that in order to express the productions of English ingenuity and the fruits of English partizanship, they are driven to borrow from our own poor and comparatively unphilosophical compound:—*Locomotive*, *Conservative* and *Radical*, are all taken in bodily, and printed in German type as testimonies, that from us, the things, the ideas, and the words have been derived.

Since the time of Royal Rome, Republican Rome had been seething with social and political revolutions. It is a mystery how the Latin settled into its present form between the dates of Numa and of Ennius. The grammatical cultivation of the language could not stop the utilitarian march of neology.—Old and successful

practitioners always dislike new modes of treatment.—Cicero could not abide these innovations. He complains how rarely good Latin could be heard, especially amongst the Roman Ladies: not half a dozen, he says, of whom his wife's mother Lælia was one, spake correctly. In like manner the corruptions of colloquial language, even in the tribune, excite Quintilian's complaints: and truly, if Cicero believed that the standard of language was to be found in any past era, he must have sorrowed at contributing himself to the formation of a new tongue. It would have been impossible for Rome to keep out from her own territory, the influence of the foreign nations with whom she was connected by war or by peace; who resorted to the Capital for the purpose of profiting by her traffic, her splendour, her contamination. Had the Ager Romanus been surrounded by a wall of brass, each generation would have been compelled in old age to learn a new language unknown to youth.

Censures raised by Cicero and Quintilian upon the popular corruptions of the Latin.

All around was in mutation: the Roman machinery of government and administration had been in continued development. The whole frame and organization of the Empire was constructed and reconstructed. No one could or would mind Quintilian in common life: the physician, the rhetor, the jurisconsult, the artist, the trader, were constantly inviting new words into Roman citizenship. The stanch conservative

Mutations of the Latin during the Lower Empire.

Patriot might object and protest against this influx—but the people, having heard him in respectful silence, admitted, without discussion, the strangers to the civic freedom. Hence arose the eight or nine thousand words now banished *en masse* by the Lexicographer beyond the end of his alphabet, stigmatized and disgraced as barbarous, and against which the Student is warned. This so called barbarous nomenclature is, however, completely different in character from the matter which forms the staple of mediæval glossaries. Very few of the words are derived from Teutonic roots, being principally adaptations from the Greek, technological terms, names of plants and other natural objects, and Latin words applied in unclassical senses, and inflected or expanded in unclassical but useful and significant forms. But whoever considers this Vocabulary without reference to classical authority, will acknowledge that it contains a most valuable addition to the old store, evidently created by the alterations which Roman Society sustained.

Christian-
ity most
influential
in altering
the Latin
language.

§ 8. And this leads us to the result, that, supposing the Roman Empire had continued to subsist in unbroken succession, untouched by Barbarian power, Rome still purely and prosperously Roman, the Cæsars still Cæsars, no otherwise altered by effluxion of time than the London of Queen Victoria is altered from the



London of Queen Anne, yet the introduction of Christianity would have given a new language to the Roman World. Faint as the national Faith of the Romans had become, yet it nevertheless was a constituent element of their language and literature. When the oracles were silenced, the intellectual power of Paganism was vanquished—her intellectual genius prepared to depart:—Heathen art, science, and literature, were smitten with slow but irremediable atrophy. Now Teachers of the Gospel hostile to Heathen learning. began the diffusion of the Gospel, preached at Rome by the poor to the poor. Of the teachers, many were Orientals, to whom the Latin was in all respects a strange language, a disagreeable language: alien to their customs, opinions, and habits of thought. They were scarcely acquainted • with Latin Grammar, certainly ignorant of its elegancies. The Christian Church turned away from all the liberal learning of the Heathen; it was included in their sphere of unmitigated antipathies. For Heathen learning was permeated by that Idolatry which they hated with a perfect hatred, a feeling unallayed so long as primitive purity and fervour prevailed.


The application of this historical fact to the dealings of the dark and middle ages with respect to Science and Literature and Art, must be reserved. We now advert to these sentiments merely with reference to their operation upon language. The Apostolical Constitutions Books of the Gentiles prohibited by the Apostolic Constitutions. prohi-

bited all books of the Gentiles, and the works of the Classical Writers were generally neglected by the Christian Church during the decline of the Roman Empire, even when not absolutely condemned.

Individuals might not all be equally uncompromising. Some, inclining to the ways of the world, viewed Classical Literature with greater toleration; but on one point, Christendom was compelled to act uniformly and consistently. Urbane Latin, Classical Latin, was not convenient for ecclesiastical ministrations. The forms of speech prevailing amongst the early Christian congregations are partially evidenced by the Catacomb inscriptions—a frequent intermixture of bastardized Greek, exhibiting also the adoption of the Greek character for Latin words. For all composition in the higher sense, the Epistle, the Apology, the Commentary, the vocabulary of Pagan Rome was inadequate. Neither the doctrines nor the ceremonies nor the mysteries of Christianity could be taught, celebrated, or performed otherwise than through a complete modification of the Classical language. Christianity, for her own high duties, created her own language, breathing a new spirit into the tongue employed in Liturgical compositions, Prayer or Collect, Hymn or Psalm.

Classical
Latin
inadequate
to the
wants of
Christian
Literature.

The rules of grammar were therefore relaxed, syntax disregarded, popular idioms introduced



whenever custom or sense required them.—“It is our business,” says Saint Augustine, “to be intelligible. What care I for the ferula of the Schoolmaster? I despise him.”—Saint Augustine was quite right. Few folks have occasioned more injury to literature than the martinets of language: those who think correctly must often speak incorrectly. A noun, never before introduced into genteel company, will shine a gem if you are bold enough to set it in the Dictionary. The mind supplies the want of grammatical coherence: the language of feeling cannot follow injunctions or seek for precedents: an unauthorized phrase embodies your sentiments and becomes the vehicle of your meaning, with a strength and a logical precision which the code imposed by an Academy quenches and destroys. Whenever the era arrives in which artificial rules for style or language are accurately laid down and painfully obeyed, then literature is approaching her climacteric; the Doctor’s prescriptions accelerate the Patient’s decrepitude. Quintilian aided the decline of Latin genius, the *Cruscantì* condemned Tuscany to hopeless ineptitude.

§ 9. Classical Latin was peculiarly inapplicable to the most important literary labours of the Western Church during her earlier ages—the versions of the Holy Scriptures. As an exemplification, compare any passage of the Vulgate with the modern texts in which purity or

Saint Augustine justifies his grammatical inaccuracies.

Translations of the Holy Scriptures, their influence upon language.

Peculiar
need for
translations
of the
Scriptures
in the
Western
Church.

classical correctness has been attempted, Castellio or Beza—the Ten Commandments travestied in the style of the Twelve Tables. These translations exercised a most lively influence, not only upon the dogma, but the intellect of the Latins, and assisted in evolving many of the essential differences between them and the Orientals. To the Eastern Churches, Hellenic, Semitic, or mixed, the Holy Scriptures were readily accessible. They possessed the Septuagint, and also the ancient Aramean translations of the Old Testament; together with the original text of the New Testament, in the language of the majority. It was otherwise in the Latin Church: Greek was only understood by the educated minority, Hebrew and Chaldee hardly at all. Many translations of the Greek Scriptures were therefore made and circulated, but those of the Hebrew were innumerable. These productions, though prompted by sincere zeal, were inaccurate or imperfect; and the deficiencies of the current versions stimulated the Ezra of the Western Church to undertake his vast labour of love.

Transla-
tion, an in-
tellectual
labour.

For obvious reasons, we here discuss the Vulgate merely as a literary monument. Translation, under any circumstances, is an intellectual process of considerable complexity. Trade hackwork is of course out of the question; but whenever the interpreter feels the obligation of throwing mind into mind, he must be

able to give a true copy, though employing different pigments. Every language has its own mode of colouring thoughts, which cannot be transferred to another canvas, except by the substitution of equivalents; and this requires a peculiar talent, scarcely less rare than the endowments which qualify for original composition of a high order. Saint Jerome prepared himself for the task of interpretation, by his prayerful life-long application to Holy Writ. Without discarding the helps he could derive from his predecessors, he determined to work for himself and think for himself, making his Version honestly, substantially and completely from the originals. Hard and fast had Saint Jerome to labour. There were no Hebrew Dictionaries in those days, no Grammars, no Thesauri, none of the Desk and Closet-helps for philological study. No easy "Ladders to Learning," leaning against the library shelves. No well-stored cribs out of which you may pull the provender, all ready cut and dried for you, when you wish to cram and be filled. No wholesale warehouses where you can fit yourself out with erudition ready-made or second-hand. Saint Jerome had no means of acquiring the needful knowledge otherwise than by settling in Palestine, where, obtaining oral instruction, he learned the Hebrew, Arabic and Syrian or Chaldee tongues.

Saint Jerome acquires the Oriental languages by oral instruction.

In the whole compass of literary history, there is not a Chapter more interesting than that which could be made out of Jerome's correspondence concerning the Vulgate;—the criticisms which the Author sustained, disturbed even a Saint's temper. "If I had taken," says he, "to the making of mats or baskets, no one would have found fault with me." He had many troubles in journeys, in exertions for obtaining good manuscripts, and the like, but all such contrarieties weighed very little upon his mind, compared with the philological or literary difficulties he found in rendering the Word of God accessible to the multitude. He had to convey the truth, strength and simplicity of the Holy Scriptures, into a language, which, representing the original, would be so far conformable to the taste of the educated classes as not to offend by homeliness; but he could not help creating a new dialect: even the attention he paid to the collocation of words cut new channels for the Latin language.

Language
of the Vul-
gate, its
influence
upon me-
diæval li-
terature.

Our translations of the Holy Scriptures effected a great change in the English language after the Reformation. The Vulgate acted upon the Classical and urbane Latin in the same sort, but far more energetically. Not only did it become the main standard for ecclesiastical Latin, but for the general Latin of literature, inasmuch as the Holy Scriptures constituted the basis of all study. Scriptural Knowledge was transfused into the

“humanities” as the renovating life-blood. In the Catalogues of mediæval Libraries, the Books of the Holy Scriptures usually constitute the greater number of the volumes; and in their compositions the words and phrases of the Vulgate are so constantly interwoven as to shew that Saint Jerome’s Latin was the language in which the writers thought.

§ 10. All the foregoing causes in their various stages, capacities, and developements, co-operated in diffusing the Roman dialects throughout the Empire. From the Latin, mediately or immediately, all the principal modern languages of the European Commonwealth, Cis-atlantic or Transatlantic,—excepting those of direct Slavonian or Teutonic origin—are derived. All bore the Roman or Latin name : they never renounced their ancestry ; never were considered otherwise than as subsidiary dialects. Four are the languages included in the Latin, said the Canon of St. Andrew’s, “Church Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish.”—*In lingua Latina continentur Ecclesiastica, Italica, Gallica et Hispanica*—or, if we adopt the slightly-differing classification which Dante has made, the *grammar* or *school Latin*, the “*Lingua del sì*,” the “*Lingua d’oc*,” and the “*Lingua d’oil*,” which last three denominations may fairly be assumed to represent the three great divisions of the Romance tongue.

Fordun’s
classifica-
tion of the
Latin
dialects.

We avoid the controversy of absolute pri-

ority: that is to say, which of these dialects first assumed a regular form. Were there no other reason, the absence of evidence must ever render the discussion, eminent as those writers are who have engaged in it, utterly unprofitable. Even the accessible materials have scarcely received a sufficient degree of philological care. As matters now stand, we actually want an edition of the *Divina Commedia*, representing the text according to the grammar and orthography which the Poet himself employed. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that almost all the Barbarians, —Visigoth, Frank, Burgundian, Mæso Goth, Lombard, who settled in the Italian and Iberian peninsulas and the Gauls, forgot or disused their original dialects about the conclusion of the ninth Century.

The Visigoths were probably amongst the earliest who abandoned their ancestral language. Pelayo, in the cavern of Covadonga spake the Romance of Toledo, which was, as it still is, amongst the least altered of the daughters of Rome. The Franks rushed into the adoption of the Roman language. The Merovingian Sovereigns were shamed out of Teutonic barbarity. German was the mother-tongue of Charlemagne and Louis le Debonnaire, but Latin was equally familiar to them. The Court of the Carlovingians afforded small protection to Teutonic feeling when the Sovereign held his state upon

813.
Canon of
the Council
of Tours,
directing
the Bishop

Gaulish or Belgic soil. The encreasing importance of the Romance language is indicated by a memorable Canon passed in the Council convened by Charlemagne at Tours, equally representing Eastern France and Western France, Austrasia and Neustria, Germany and the Gauls. The Bishops throughout the Transalpine Empire were enjoined to be diligent in preaching, and to take care that their discourses should be rendered either into *Romana Rustica*, or into *Theotisc* or *Deutsch*, to the end that all might understand. If there be any doubt as to the circumstances which suggested this regulation, they are soon removed. A singular combination of events and persons connected with a great European era, enables us to ascertain precisely the period when the chief body of the Frankish races, inhabiting the territory which afterwards became the kingdom of France, had in great measure, if not completely, abandoned their native Teutonic, so that the *Lingua Romana* ruled as their preponderating national language.

After the dreadful battle of Fontenai in Burgundy, Fontenai near Vezelay, the field of hatred where Charles-le-Chauve and Louis-le-Germanique, combining against their brother Lothar and their nephew, the adventurous, unhappy Pepin of Aquitaine, gained a victory more destructive to themselves than to the vanquished, they held a Congress at Strasburg for the corro-

to preach
in Romana
Rustica, or
in German.

841.
June 25.
Battle of
Fontenai
between
Charles-le-
Chauve
and Louis-
le-Ger-
manique
against
Lothar and
Pepin of
Aquitaine.

842.
Feb. 14.
Conven-
tion of
Stras-
burg,
Roman
language
employed
in the di-
plomatic
proceed-
ings.

Import-
ance of
these docu-
ments, ex-
hibiting the
Romance
language
fully deve-
loped.

boration of the alliance. The proceedings were solemn: each monarch addressed his soldiery in his and their own tongue; that is to say, Charles in the *Lingua Romana*, Louis in the *Lingua Teudisca*, or *Deutsch*. The compact was then confirmed by mutual oaths; but in this stage of the transaction, the whole negotiations being conducted with the most guarded diplomatic caution, the contracting sovereigns counterchanged. Charles swore in *Deutsch*, Louis in *Roman*. Lastly, when the armies concurred in the obligation, then the two nations severally made their declarations in their vernacular language, the army of Louis in *Deutsch*, the army of Charles in *Roman*. We know their very words, and we may equally discern in these pure and authentic specimens, respectively, the most intelligible High German, and the decided characteristics of the Roman language as exhibited in the translation of the Conqueror's Laws, which, though certainly not coeval, belongs to an early era of the Anglo-Norman dynasty.

Fontenai and Strasburg thus furnish one of the most important passages in Modern History: Germany and France arrayed against each other as severed states, distinct nations, the documents exemplifying each language fully formed, and transmitted to us, not casually or incorrectly, but by the best informed and most competent witness, nay, actor. The Chronicler who has pre-

served these precious evidences textually,—and so accurately, that, despite of the corruptions of transcribers which usually deform all similar fragments, scarcely a syllable is doubtful,—being Nithardus, grandson of Charlemagne through Bertha, his fair daughter, who contracted a clandestine marriage with Angelbert, the lay-abbot of St. Riquier, Count of Maritime France or Ponthieu, also a Chronicler. Nithardus, who succeeded to his father's dignities, was engaged in all the transactions and battles which he narrates. The history from which we transcribe is dedicated by him to King Charles, his cousin. Fresh dissensions arose: Nithardus vainly endeavoured to reconcile his kinsmen; and, unable to succeed, he quitted the Court in sorrow, and retired to his command, where a violent death—he was slain by the Northmen—prevented the completion of his most valuable annals. They end abruptly, and therefore without any colophon; but he notices an obscuration of the Sun (called by him an Eclipse) which happened whilst he was writing at Saint Cloud on the Loire—*dum hæc super Ligerim juxta Sanctum Chloaldum consistens scriberem*—on Sunday the fifteenth of the Kalends of November, whereby the date of the composition is fixed at about four years after the battle of Fontenai; this being the only concurrence of the same days between the battle and his death, so that he bears

Nithardus
the Count
of Maritime
France, and
grandson
of Charle-
magne—
value of his
historical
testimony.

845.
18 Oct.
Obscuration of the
Sun noticed
by Nithar-
dus as hav-
ing hap-
pened
whilst he
was writ-
ing.

witness to the events whilst they were quite fresh in his memory. Moreover, there is every reason to suppose that the addresses, oaths, and declarations, were prepared by Nithardus when fruitlessly endeavouring to tranquillize the fatal discord.

Modifica-
tions of
the Roman
dialects
from pro-
nunciation,
&c.

§ 11. The propagation of language has been not unaptly pourtrayed by the Indian fig-tree: the branches dropping to the ground and taking root, the parent trunk surrounded by the progeny. The progress of the Romanesque languages was not entirely unobstructed; in some few spots the branches did not strike or vegetate, though we are unable to define the peculiarly uncongenial quality of the soil. How it happened that the *Sedici Comuni* and the *Tredici Comuni*, the neighbours of Verona and Vicenza, contrived to retain their Lombard-German, as they do to this very day—why they never would learn to talk Romance—no Philologist can tell; and this difficulty equally applies to some less noted Communities of the same blood, settled on the Italian side of the Monte Rosa. Moreover, many anomalies and unaccountabilities accompanied the growth, the flowering, and the fructification of the branches which flourished in the Empire. We can scarcely guess at the mental process leading to the general formation of the Romance vocabulary, rather from the oblique cases than the nominative: nor understand wherefore the Spaniard abbreviated *Do-*

minus into *Don'*, whilst *Domina* was decapitated into '*Na*, by the Provençal.

Physical differences of organization contributed largely to these changes; the susceptibility of the ear, the action of the tongue, agencies so obvious and yet so perplexing, not merely on account of their uniformity, but of their mutations—powers gained, altered, lost. As usual, ratiocination fails. Ask the Physiologist to explain why the modern Greek cannot follow his letter *Alpha* by a *Beta*; or why our Anglo-Saxon letter *Thorn*, once common to all the Teutonic nations, should now be rejected by all except the Icelanders and ourselves; nay, why the Dane, who could enunciate the letter *Thorn* or *Theta* before the Sceptre passed to the House of Oldenburg, should have lost the faculty with the new dynasty.

With respect to the manner in which this cause operated, a familiar exposition may be afforded by the names of places. The Frank thickened the *Confluentes* of Rhine and Moselle into *Coblentz*, whilst perhaps before that Frank arrived on the borders of the Seine, *Julia bona* ran into *Lillebonne*.—The inhabitant of the Alpine valley elided *Augusta* into *Aosta*;—the Celtic Gaul condensed *Augustodunum* into *Autun*;—the Iberian amalgamated *Cæsarea-Augusta* into *Saragossa*. And thus the preference for one sound, the dislike of another, the rapidity or slovenliness of pronunciation, the slowness or

Mutations
of the
power of
pronunciation.

Examples
of the
alterations
sustained
by the
Roman
names of
places.

liveliness of the speaker, helped to model each dialect of the Romance into its peculiar form. Yet never were the Latin words swamped by Teutonisms, or so altered or mutilated as to be undistinguishable. It is an easy *tour-de-force*, even now, to compose an Italian Sonnet or a Spanish Ode, in which every word should be purely Latin. All the languages thus developed continued true to their source. Some yet exist with scarcely any variation from their earliest age, such as the common dialect of the Sardinian peasantry. Others, more favoured, have expanded into richness, harmony, power. Science, art, and literature have only brought them nearer to their original parentage : the building has been enlarged with materials from the native quarry, and each addition has strengthened the pristine character.

Predominance of the Latin character in all the Neo-Latin Dialects.

Geographical diffusion of the Neo-Latin Dialects.

The mutations distinguishing the Neo-Romane dialects from the ancient speech of Latium have been gradual and unintermitted, never concealing their identity. They have allied themselves to Rome's recollections, her poets, her historians, her laws. Vast as was the dominion of the Imperial Mother, they have exceeded that dominion. No longer bounded by the Ocean, they spread over the globe ; and in Europe, Asia, and the New World an hundred million of those who profess the Christian faith, speak the languages derived from Rome.



§ 12. The first amongst these dialects which became the language of literature, obtained an intellectual authority still retained by her, approaching to an œcumenical Empire. It is the language, concerning us most and nearest, as Anglo-Saxons, Anglo-Normans, or Englishmen, the language of our ancient jurisprudence and laws, the Romance, which, somewhat mistakenly called by the name of Norman, produced the French of the present age. Long before the Conqueror landed at Hastings, his language, the language of his fathers, the language of Roman Normandy, had prevailed in the Anglo-Saxon Court; so early that when Louis d'Outremer returned from England to ascend the Carolingian throne, he could speak none other than that idiom furnishing the epithet indicating his fortunes. And the constant intercourse between Anglo-Saxon England and Normandy fostered the strange speech; the language of fashion, the language conciliating affections, introducing ideas, and clearing the way for the new dynasty.

Preponderating influence and power of the *Langue d'Oïl*, the basis of the modern French language.

Early cultivation of the French language by the Anglo-Saxons.

Greeks and Romans marvelled at the strange and uncouth symbolical representation of the Gaulish Hercules, the Hercules Ogmius, the god of Eloquence, a decrepit old man, conquering without bodily strength, and leading the multitude by the chains of gold and silver fastened to their ears. The French have realized that symbol:—without exertion, without effort, but

The charm of the Roman French.

987.
War-cry
raised in
French
by the
Germans.

1200—1300.
French
cultivated
in Norway.

Adopted
by Brunetto
Latini as the
most popular
vehicle
for Literature.

simply by the witchery of persuasion, the *Langue d'Oil* became pre-eminent over all her compeers, she won the love of the world, she well deserved it.—The German Ritterschaft of Otho the Great raised the war-cry in French, and the historians add, that they knew the language well. —“Son,” is the address of the Norwegian Sage, who unfolds in his *Speculum Regale* the whole course of education and learning fitting the Merchant for his trade, the Priest for his ministry, the King for his duties; “learn Latin, learn French, for that is the widest speech of all.”

The *Tesoro* of Brunetto Latini, almost identical with the *Speculum Regale* in design, and not very dissimilar in matter, was the wonder of the author's contemporaries, and his chiefest pride. Amidst the torments of the scorching plain, Dante hears the plaintive voice of his teacher still yearning after his earthly vanity :

“*Sieti raccomandato il mio Tesoro*

Nel quale io vivo ancora—e più non chieggio.”

But it was not in his own sweet *volgare* that Brunetto wrote the book of which the recollection touched his disembodied spirit—the ruling passion stronger than death—but in the dialect of the Trouveur, the most pleasurable to the reader, and affording the greatest means of circulation through its popularity. The brisk, active, industrious habits of the French aided this diffusion.—Amongst the Tartar hordes and in the

encampment of Kublai Khan, the traveller was surprized by the artificer or the trader greeting him in the language of the Capetian capital. The Crusades spread the *Langue d'Oil* throughout the East; and Athens conversed with the fluency of Paris.

Diffusion
of the
*Langue
d'Oil* in
Tartary,
Greece,
Syria.

The poetic literature of mediæval Europe received its most forcible and distinguishing impress from the *Langue d'Oil*, the language of Heraldry, the language of the Tournament, the language of the Geste, the language of Chivalry. The ancient and barbarous songs which delighted Charlemagne are forgotten: the traditions of Arthur might, in their pristine speech have still floated amongst the Cymric lineages; but without the aid of the Trouveur, never would the British lays have acquired their fascination: it was not until they became Romance that they were invested with their power. Teuton and Scandinavian yielded to the charms of France and the French tongue. Never, but for the model given by the Trouveurs of the *Langue d'Oil*, would the Germans have gained their national Epic. The title *Abenteuer*, prefixed to each song of the *Nibelungen Lied*, reveals the school in which the Suabian Minstrel was formed.

Influence
of the
*Langue
d'Oil* upon
the poetic
literature
of medi-
æval Eu-
rope.

Great as the merits of the Teutonic forms of speech may be, and admirable as the talents they have employed, yet the languages of

Increasing
moral in-
fluence of
the French
language
as the lan-
guage of
civilization.

Shakespeare and Milton and Schiller and Goethe, have failed to win the wreath belonging to the French tongue. National pride or national feeling must not be allowed to conceal this truth from us. The French language is our universal interpreter throughout the European Commonwealth. Justly may the French assert that their intellectual heroes constitute the advanced-guard of European progress. Their wit, their whim, their *verve*, their erudition, equally sparkling and profound, their grace, readiness, talent, their philosophy, their perfect trust in human reason, their complete emancipation from positive faith, all combine to give them that commanding station; and their language bestows the weapons wherewith they gain the victory. France created the emphatic name of *civilization*; and that language is amongst the most powerful of the efficient causes which promise or threaten to extend the Empire of civilization throughout the world.

The Latin Language, its decline as a vernacular tongue. Latin retained in peculiar localities.

§ 13. Such has been the progress, the triumphant career of the Neo-Latin or Romance languages; yet the Classical Latin yielded slowly. There appear to have been peculiar localities, the opposite counterparts of the *Sedici* and *Tredici Comuni*, in which the Latin subsisted with a certain degree of purity: a *volgare*, in the strict sense of the term. Race, habit, fancy, thus preserved the spirit in particular places and amongst peculiar classes, when it was yielding to the

Lingua Rustica elsewhere. Some few fragments of this familiar Latin are remarkable in philological history. The Latin seems to have been peculiarly affected by the military: the joyous song of Clothaire's triumphant soldiers arose in the strains of Latin popular verse; and the nightly hymn of the sentinels of Modena, pacing round their ramparts, resounded with a touching melody never known to classical Rome. We can therefore scarcely discern the boundary-line, or mark the exact era when the Urbane Latin ceased to be the vernacular tongue. The Church never employed any other. Whatever might be the origin of the Priest, whatever his race or blood, he lived *sub lege Romanâ* alone. Whenever Western Christendom came together in her representative form, no language but that of Rome was heard, no Council ever debated, no Canon was promulgated in any peculiar or vulgar tongue. In the State, the Latin retained the same pre-eminence: Latin still continued to be the language of all official communications, the language of respect, the language of courtesy, and, till the conclusion of the Hildebrandine era, or longer, the educational language of Knight and Baron, Count and Marquis, Duke and Prince, and Queen and King.

From the plainness of language and simplicity of construction, the Bible presented to the people in Latin would read very readily into

Latin, the language of Church and State.

Influence of the Vulgate upon the New Latin dialects.

Romanesque : certainly St. Jerome's pen and mind contributed materially to the formation of the Romance dialects. As amongst us in the times of the Commonwealth, Scripture language melted into the language of common life. The relative pronoun *che* or *que* has probably been introduced into the various Neo-Latin languages, mainly from the peculiar application of *quia* in the Vulgate. And for the etymology of the word of words, *parola*, *paraula*, *palabra*, we can scarcely find any source except the texts, in which the noun *parabola*, and the corresponding verb *parabolare*, are so emphatically employed.

Under these circumstances the Latin long continued intelligible amongst the common people, though they were unable to speak it correctly. An exact parallel to their condition in this respect may be found amongst the Italian or Provençal commonalty, by whom the discourse from the pulpit is fully understood, although the peasant who comprehends the preacher cannot speak a phrase in the language of the sermon. The era when Grammar-Latin became rather less accessible to the multitude can be ascertained with tolerable accuracy by the before-quoted decrees of the Gallican Councils, which direct the Bishop to homilize in the Vulgar tongue.

Latin retained to a
consider-

§ 14. Subsequently to the Hildebrandine era the Romance languages swerved away more and



more from their mother, growing up, full formed, and handsomer, becoming better dressed, obtaining more regularity, more consistency, acquiring characteristics more pronounced, and at length a grammar of their own, systematic and well defined. They were now, to no inconsiderable extent, the languages of literature. Yet the Ecclesiastical or Grammar-Latin still commanded large provinces in the republic of letters and in the kingdoms of intellect: the decorous language of history and science, completely the language of philosophy; and, as employed by the schoolmen, the vigour of these profound thinkers invested the homely cloister and refectory Latin with admirable conciseness and precision. But it is in the ecclesiastical Liturgies, the most devotional of uninspired compositions, that the Western Church speaks with unrivalled pathos, simplicity, and grandeur.

The revival of Letters rather checked than enlarged the dominion of the Latin language. Classical correctness and the ethos of modern society are incompatible elements. The elegancies of Latin are destructive of its practical utility: there was no surer mode of stinting the capacities of thought than the pedantry which restricted that thought to Ciceronian phrase. A building in which the plan, the elevation, the chancel, the tower, every portion, every column, all the mullions, all the capitals, all the pinna-

Dominion of the Latin Language checked by the precision resulting from the revival of Letters.

able extent, notwithstanding the cultivation of the Romance dialects.

cles, have been correctly copied from an ancient original, has assuredly earned the worst possible praise: convenience, applicability and truth all neglected and sacrificed. Nevertheless, even at the present moment, the Latin, despite the debilitating influences of Bembo and Valla, still flourishes amongst the Hierarchy of the Roman Church, composing a multitude which if assembled in one city would at least equal the population of Rome, when the Labarum shone on the Imperial Standard.

Upon the languages of Teutonic origin the Latin has exercised great influence, but most energetically upon our own. The very early admixture of the *Langue d'Oil*, the never interrupted employment of the French as the language of education, and the nomenclature created by the scientific and literary cultivation of advancing and civilized society, have Romanized our speech; the warp may be Anglo-Saxon, but the woof is Roman as well as the embroidery, and these foreign materials have so entered into the texture, that were they plucked out the web would be torn to rags, unravelled and destroyed.—July and August are monuments of Roman domination which will endure when the last vestiges of Roman splendour shall have perished from the face of the earth. They are inscribed upon the signs of the Zodiac, and will perpetuate the memory of the founders of the

Thorough
incorpora-
tion of the
Roman ele-
ment in the
English
language.

Roman Empire in the regions now covered with the forests of the far West, and in the Plains of Australia, until the European or civilized Commonwealth, the great Fourth Empire, the Kingdom strong as iron, shall have fulfilled her appointed course, and be dissolved into the miry clay.

CHAPTER III.

SCOPE AND OBJECT OF THE PRESENT HISTORY.

Circum-
stances
under
which this
work ori-
ginated.

§ 1. THE work now presented to the public results from labours spread over many years of my life, labours commenced neither arbitrarily nor unwillingly, but whereto I was conducted as a duty. I mention this circumstance as an apology for undertaking a task already treated so often and repeatedly by writers who have acquired traditional and popular respect, that any further investigation of an apparently exhausted theme might seem superfluous. Imperfectly as my designs have been carried out, whether in skill, scheme or execution, such utility as my historical productions may possess will consist chiefly in their being considered as forming a course of instruction, which, begun more than a quarter of a century ago, I can now scarcely expect to complete; comprehending, according to my original conception, the whole mediæval history of the Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, Cymric and English races and nations, to the accession of the Tudor dynasty.

Value and
importance
of the En-
glish Re-
cords.

These designs originated out of an employment compelling me to concentrate my attention upon English history. Our English archives are unparalleled—none are equally ample, varied,

and continuous; none have descended from remote times in equal preservation and regularity, not even the archives of the Vatican. In France, the most ancient consecutive records are the *Olim* registers, as they are called, commencing somewhat scantily under Saint Louis, whereas ours date from the Norman Conquest. The French never possessed any of greater antiquity, for the notion that the French records were captured or destroyed by the English is a mere fable. The proceedings of the *Etats-généraux* cannot, of course, begin sooner than the first Convocations of this imperfectly federal assembly under the House of Valois: the earliest and rather meagre registers of Royal Ordinances were not compiled till the reign of *Jean-le-Bon*; and although the conventions of the Provinces were held from an anterior date, yet none of their records preceding the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries exist with any degree of completeness.

The very circumstances which have protected and produced the title-deeds and evidences of the English constitution, are features of English history. The material conservation of our English Records results in the first instance from the signal mercy shown to our country, so singularly exempted, if we compare ourselves with other nations, from hostile devastation, whether occasioned by foreign foes or domestic dissensions. Never since the Conquest has London

Preservation of the English archives, partly owing to the exemption of this country from hostility.

heard the trumpet of a besieging army : never has an invader's standard floated upon that White Tower wherein our Records are contained.

Thus spared from the calamities which might have consumed or destroyed our public muni-ments, their preservation equally exemplifies other prerogative characteristics of our history. Such is the early incorporation of the States and territories anciently composing the Anglo-Saxon realm into one solid government, the Sovereign possessing the same substantive rights throughout his dominions,—notwithstanding some slight anomalies rather apparent than real,—and those dominions obeying the supremacy of one common legislature ; a process effected far more completely in England than in France, the kingdom whose circumstances, taken on the whole, were most analogous to our own.

English
Constitution
grounded
upon pre-
cedent and
practice.

Furthermore and in addition to this Imperial unity, are we distinguished amongst nations by the recognition of the principle that the national will should be ruled by the national law. Our high Court of Parliament was, from the beginning a remedial Court, a permanent tribunal, and not an accidental political assembly. Our Constitution is not theoretically founded either upon Royal prerogative or upon popular liberty, but upon justice, a reasonable submission to the authority of the past. This principle of

justice necessitated a constant recurrence to precedent: *stare super vias antiquas*, the dead governing the living. What have our ancestors done?—our predecessors in the like case, or under the like emergency? In all our revolutionary conflicts, the main arguments employed by all contending parties were painfully and carefully adduced from the muniments of the Realm,—King or Clergy, Peers or Commons, Ministers or Parliaments appealing to the Roll, the Membrane, the Letter of the Law, upon which all their reasonings were to be grounded.

During the periods exhibiting the greatest turbulence, we therefore find an uniform system of interpellation, preferred in good faith to Record and to Charter. Widely as the interpreters of the texts may have differed, the text was revered by all. Hence, even in our own times, our oldest Records have never become obsolete: they were deposited in the Treasure-house of the State, not as archæological curiosities, but for their practical and living value. This, their material or bodily union and preservation, the effect of abstract constitutional principles, practically promoted and supported the same principles. Had a Castilian advocate in the reign of Philip the Fourth, wished, like a Selden, to quote the proceedings of the ancient Cortes, he could never have completed his constitutional pleadings. The protocols of the Spanish legis-

latures were dispersed throughout the Monasteries of the Kingdom, nor could they have been united by any exertion of research or labour.

Summary,
indicat-
ing the
succession
of Consti-
tutional
Records.

We take up our title from Domesday-book. There is not such another *Cadaastre* existing, whether considered in relation to the era in which the Great Survey was compiled, or the historical, local or personal information which the volume contains.

The reign of Rufus is a blank as to Records, though the deficiency is supplied by store of Charters.—One great Roll of the Exchequer belonging to Henry Beauclerc, the first of our constitutional Kings, is extant.—A chasm ensues, probably occasioned by the destructive convulsions of King Stephen's reign; but upon the accession of Henry Plantagenet the series of these Records recommences, and continues uninterrupted till they ceased in consequence of the recent legislative enactments, which suppressed the Exchequer of Receipt, the most ancient financial establishment in Europe. These great Rolls furnish most curiously minute specifications of the Crown's territorial possessions, together with a vast variety of personal details.—Every Landholder in England, and every Englishman, was in danger of coming to the payable. Therein the sources and particulars of the revenue are fully set forth; and they incidentally elucidate almost every branch of our laws and

policy during the transitional era of English history, when that system was maturing upon which our present Constitution is founded.

With the accession of Richard Cœur-de-Lion appear the Rolls of the Curia Regis, the proceedings before the Justiciars representing the person of the King. Modern legal enrolments are strictly formal, lifeless, and arid: not so the ancient records, formal, but not arid, strict, but not stereotyped narratives, exhibiting plaintiff and defendant, prosecutor and criminal, judges and suitors, in a lively and living form. Let me here remark that the interest of our judicial Records is not local, or confined to this our Country: they appertain not merely unto England but to the English people, now so commonly denominated the Anglo-Saxon race, wheresoever dispersed, for here we have, above all, the germs and elements of the Laws obtaining in the Imperial and triumphant Republic of America, expanding from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and whose States, together with our vast Colonies, seem appointed to cherish the institutions of England beneath other skies, when, yielding to the inevitable destiny of all human dominations, the power and splendour of the British Commonwealth shall have departed.

1189.
Rolls of the
Curia Re-
gis, com-
mencing
upon the
accession of
Richard I.

On the Feast-day of the Ascension, the twenty-seventh day of May, one thousand one hundred and ninety-nine, the day when John Duke of Nor-

1199.
27th May.
Chancery
enrolments
beginning
upon the
day of King
John's co-
ronation.

mandy was crowned King of England, begin the Rolls of the Chancery, the great Secretariat of the realm, the Chancellor being Secretary of State for all departments. Every instrument authenticated by the Great Seal, whereby the King declared his mind and will, was to be entered or enrolled upon these records. And here again we read a deeper doctrine than is expressed by the written words of the record. It is very certain that no such enrolments were made during the preceding reigns in England, nor do we find the like in any coeval European State. Now Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, who was appointed Chancellor on the day of King John's Coronation, had been very active during the interregnum which ensued between the death of Cœur-de-Lion and the confirmation of John's inchoate title. He was one of the Commissioners or Justiciars deputed to England as soon as Richard died; and the Archbishop, by causing the English to become the men of John Duke of Normandy, had secured the accession of the new Sovereign. We therefore believe (as we have stated elsewhere in this Work) that this registration of State documents was connected with the views entertained by the Prelate, who declared how he anticipated that John would bring Crown and Kingdom into the greatest confusion. Henceforward, all constitutional transactions between Crown and Subject are both

essentially and formally legal covenants, King and people alike obeying the supremacy of the law. The Coronation Oath is deposited in the Chancery, to be produced against the Sovereign, should the compact be infringed.

The Chancery-Rolls furnish us with the writs and other documents, demonstrating, not collaterally or inferentially, but directly and positively, the composition of the Great Council of the realm. In subsequent reigns, the records of the Legislature enlarge into the regular series of Parliament-Rolls, Statute-Rolls, and Bills or Petitions, still continued, and made up, so far as the Statute-Rolls are concerned, in the old form and fashion. And thus do we possess the muniments elucidating the whole course of our Constitution as it arose. The instruments exist, coeval and sincere, giving the required testimony, equally with respect to the acting parties and the transactions in which they were engaged, and exhibiting at the same time the whole process of formation, not effected by forethought or design, but by constant exertions, struggles, labour, fortuitous events, contending parties, contending passions: granted, persisted in, diverted, frustrated, or overruled, affording lessons, which, the evidence being lacking, cannot be taught by the history of any other country in the world.

§ 2. The unsupported industry of Prynne and Selden, and the other great constitutional

Circum-
stances
under
which the

work entitled *The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth* was composed.

lawyers of the preceding age, had been unable to advance beyond the preliminary examinations of the masses of documents absolutely needful for the accurate and systematic investigation of our constitutional history. Acting under public authority, I was entrusted with the formation of collections intended to comprize all the extant materials, elucidating the development and authority of the Legislature from the Conquest to the accession of Henry the Eighth, when the organization of the High Court of Parliament was settled upon the scheme which still obtains.

Upon the details of these works and collections, this is not the occasion to speak. It is sufficient to observe that the volumes I was enabled to publish under the sanction of the House of Commons, will, for the period which they include, afford an indispensable authority for the solution of various important constitutional questions, as well as incontrovertible testimonies of historical events, so that the general outline of the constitutional periods therein comprized may be traced in an authentic form.

Engaged upon these public works, it appeared to me that my official tasks would be insufficiently executed, unless, acting in my private and individual capacity, I accompanied the collections undertaken at the national expense, by what I may term a preface and a perpetual commentary. Ascending, therefore, to the earliest stages of

our history, I have, in the series of essays devoted to that object, endeavoured to elucidate the rise and progress of the English Commonwealth during the Anglo-Saxon period, proceeding by synthesis; examining in the first place, the duties, rights, and privileges appertaining to the various ranks and orders of society, the territorial organization which the country assumed in relation to the people, and the attributes of the authorities and tribunals federatively combined in our political Constitution. In the Work comprehending these enquiries, I have, therefore, attempted to demonstrate, so to speak, the political anatomy of the nation, and to connect that anatomy with the national physiology, describing the organs of national vitality, and elucidating the laws of that vitality. Hence the disquisitions upon the legal and social institutions of the Anglo-Saxons constitute the main portion of the Work, illustrated by comparison with those of other nations.

Many important questions, which in this present composition are noticed briefly, and presented rather as suggestions than as lessons, are in the first-mentioned Work discussed minutely and anxiously, supported by reference to the several authorities upon which my opinions have been formed. Here I may be permitted to crave the attention of the reader, in particular, to the five chapters in which I explained the origin of feudality, the Carlovingian Institutions, and above

Chapters
10, 11, 17,
18, 19, of the
*Rise and
Progress*,
to be read
in connexion
with the
present
Work.

Doctrine
of Imperial
succe-
sion.—
Various
views of
Dubos,
Savigny,
Guizot,
Sismondi,
Allen,
Hallam,
Mitter-
meier, &c.

all, that doctrine upon which, as I believe, all real conception of mediæval and modern history depends, the deduction of authority from Rome : and the continuity by which the States composing the European or civilized Commonwealth (whatever may be their forms of government) are united into the Fourth Great Empire. Those who have attended to modern historical literature, know full well how acutely and copiously the Roman theory has been illustrated by foreign enquirers, and also by our own. It has been sifted and tried by discussion, by argument, and by contradiction ; yet, perhaps, the most cogent proofs establishing the Imperial or Roman doctrine are found in the great diversity of principles prevailing amongst those who advocate the affirmative proposition. They have not combined for any sectarian or party purpose : they have all worked separately and independently, and, mainly agreeing in the historical inductions, have employed the same inductions in support of very different, nay, antagonistic sentiments. As for myself, never would I have ventured to discuss a question incidentally involving truths infinitely higher than the theories of history, had I not deliberately considered the adverse arguments, not merely those which have been offered, and particularly by that Friend whose opinions, knowledge, and judgment I prize in these subjects above all others : but many further objections

which I clearly see could be cogently brought forward. If I have not attempted, as is often expedient, to remove the difficulties which might be raised by a hypothetical opponent, it is not, as far as I can judge, from having overlooked them. On this, and all other similar occasions, I have avoided any polemical or semi-polemical disputations, which, though they may confirm the writer in his own opinion, rarely have much effect except upon those who are predisposed in his favour.

§ 3. The object of my first-mentioned Work, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, the *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, enforced the absence of biographical portraiture and narrative detail. A constitutional History must be substantially confined to results. All the creative or poetical elements of History are necessarily excluded. I tried to supply that deficiency by a concurrent volume, containing a complete though familiar and concise history of English affairs from the acquisition of Britain by the Romans, and her first incorporation into the Fourth Empire, until the Norman Conquest. But that book, the *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, besides many blemishes and errors in execution, is incomplete in plan. The faults of workmanship are my own: the incompleteness of the plan I share with all my predecessors. English History is the joint graft of Anglo-Saxon history and Norman history. The history of

Necessity
of connect-
ing English
history with
the History
of Norman-
dy.

Normandy is as essential a section of English history as the history of Wessex. We must adopt Rollo equally with Cerdic. The Norman dynasty is entirely ours.

I therefore now propose to reach the field of Hastings proceeding through another path, setting forth the history of Normandy from the first establishment of the *Terra Normannorum* as a settlement under the chieftains, who, indifferently denominated marquisses or counts, enlarged their dominions, encreasing and sustaining their authority, between and in spite of the two rival dynasties of France, the declining dynasty of Charlemagne, and the rising dynasty of the Capets, severally pursuing their course, wary and wise, bold and politic, improving every contingency, and singularly aided by good fortune. When the Capets finally established themselves upon the throne, the dominion founded by the Patrician Rollo expanded into the Norman Duchy, scarcely inferior in power to that Royal Crown to which the wearers of the Ducal Coronal rendered a nominal homage, whilst they exercised all the power of absolute sovereignty. It was not worth while even for the Conqueror to repudiate a bond unaccompanied by an obligation.

Family
names em-
ployed by
anticipa-
tion.

By anticipation I employ the term Capetian, for the purpose of designating Hugh Capet's family, as well in the ascending as the descending

line, and I occasionally do the like with respect to the Plantagenets. There is much convenience and no incongruity attending this practice. The progenitors of a great man belong to him as well as his progeny. The ancestors and descendants of Hugh Capet, the ancestors and descendants of Geoffrey Plantagenet, equally exemplify that firm pursuit of power, that permanent individuality of character whereby they are respectively rendered so conspicuous. A division of the earlier Norman history into two periods, corresponding with the two French dynasties, is rendered advisable, not merely by the relations between the two States, but also by the internal affairs of the country. Normandy, during the Carlovingian era, was an arena of conflicting interests. The portion which remains unexpired of that era from Charles-le-Simple to Louis-le-Faineant, is nearly conterminous in extent with the domination of the three first Norman Sovereigns, *Rou, Raoul, Rollo, or Robert-Rollo, William Longue-épée, and Richard Sans-peur*, who, towards the conclusion of his long reign of forty-four years, witnessed the dethronement of the Carlovingian line and the accession of the third dynasty. The before-mentioned Norman Sovereigns had assimilated themselves to the general population of Neustria, they, the Clergy, and a large portion of the aristocracy, as well as the other earlier Danish settlers or their representatives, were thoroughly

Conflict in the early part of Norman history between the Romanized and the Danish interests.

996.
Normandy
completely
Romanized
at the ac-
cession of
Richard-le-
Bon, or
Richard II.

Observa-
tions upon
the first
two Books
of this His-
tory.
1. Carlo-
vingian
Normandy.
2. Capetian
Normandy.

Romanized. This was the stronger party. The Pagan or Danish party was the weaker, but being supported from Scandinavia, was sufficiently powerful to trouble the Christian or Romanized interest. In the Capetian era, the conflict ceases: Normandy under *Richard-le-Bon*,—whose reign commences in the same year with that of Robert the Second, the son and successor of Hugh Capet, had lost all Northern or Danish nationality. They were then only a provincial variety of the French nation, and the Duchy had grown definitively into a member of the French monarchy. The first and second Books therefore of this History, entitled *Carlovingian Normandy* and *Capetian Normandy*, severally contain the before-mentioned eras, including other matters not strictly confined to Normandy, but needful for the connexion and illustration of the Norman story.

§ 4. Whoever now composes the early histories of such countries as France or England, histories, so generally recollected merely as half-forgotten school lessons, has to contend against great disadvantages: all the freshness of the subject is lost, whilst many of the perplexities remain to be solved. He has also to dispel many grave popular errors, not by direct contradiction, cavil, or criticism, but by the propagation of truth; information must be imparted without dogmatism, controversy carried on by silence. It is, therefore, most difficult for the historian to deter-

mine between what should be said and what should be left untold.

Upon first consideration, it seems almost superfluous to multiply details of things popularly or vulgarly known, and equally objectionable to pass them over; yet whoever has endeavoured to realize in his own mind events, institutions, men, motives and things, will often find himself compelled to abridge what others have considered leading passages of history, and at the same time to invest with apparently disproportionate importance the topics which his predecessors have disregarded. If an edifice has one principal façade, the views taken by different artists will be pretty nearly the same; but this is not the case with the history of nations. They are vast and complex edifices, consisting of diversified and irregular portions, presenting many fronts, each claiming attention for their use, ornament, singularity, or grandeur. The aspect selected in one picture will be seen only in rapid perspective in another, and in a third quite cast into the shade.

Difficulty
of treating
historical
subjects fa-
miliarly but
imperfectly
known.

The Artist cannot change his position whilst he is working, or represent the same thing under two aspects at one time. Moreover, his picture will be affected by various casualties, a cloudy sky, or a bright sky, the leaves of his sketch-book turned over by the gust of wind, his colours dashed by the flying shower. But these out-

wardly permanent, or outwardly transitory circumstances, however influential, are all subordinate to, and overruled by, the Artist's inward physical individuality and moral identity. No person can see the same object in the same way; and, from the spot where the Artist sketches, he can only see the one aspect as *he* sees it. He can only display to you his own mental or internal view, resulting from the conformation or sensibility of his eye, his appreciation of the comparative exigencies of form and of colour, his ideas of harmony, his notions of effect, his conceptions of pictorial composition and art.

Therefore, instead of quarrelling with a writer because his mode of treating history differs from that which you would have preferred, you should rather thank him for affording you the opportunity of contemplating the Social Edifice from a position which you cannot reach, or in which you would not like to place yourself. Historians can never supersede each other: no one historian can give you all you wish, no one can teach you all you ought to learn, neither can comparisons fairly be instituted between them; for no two are identical in their views, no two possess the same idiosyncrasies, the same opportunities, the same opinions, the same intentions, the same mind. History cannot be read off-hand, it must be studied; studied by investigation and comparison—otherwise it profits no more—perhaps

less—than Palmerin of England or Amadis of Gaul.

§ 5. However fierce the mutual or internal dissensions of the Northmen or Danes—the terms are used as synonymous—they acted steadily in concert abroad. Properly compiled, a history of the *Gesta Danorum extra Daniam* would display a vast, and apparently systematic, scheme of spoliation and conquest: this is a task remaining to be satisfactorily performed. Could the expeditions, adventures, defeats and victories of the various nations who are fairly comprehended in this same Danish category,—Danes, Northmen, Frieselanders, Angles, Jutes, Saxons, all being shipmates,—be poetized in an Epic, the episodes would be as remarkable for their intricacy as the whole fable for its unity.—The first action in the Poem would be the maritime attacks made by the Saxon Pirates, during the reign (as it seems) of Honorius, upon the Roman Empire, and more especially that part of Armorica denominated the *Pagus Baiocassinus*, which, obtaining the name of the Saxon shore, afterwards merged in Normandy:—the catastrophe is furnished by the battle of Largs, when the bleached bones of Haco's army, defeated by Alexander of Scotland, were left as memorials of the last Norwegian invasion upon British ground.

In planning the present Work, it became needful to determine between a complete chro-

The present history confined to the Danes in the Northern Gauls.

nological history of the Norsk or Danish invasions in the British islands, the Baltic countries, Belgium, Aquitaine, Germany, nay, Italy and Spain, and a history limited to a selection of the principal incidents connected with the Northern Gauls. I have chosen the latter, and must therefore refer to other works for the particulars needful to supply the deficiencies of the narrative. Some contributions may be found in my Anglo-Saxon History, which, though requiring correction and amplification, may be consulted in parallel with the annals of the Danes in Carlovingian and Capetian France. The mutual actions and reactions of the British islands upon the Continent, and of the Continent upon the British islands, will afford many subjects for consideration.—The Anglo-Saxon Empire grew only to perish and to be destroyed. Alfred himself gave the Dane more power to wield the battle-axe by which that empire was to be cut down.

Extinction of Northern or Scandinavian nationality amongst the North-men.

Concerning the origin, migrations, ethnographical or ethical characteristics of the Scandinavians, I have said next to nothing: all are very important subjects of enquiry, and have deservedly been treated with zealous and learned diligence; but in the present instance their influences were evanescent. So far as concerns the history of Normandy they may be safely neglected; for although the Danish national spirit subsisted to a certain extent, and amongst

certain classes, until the reign of Richard-sans-peur, that spirit afterwards evaporated so completely, that when the *Terra Normannorum* became Normandy properly so called, the Normans scarcely retained any features of their Danish parentage. Normandy does not offer a vestige of Danish Paganism. The affectionate endeavours made by antiquaries to discover, even in popular superstitions, any reminiscences of the Asaheim myths, are distressingly unsuccessful. In manners, laws, customs, institutions, and above all, in language, the Normans thoroughly assimilated themselves to the other populations of Romanized France or Gaul.

They exulted in their ancestral reminiscences, whether contributing to family pride, or the Duchy's fame and glory; but this was rather the artificial result of intellectual cultivation than a spontaneous natural feeling. Their antient story was first read in the compositions of the Clerk and the Trouveur. Dudo's Latin chronicle is the primary source of Norman History. Master Wace presented his *Roman du Rou* to Henry Plantagenet before the Skalld who penned the *Hrolfs Saga* was born. The uncontaminated Norskmen and Danskermen were, on their part, inimically estranged from their Romanized kinsmen. Unquestionably, they were proud of Rollo and his victories. They make their Hrolf the son of Raugnvalldur, Jarl or Earl of Mære. They tell

the tale of his conquests according to their own fancy, and call him *Rudo Jarl*, or the Earl of Rouen. Nevertheless they hated *li Duc Guillaume* as a Frenchman: Denmark and Norway would fain have delivered England from the foreign Conqueror.

Scandinavian traditions concerning Rollo,—reasons for neglecting them, and adopting the history of Dudon de St. Quentin.

I abandon the Scandinavian encomiasts of Rollo with the less regret, on account of the discrepancy between their statements and the narrative we owe to Dudon de Saint-Quentin, who framed his history out of the family traditions as he received them from Richard-sans-peur the grandson of Rollo, Richard-le-Bon, Rollo's great-grandson, and Ralph Count of Ivrey Richard-sans-peur's half-brother: a sufficient reason for preferring his authority to that of writers, who are modern by comparison. The Sagas are not older than the twelfth century, and also irreconcilable amongst themselves.

French history, reasons for treating it fully in the present work.

§ 6. Whilst I have contracted my narrative concerning the Northmen, I have expanded upon the transactions illustrating the decline of the Carlovingian Empire, and the developement of the Capetian monarchy.

Throughout this History I have always looked forward, endeavouring steadily to consider the relations between the doctrines and events of the period upon which I am employed, and the doctrines and events of subsequent periods; and this, not merely for the purposes of English His-

tory, but also for the purposes of French History—studies equally necessary to Englishmen and Frenchmen,—each, indeed, to each, either to either : both nations counter-changed—to us and to them a common ground. This observation applies very forcibly to the history of the *Provinces*, or, as the French also call them, the *Grands Fiefs*, which, during the whole Anglo-Norman period, intimately connected England and France.

History of
the French
Provinces :
their im-
portance in
English
History.

Brittany and Maine the dependencies of Normandy,—the regal duchy of Armorica,—the energetic *Pagus Cœnomannorum*, dear to the Conqueror as his own paternal inheritance,—the magnificent Marquisate of Flanders,—the Counties of Boulogne and Ponthieu and the other Belgic or semi-Belgic Fiefs and dominions, from the Bresle, the boundary of Normandy, to the Scheldt—Blois and Chartres,—Anjou, whose dynasty renewed the splendour of the Conqueror's Empire,—Poitou and opulent Aquitaine, obeying the Plantagenet sceptre and extending the Anglo-Norman Empire even unto the Pyrenees.—

—All the fore-mentioned territories contributed ancestors to our aristocracy,—clergy to our Church,—rule and discipline to our Monasteries,—instructors to our architects,—teachers to our schools.—No history of Anglo-Norman England can approach to completeness, should we exclude ourselves from these sources of historic richness and variety. I have, therefore, interwoven as

102 GENERAL RELATIONS OF MEDIÆVAL HISTORY.

much of the anecdote connected with the French Provinces, as will be sufficient to embody the ideas of the reader concerning personages whose names otherwise pass away, without making sufficient impression upon the mind.

Book I.
The Carlo-
vingian
Empire.
The Da-
nish ex-
peditions in
the Gauls
till the
establis-
hment of
Rollo, &c.

§ 7. IN the *first Book*, I enter largely into the History of the Carlovingian Empire, until the partition effected between the three rival sons of Louis-le-Débonnaire by the treaties of Verdun and Mersen, the irreparable political schism of the Empire, severing France from Germany and from Italy—the starting-point of the modern European commonwealth. Hatred and ambition produced a jealous compromise; and the compromise, leaving ambition unsatisfied, rendered the hatred more inveterate, to be extinguished only by the extinction of the fated race.

Genealo-
gical sum-
mary of
Carlovin-
gian his-
tory, Book
I. Chap. II.
§ 33—56,
pp. 348—
396.

In this first portion of the work I include a narrative genealogy or summary of Carlovingian history, according to the several branches of the family, deducing their descents until the reigning Houses expired in the male lines. This synopsis is to be taken as an outline-map on a small scale, intended for the purpose of shewing the relative positions of the portions which are afterwards given on a larger scale; an aid which will be found useful in rendering intelligible a narrative involved in great complexity. The Car-

lovingian era should be perfectly mastered by every historical student. We can scarcely discern any portion of European history wherein it does not enter as an element. Charlemagne's personal history is familiarly, if not accurately known. Historians have been repelled by the melancholy spectacle of his descendants' misfortunes; an inglorious narrative by comparison. They have hurried over the period with disgust. Yet misfortune furnishes the soundest commentary upon prosperity; and national humiliation is the retribution reserved for national glory. The "Age of Pericles"—might we not say the "Age of Aspasia?"—does not find its moral until we arrive at Greece degraded, Greece disgraced, Greece absorbed in the Roman Empire.

A history of the Danish expeditions in France is dislocated unless the concurrent events of national French history are included; for if they are omitted we can neither comprehend the causes which opened the country to the Pirates, nor appreciate the share taken by these enemies in breaking up the Empire. Normandy was planted when Osker sailed up the Seine, and left the terror of his name at Rouen. The Empire's fate was decided by the battle of Fontenay. Henceforward, the Northmen are constant participators in the fortunes of France.

A full illustration is given of the causes which advanced the Capets to their pre-eminent dignity.

Their history runs parallel with the history of the Northmen. Robert-le-Fort was courted by Charles-le-Chauve as the great opponent of the Danish power—an unsuccessful opponent; nevertheless, as time advanced, Normandy was worked into unison with the fabric of Capetian France. Charles the son of Louis-le-Bègue, so unfairly depreciated by the sobriquet of *le simple*, is universally known as the monarch who ceded Neustria to Rollo. King Charles toppled on his back by the rude soldier, and the blonde Gisella's marriage to the shaggy Dane, are incidents which we anticipate like the situations of a stock-play; but the transactions of Claire-sur-Epte only initiated the train of events tending to the ultimate stability of Normandy, in which Carlovingsians, and Burgundians, and Capets, were equally efficient agents—willing or unwilling agents: and we shall find Rollo and his son Guillaume-longue-épée and his grandson Richard-sans-peur conspicuous in all the affairs of France—not yet premier Pairs of the Douze-pairs in style, but fully so by influence.

Book II.
Capetian
Normandy.
Richard I.,
or Richard-
sans-peur,

§ 8. RICHARD-SANS-PEUR, cruelly persecuted during his infancy by Louis-d'Outremer and his consort the proud Gerberga, lived to witness the extinction of the Carlovingsian dynasty, and the accession of the "*Figliuol del Beccario*." His reign, commenced in the first, and concluded in the

second Book, corresponds with the transition era equally of French history and of Norman history. When Richard was called to his father's succession, there was a chance that the Danishry, that is to say, the Northmen, who, retaining the Danish spirit and settled in Normandy, were supported by fresh accessions from Scandinavia, might have prevailed. But when, after a long and prosperous rule, Richard-sans-peur was borne to the grave, dug, according to his dying request, without the walls of the great Abbey Church of Fécamp, Normandy had wholly ceased to be the Terra Normannorum,—it had become the Duchy of Normandy, thoroughly Romanized, thoroughly French,—as French as Paris.

Richard II,
or le-Bon.
Richard
III.
Robert I.,
or Robert
le-Diable,
and Wil-
liam the
Bastard.

Such is the position in which we shall find Richard-le-Bon, the son of Richard-sans-peur. The reign of Richard-le-Bon is peculiarly interesting by reason of those alliances and relations with the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Danish Commonwealth, which, continuing under Richard's son, Robert the First, or Robert-le-Diable, contributed to Romanize the English mind, a moral subjugation, a conquest of England before the Conquest.

We are lastly introduced to William the Bastard as Duke of Normandy. The concluding chapters of the second Book exhibit him wisely and bravely contending against his enemies, opposed in youth, toiling in manhood, and at that time of life when men begin to think of rest,

entering upon a new career of labour, vexation, and disappointing prosperity.

In this second Book, as well as in the preceding portions of this history, I would particularly direct the attention of the reader to the constitutional processes by which the Duchy of Normandy was formed. The successive compacts between Carlovingians or Capetians on the one part, and Rollo and his descendants on the other part, constitute the grounds upon which Philippe-Auguste claimed jurisdiction over King John as his vassal, and confiscated the Duchy as forfeited by the vassal's felony. We shall see how far the Norman Patricians, Counts or Dukes, practically owned or testified obedience. The French Crown could produce no other evidence than the historical passages which will be quoted; and Saint Louis had some compunctions of conscience as to the legality of the jurisdiction which his father assumed.

Book III.
William
the Con-
queror.

§ 9. IN the *third* Book, we pass to the History of Duke William, as King of England. William's government was not so much a government of innovation, as one which prepared the way for a system, new equally to Normandy and to England. I do not believe that William the Conqueror attempted in the first instance to Normanize the vanquished:—such would appear to be

the natural course of things ; but if *le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable*, the apophthegm may be controlled by another, *le vraisemblable n'est pas toujours vrai*. However plausible the supposition that the Conqueror introduced Norman jurisprudence, Norman forms of government, and Norman tenures into this country, it is a supposition not supported by evidence, nay, contradicted by evidence ; and inasmuch as we possess no monument whatever of Norman jurisprudence anterior to the Conquest, it is an inference drawn without premises.

Unquestionably, at a later period, a great similarity subsisted between the laws of Normandy and the laws of England ; but England gave more to Normandy than she borrowed. The laws imposed by the Anglo-Norman dynasty upon the English were reflected back upon the victors. England was the more powerful and the more opulent territory. Institutions arose from the combination of the Anglo-Saxon laws with the measures needed for the restraint of a newly subjugated country, which imparted fresh vigour to the Sovereign authority. Duke William practised in Normandy the stern and orderly jurisprudence of the English King. The Anglo-Norman jurisprudence was matured by those who were trained in England. Learned men maintained that the *Grand Coutumier* of Normandy was originally Anglo-Saxon : the Nor-

mans were willing to believe that their wise usages were grounded upon the Confessor's laws. Nay, even after they became the immediate subjects of the Capetians, there were those who claimed Magna-Charta as the foundation of their franchises, and their safeguard against arbitrary power.

Book IV.
The Sons
of the
Conqueror,
Court-
hose, Ru-
fus, and
Beauclerc.

§ 10. THE *fourth* Book contains the History of the Conqueror's three surviving Sons, Robert Courthose, William Rufus, and Henry Beauclerc. In relation to England, this Book might have been denominated, *The Reign of Rufus*; but I have avoided that title, in order to impress upon the reader the necessity of viewing all the transactions in which the three brethren were engaged, as being of equal importance in English History. We cannot disengage the History of Normandy from the History of England; and therefore I enter into the subject fully and completely, omitting nothing but mere local particulars and events, when they do not happen to be connected with persons eminent or known in English History. In this Book we follow Robert to the first Crusade: it is an event completely European, besides which, many incidents specially connected with England and Normandy are elucidated thereby. The disputes commonly called disputes between Church and State, the first personified in Anselm, the latter in Rufus,

History of
the first
Crusade,
why intro-
duced.

occupy a large portion of this Book ; but I have both here and elsewhere avoided Church history, except when intermingled with the temporal concerns of the Commonwealth.

§ 11. THE history of the two surviving Book V.
Robert
Courthose
and
Henry I. brothers, Robert Courthose and Henry Beaulerc is continued in the *fifth* Book ; Henry reigning in England, Robert in Normandy, until the fratricidal battle of Tenchebrai gave the whole of the Conqueror's dominions to his youngest son, and consigned the elder to the dungeon in which he died. But a competitor arose, Robert's son, William the Clito, the Atheling,—an ill-conditioned and ill-fated young Prince :—much interest nevertheless attaches to his adventures and his misfortunes ; the Clito's history also calls us into Flanders, a country which exercised so much personal as well as national influence in English affairs.

The conflicts between the two Swords, between Church and State, assumed a new aspect, Hildebrand's lessons and traditions directing the endeavours made by Anselm, to sustain, not only the conscientious independence of the Spirituality, but the soundness of the Commonwealth. Owing to the intimate commixture of Christian institutions and civil policy, the rights and interests of the community are concealed from us by the

technical phraseology whereby they are denominated the rights of the Church. We may have a perception of the fact, but it is excluded from our reasonings by our dispathies. A living and active Policy is essential to Christianity—Christianity without a Policy is not a *Religion* but a *Persuasion*; and the more intimate the co-ordination or alliance of Church and State, the greater the difficulty of harmonizing their energies.

The contests concerning investitures, so constantly presented to us in stereotyped phrases, involved questions of extreme perplexity. The canonical election of the Prelates appertained to the clergy and laity of the “Civitas;” a right derived from the Primitive ages, but exercised under various modifications, occasioned by personal privileges or local institutions, the various ranks and orders, Princes, Nobles, People, having a greater or lesser share in the choice or postulation. Direct authority as well as moral power rendered the Bishop the “Defensor” or chief Magistrate, the Father of the City. In his sacerdotal capacity he was a judge, having jurisdiction over causes, which, though spiritual, involved vast temporal interests and affected the most intimate concerns of civil society. Called to the Great Councils of the State, whether by reason of his Episcopal office, or as a service due for his temporalities, he nevertheless appeared in those great Assemblies as the representative of the

Community by whose voice he had been placed in the Cathedra. Saint Ambrose was elected by acclamation and universal suffrage. Saint Ambrose could not have rebuked Theodosius had he not been the representative of Milan.

Of course the foregoing is, in a measure, a one-sided representation, but it is a side from which we have been accustomed to turn away. In respect of the Episcopacy, Hildebrand, labouring with all his heart and soul for the general reformation of Western Christendom, contended against two inveterate abuses, then equally destructive and disgraceful to Church and to State. The Sovereign was unquestionably entitled to a large share of influence in the selection of his Bishop; but the Sovereigns would not be content with less than the whole, and, by the operation of lay-investiture, they intruded their nominees into the Seat without any regard to the fitness of the individual or the opinions of the Church, that is to say the Community, Church and people being here convertible terms. The second abuse was simony.

Interpreting these acts according to modern ideas, the first exhibits the Crown forcing the Lord Mayor upon the Corporation of London, or nominating the Recorder; the other, a Jobber buying a Borough, or a legal Shark gravitating upon the Bench,—as in Stuart times,—by the weight of the purse slipped into the hands of the Lord of

the Bedchamber. Both on the part of the clerks who purchased, and on the part of the patrons who sold, there prevailed the most scandalous corruption; and Hildebrand, sparing neither the bribed nor the bribers, incurred the inveterate odium of all the delinquents.

Hildebrand had no respect to persons in judgment. Sin levelled Emperors and beggars before him. The stigma attached to Hildebrand's name speaks the world's opinion of his inflexible zeal and impartial justice. Talleyrand designated history as a universal conspiracy against truth.—Never was this sarcasm more pungently appropriate than when applied to the treatment sustained by Becket, Anselm, and Hildebrand.

Books V.
and VI.
Blois and
Planta-
genet.

§ 12. BLOIS and Plantagenet afford the subjects of the fifth and sixth Books. The reigns of Stephen of Blois and Henry Plantagenet blend into one era—a transition era, when, yielding to the influence of circumstances and the cogency of positive legislation, the Anglo-Saxon usages and institutions were refashioned or rendered subordinate to new schemes and forms. The Saxon line is said to have been restored in the person of Henry the Second. Unquestionably a very strong popular sentiment existed, countenancing this expression; nevertheless it was during the reign of Henry the Second that the Anglo-Saxon

Commonwealth became the English Commonwealth. The greater number of the mutations ascribed to the Conqueror were not really effected till the reign of Henry the Second, when the common law of England was developed. With respect to what is called "Anglo-Norman jurisprudence," it is a system which existed under various modifications or grades of completeness in England, in Scotland, and in Normandy, being discernible also in Brittany; and it appears in all these countries to have arisen simultaneously or nearly so. If not absolutely invented by Henry Plantagenet or his advisers, this same system was unquestionably matured in the Anglo-Norman Chancery, and upon the Bench of the Anglo-Norman Justiciars.

§ 13. Mediæval writers and historians offer peculiar difficulties in their chronology:—we stumble at the very threshold. Our New Year's day was only New Year's day to a comparatively small fraction of the European community. Double-headed Janus maintained his station as ruler of the ecclesiastical calendars which followed the Roman computation; but the Clerk rejected that Calendar in secular affairs, and the practical *Caput anni* shifts about, so as to compel the student to be continually on his guard. Mid-winter, Yule, or Christmas-day, was a popular era for the commencement of the solar year.

Mediæval
chronology.

Uncertainties arising from the varying modes of computation.

A perplexing mode of computation prevailed extensively in France—a Paschal computation, according to which the new year began on Easter-Sunday—consequently the length of the Dominical solar year was extended or contracted in every year of the Paschal cycle; and inasmuch as the Paschal year may include thirteen lunar months, or parts of two Aprils, there are cases in which we cannot, otherwise than from internal evidence, determine whether the April belongs to the beginning or the end of the year.

The Feast of the Annunciation, or Lady-Day, was a favourite New Year's day, continued in England until the introduction of the new style. This enactment is an event of Parliamentary celebrity, nevertheless the need of adverting to the alteration has been repeatedly forgotten, even by our lawyers, when they have had to deal with documents now scarcely more than an hundred years old. We may therefore be excused, if we occasionally err with respect to a date of the ninth century.

To encrease the confusion, some Chroniclers, employing the Dominical year, advance upon their contemporaries by an entire year; and others are a year behind.

There are Chronicles in which dates are entirely omitted. Instead of expressing the year, some scribes contented themselves with repeating the word *annus*, on and on, without construction,

note, or ordinal number, so that the date can only be supplied by comparison with other chronicles, or by conjecture. This mode of reckoning, or no-reckoning, occurs principally in the Cymric and Breton annals.

These external chronological difficulties, however, are surpassed by what we may term the internal chronological uncertainties; for, in the first case, namely the external difficulties, the computations go according to a rule, and when the canon has been ascertained, the supputation proceeds regularly; but in the second, they arise from the mode of making up the Records. A leaf of parchment was preserved in the study or library, and upon this memorandum-sheet the death of an important personage, or any other remarkable occurrence, was inscribed with a plummet, and afterwards incorporated in the Chronicle of the House. Annals exist, which are evidently transcripts from such memoranda in their simplest form, stating perhaps only one event for the year, and in some years none.

Uncertainties arising from the process of computation.

Occasionally the first notes were made upon waxen tablets; and these memoranda were from time to time amplified, being transcribed so as to constitute complete Chronographies. Subsequent compilers or annalists recast these texts: additions or interpolations were inserted just as the matter became available to each successive annalist, jotted in, here and there,—so as to fill up

the blank at the end of a short line,—or boustrophedon fashion, the insertion begun at the end of the short line, being turned up into the blank above, or down into the blank below, or inscribed on the side margin, or at the top of the page, or at the bottom. In the earlier stages of these *rifacciamenti*, there are manuscripts in which the differences of hand-writing, and the various tints of the ink, shew how these Chronographies were put together; but when re-transcribed, or printed, such tokens are effaced, and we have not any clue by which we can retrace our way.

Hence we never can be certain that the events dated by any given dominical year, occurred within such year; nor, if they did happen within the year to which they are ascribed, whether they did happen in the order according to which they offer themselves, unless they be dated in and within the text, that is to say, unless the season, Lent, Summer, Harvest, or some kalendar month, or Feast, or day of the month, be specified, or unless manifestly connected by natural sequence or probability; for the style is often so loose that even conjunctions do not necessarily connect the phrases or their members.

Mediæval
authorities:
mode of
employing
them.

§ 14. Criticism may do somewhat towards the rectification of historical difficulties, but let her refrain from promising more than she can perform. A spurious instrument may be detected: if two dates are absolutely incongruous, you may

accept that which reason shews you to be most probable : amongst irreconcilable statements you may elect those most coherent with the series which you have formed. But an approximation to truth, except so far as concerns single and insulated facts, is the utmost we can obtain. We have absolute certainty that the battle of Trafalgar was fought; but there is so much variety in the accounts of the Logs, that we cannot ascertain with precision the hour when the battle commenced, nor the exact position or distance of the fleets from the shore.


Writing is an imperfect mode of communicating ideas. Writing is ever liable to suggest to the reader either more or less than the writer intended. It is only through your knowledge of your correspondent's sentiments that you thoroughly understand the letters even of the nearest and dearest—that you feel the weight of the trivial expression, or are enabled to construe the signification of silence. And yet, after all, the letter is unsatisfactory; there is much that the nearest and dearest never can tell you, except face to face, side by side, hand in hand, arm in arm.

No written law is practically applicable or intelligible, unless speech comes in aid: the enigmas of obsolete jurisprudence are insoluble without the Advocate's pleading, or the Judge's decree. Through continued usage and tradition, the voices of Judge and Advocate live and are

heard; but when those voices fail, then the old black-letter Reporter becomes as mysterious as the old black-letter Statute of which he is the expounder.

The "evidences of history" and the "witnesses of history" are expressions universally adopted; not absolutely incorrect, nevertheless, very illusory. We cannot deal with those "evidences" according to the rules of legal testimony; we cannot cross-examine our "witnesses," we cannot confront them. If insufficient, we cannot summon more than are to be had; if uninformed, we must not indoctrinate them; if silly, we cannot make them wise. When they stop short, we cannot extract an additional word.—Livy may be a credulous writer; but how shall we supply his place if we tell Livy to go down?

The forensic treatment of history—that is to say, by the rigid, logical, and quasi legal discussion of "historical evidence," is the application of a process entirely unsuitable to the materials, and therefore a detriment, not a support to truth,—an exercise of intellect, a clever argument, but an argument which may be disputed or refuted by a more clever enquirer. It is very painful to know how far this practice of straining to confirm History by "Undesigned coincidences" and "Trials of witnesses," and the like, has been carried. None are convinced, except those who are willing to be convinced; whilst the



acute undergraduate, hesitating on the border of unbelief, smiles at Lardner's shallowness and Paley's cool ingenuity; and, if doubtful before, all his doubts are removed.

In studying such writers as the mediæval chroniclers, the first step is to acquire a thorough liking for them; so that, when we open the volume we should consider our employment not a fatigue, but a recreation, determining to read each writer in continuity. Indeed, it may be asserted that no History should, if profit be sought, be studied otherwise. Consulted in portions, dates may be verified and facts ascertained; but unless each whole be taken as a whole, it is impossible to grapple with the facts according to the spirit of the writer.—You cannot enjoy a landscape reflected in the fragments of a broken mirror. Excerpts, selections, pieces picked for quaintness or curiosity, pall the intellectual appetite. Elegant extracts, Anthologies, are sickly things: cut flowers have no vitality—the single growing violet lives sweetly, and lasts: the splendid bouquet decays into unsavoury trash, and as trash is thrown away; if the writer is weary, his yawning is contagious. There is no mental pleasure in receiving information collected from scraps and tatters, and consequently no mental pleasure in imparting it: the lesson you learn as a drudge will be repeated as a drudgery.

We should approach all inquiry with an obe-

dient mind, more inclined to accept than to reject, to give faith than to disbelieve. Gratuitous falsehood is rare. Even Manetho's dynasties (as conjectured by a very learned man of the last century), may be misconceptions of truth—months called years—lists of concurrent Reguli tacked together, and made up into one roll or volumen.—As Manetho records them, so would our British dynasties appear—Picts, Scots and Cymri, East Saxons, South Saxons, West Saxons, Mercians, Northumbrians, Danes and Angles—were they arranged consecutively instead of being placed in parallel columns.

The mediæval chroniclers generally, but more especially those of the Merovingian and Carolingian period, are authorities of high order: men well-informed, men known to the world, and knowing the world well: not a few amongst them are professed historians, entering upon their work with a full sense of its importance and of their own responsibility: others, biographers or autobiographers, who, commencing as historians or annalists, warm themselves as they proceed into memorialists of their own lives and times—statesmen, courtiers, ministers, prelates, soldiers, members of royal families—Gregory of Tours, Eginhard, Nithard, Prudentius, Hincmar, Rodolph of Fulda, Regino of Pruhm, Frodoard, conspicuous in their age—due allowance being made for circumstances—as Clarendon or Sully, Bishop

Burnet, Blaise de Montluc or Prince Eugene. Yet, in productions emanating from actors or participators in political events, the standard of veracity is lowered by an inevitable alloy. The more momentous the question, the greater the difficulty of meeting with an unbiassed and competent relator. He who best knows the truth is frequently the person most tempted to conceal or distort his knowledge.—Can the soundest principles resist the malignant influence of names inseparably associated with hatred and contempt—“Puritan” or “Papist”—or any other authorized version of *Raca* in vernacular language?

Add to these textual and moral obstacles the incurable debility of all human observation and experience. Sir Walter Raleigh was as right in estimating the impossibility of ascertaining perfect truth, as he was wrong in the conclusion he drew from his conviction. It is by our intention, and not by the result of our labours, that we are to be judged. If the knot cannot be opened, let us not cut it, nor fret our tempers, nor wound our fingers by trying to undo it, but be quite content to leave it untied, and say so. We can do no more than we are enabled: the crooked cannot be made straight, nor the wanting numbered.—The preservation or destruction of historical materials is as providential as the guidance of events. We are not called to be the revealers of the hidden things: it is not for us that the sea is to give up her dead.

In our conception of the historian's character, we are somewhat perplexed by the imperfect relation which his duties bear to other duties susceptible of accurate definition. He is, in a measure, an advocate, summing up before a tribunal; and yet an advocate who has not the wherewithal to make out a complete case, by the marshalling of unsatisfactory evidence.

Perhaps the modern historian of antiquity may also be considered as an interpreter, standing between two nations, and translating to the one, the annals of the other: a relator to his own people of the story which another nation has taught him. This comparison approaches, perhaps, somewhat closer to his proper functions: yet, if we confine ourselves even to mere and literal translation, the task offers no small difficulties: the Translator must have lived with both nations, and be familiarized, not merely with the foreign language, but with the foreign habits, customs, and thoughts of the foreign people.

The mode whereby the historian can best satisfy himself, and thus satisfy his readers, is to gain a tone of mind analogous to the result of living conversation and actual observation. You never understand a language so long as you have to make out the grammar, or look out the words in the dictionary: you do not really understand that language until the sight of the phrase suggests the meaning, until the knowledge comes to

you without an effort; becoming a part of yourself, without your knowing how you came by it, like the good performer, who not only can play at sight, but who, when he looks at the crotchets and quavers, hears the sound of the notes through the eye. You never can thoroughly realize a locality till you have trodden the turf beneath your feet, till you have breathed the air.

Laws, usages, habits, language, customs, entwine the bond which binds and bounds each community. Those within the boundary possess an instinctive sense of significations and realities, which no foreigner can obtain. He may, however, approximate to this sensation, by taking up his residence in the country. Such was the course adopted by the Father of History, and whereby he attained that excellence which no one else perhaps has equalled,—certainly none surpassed. Therefore we should treat the mediæval writers as we ought to do if we were living amongst them, as that foreign people with whom we wish to be thoroughly acquainted,—an end we never can accomplish unless we are perfectly on good terms with them, unless we sincerely cultivate their friendship, and try to win their good will—to assimilate ourselves to their feelings, and become one of themselves. We must not depreciate them if they be dull, or revile them because we cannot understand them, or be put out of humour with their look, their accent, their garb.—Bear with

them, do not set yourself against them, do not pride yourselves in reckoning how much wiser or better you are : do not take offence at their imperfections, their simplicity, their rudeness, their ignorance, their ill-breeding, — or rather what you suppose to be ignorance or ill-breeding. You go to learn, to be instructed, and to make the best use you can for yourself and your own people, when you come home, of the knowledge you thus obtain.

The facts immediately before us are only portions of history, and we should accept the memorials of past ages for better and for worse,—taking them all in all. Throughout our studies we must receive the productions of our mediæval writers in a double character, not merely as records of facts, or supposed facts, but also monuments of literature, and memorials of mind. We should not in any wise content ourselves with being mere passive listeners to the story, but always strive to become acquainted with the narrator : we should endeavour to contemplate the book, identified with the writer, according to that truest maxim of friendship—*ama l'amico tuo, con il difetto suo*, —not simply tolerating your friend's faults, not loving him in spite of his faults, but loving him with his faults,—the faults inseparable from the man's individuality ; you cannot have your friend without them—nor the book either.

Their writings contain much which may ap-

pear superfluous—useless in the present advanced state of historical knowledge. Matthew of Westminster, Marianus Scotus or Florence of Worcester, Godfrey of Viterbo and Eckhard of Urangen, preface their histories with the annals of the world, deduced through age and age, until they reach the states of mediæval Christendom. If these are neglected, still more if they are expunged; if we strike out the narrative founded upon holy Writ, combined with Josephus and Eusebius, Orosius and Justin, we obliterate the memorials of their historical theory. The mediæval doctrine of history considered each race and nation as exemplifying the decree imposed upon the destinies of mankind.

These chronicles are strewed with texts, apt to render us somewhat impatient, but they demonstrate the sedulous study of the Bible during the dark and middle ages. They also testify that spirit of humility which taught the wise to place all human knowledge in subjection to the Divine Word:—nay, even the apparently trivial employment of scriptural phraseology, sometimes sounding almost irreverent, resulted from their familiarity with the Scriptures. Like the Covenanters, they thought in Scripture language.

The Monk Ordericus sermonizes occasionally; dully, without doubt, yet we had better not sleep during the Sermon: the proser instructs us according to the standard of his age; and perhaps

we shall be none the worse for the lessons we receive.

His quotations from the classics are very trite: the Preceptor thinks them only fit for the lowest form. This may be granted; but they reveal the extent of his classical knowledge: they shew you that the Norman Monks had a Sallust in Saint Evroul's library.—Sacred and profane are jumbled tastelessly: a text from Proverbs flanked by Lucan's verse; yet this quaint erudition realizes the writer's idiosyncrasy. Ordericus is thereby personified to us: we learn to know him as a living man, not merely as a name of nine letters. We see the Vulgate and the Latin poet upon his table: we learn how he was wont to study the classics for ornament, and to search the Scriptures for the perennial illustration of human nature.

Dudon de Saint-Quentin's turgid eloquence is occasionally fatiguing,—be patient—he will not tire us long; if we value valuable information, we shall be sorry when Dudon leaves off, and we listen with great profit to Dudon's style: he is addressing his patrons, the grandson and great grandson of Rollo: he is labouring to please them: he displays the tone of high-bred cultivation. His Latin is barbarous; nevertheless this rough kitchen-latin is a dialect to be learned by usage; and unless we can compare text with text, we shall never obtain materials for the glossary.

Superstition is laid to the charge of the Pre-

late : he deals in signs and portents, fire-drakes, bloody banners, armies fighting in the clouds, and stars streaming through the sky ; yet these marvels are invaluable to the philosopher, the only recorded observations of natural phenomena, which otherwise would have been lost. The name of a *Mansus* or a *Pagus* occurring in some legend which we have been taught to despise as puerile, may furnish us with incontestable evidence of language, or fix a kingdom's landmark. And if our chronicler borrows largely from other chroniclers, we must not be wearied by such repetitions ; for we thereby ascertain to what extent the writers so copied were diffused by publication, or received as standard authorities. If facts which other chroniclers tell clearly are related by him with slovenliness, or misunderstood, or distorted, we are furnished with a test whereby we can measure his judgment, accuracy and credibility.

Thus, habituating ourselves to treat bygone events as contemporaneous, living in the present world, yet striving to dwell with the past, we shall nevertheless be always more or less necessitated to deal with the history of those who are living in the unseen world, according to the process which we employ in our daily thoughts, discourse, or correspondence, concerning the beings we behold and the embodied souls we consort with, the society we encounter, the events within our observation, or presented to our eyes.

Past and present offer the same trials, and furnish the same discipline; or, rather past and present are one. After all our cogitations, we are coerced to acknowledge that blessings and judgments are equally inscrutable: that many failures are unaccountable, and many successes inexplicable; legitimate expectations of good sorely disappointed—good resulting from evil—large promises and small forthcomings; or the hap and the halfpenny turning to ten thousand pounds.—We are perplexed by secrets which we try to unravel, and fail: we try to account for human conduct, and believe we have thoroughly made out the character, and then are painfully convinced that we have been quite in the wrong. Inconsistencies grieve us in those we love and venerate: virtues vex us when we find them in those we hate or despise.—Driven to speak positively without the power of dismissing internal doubts; dogmatic though wavering; obeying our own judgment, and yet mistrusting our judgment; wearied by problems we cannot solve; egged on by curiosity never to be satisfied;—and compelled at last to humble ourselves, and chasten the desire for knowledge never here to be obtained.



BOOK I.

CARLOVINGIAN NORMANDY.

CHAPTER I.

LOUIS-LE-DEBONNAIRE, HIS PREDECESSORS AND SUCCESSORS.

741—987.

§ 1. THE degeneracy of royal races has ^{741—987} been frequently insisted on, almost invidiously, as affording an irrefragable argument against ^{Alleged degeneracy of royal races.} hereditary monarchy. Such at least is the sentiment raised by implication when the proposition is enounced; and amongst the examples of deterioration usually adduced, the Carlovingsians stand forth most prominently.

The proposition is untrue in the abstract. Select any ancient regal family at a venture, and compare the members of that family with any others of lower degree, whose personal characters can be ascertained with equal precision.

For this branch of moral statistics, the plebeian or meaner classes do not afford the needful materials; but the rich genealogies of European aristocracy, the *Baronage*, the *Visitation*, the *Stammbuch*, the *Théâtre d'Honneur*, the *Nobiliario*,

741—987

will give you the means: crowned Dugdale, tabarded Vincent, cowled Anselme, or Imhoff, or Don Lope de Haro. Royalty may invoke the test: let it be honestly applied, and the investigation will fail to disclose any deduction from the accustomed averages of courage, ability or intellect. Indeed, the calculation would give an opposite result. Austria or Brunswick, Bourbon or Nassau absolutely gain, when paralleled with any known lineage in Germany, in England, or in France, whether anterior or coeval. Place them by the side of Dalberg, or of Truchsess, of Montmorency, or of Howard. It is a peculiar disadvantage attached to Royalty, that whilst princes are exposed to greater temptations than their subjects, their merits are brought more broadly into the blazing light, and construed inimically or deceitfully. Hard judges are we of those below us—harder when judging our superiors. Cruelly censured, more cruelly flattered, monarchs are the victims either way—their faults extenuated, except when combined with unpopular virtues, their virtues reviled if unpopular, their popular virtues soiled by vulgar praise. Mankind, by a re-action of rude contempt, compensate themselves for their own servility.

Untrue in the abstract, the imputation of degeneracy is equally untrue in this particular instance. Examine that wide-spreading imperial stem, rooted in Pepin of Heristal—much

noble fruit does that tree bear, noble though bitter.—Charlemagne was one of those great men ^{741—987} whose talents concurring with their opportunities, render them sole and single in the world. His descendants are inferior by comparison, but not positively. Few amongst them can be discovered really deficient in the natural qualities or talents needed for royal authority: some possessed these qualities in a high degree—prudence, prowess, contrivance, genius and energy. The fact rather is, that, for their historical reputation, they had overmuch talent. The rivals—sons and fathers, fathers and sons, nephews and uncles, uncles and nephews, brothers and brothers, were too equally matched. Had any one crushed his competitors, so as to restore the ancestral glory, all their individual slips and weaknesses would have been forgotten. But the whole family yielded to their adverse Nemesis.

Clio has no toleration for the unprosperous: the mirror in which she reflects their images magnifies every blemish. She courses after the triumphal car, shouting like the crowd whom she encourages and by whom she is encouraged:—woe to the vanquished, woe to the weak, woe to the oppressed, woe to the humble, woe to the poor,—men, nations, kingdoms! As in the world, so in the page of history.

§ 2. Had it not been for their misfortunes, we should have heard nothing of this supposed

The ill-fortune attached to the Carolingian Empire.

741—987 degeneracy. Lodi does not afford stronger evidence of Napoleon's undaunted spirit, than is found in his open, avowed belief, that he, who created an Empire more vast and more transitory than Charlemagne's, owed his good fortune to a ruling Star, an inevitable Destiny. He did not fear that by this confession he lessened his own reputation, or detracted from his intellect, or humiliated his talent. We may dislike such terms as "ruling star" or "inevitable destiny," but the truth which the words convey is eternal. The whole system of the moral world depends on an Almighty Providence, ever present, ever active, directing or thwarting our own free agency.

How the Unchangeable counsel and human liberty can work concurrently, is utterly inconceivable to us. Nevertheless, insoluble as the problem must ever be, the consciousness of our own existence is not clearer than our innate perception that though Life and Death, Good and Evil, are set before us for our unrestrained choice, we all have had our course immutably defined for weal or woe: and, speaking in the common phrase with reference to worldly position, for good fortune, mediocrity or misfortune; for prosperity or misery. But Human Reason cannot abide that her divinations should be frustrated: the doctrines which we acknowledge practically we scarcely ever will recognize intellectually, and we strive to find any cause except the true one for

the unequal destinies of mankind. The permanence of Charlemagne's Empire, even in his lifetime, though sustained by his wisdom and energy, was nevertheless effected only through the congruity of his exertions with a combination of circumstances which never could prevail again.—When passed, the possibility was entirely lost. 741—987

Thick and lowering were the tempests gathering on the horizon, while the sun shone bright and cheerful on the vaulted roofs of Aix-la-Chapelle; but as Charlemagne grew old, his good fortune declined more rapidly than his declining days. Had his life been prolonged, he must have yielded to the adversities which his own success prepared. The conformation of his Empire invited external enemies, forbade internal peace. He was taken away from the evil to come; even like the merchant, who having toiled and fretted to acquire great wealth, and succeeded in his speculations by the contingencies of the mart or the exchange, sickens and sinks when his Firm is about to break, and is thus spared the humiliation of ruin.

Experience, charts, knowledge of soundings, may enable the navigator to escape many dangers, but hurricanes will arise, rendering all seamanship unavailing—*Afflavit Deus et dissipantur*. The partitions of the Carlovingian Empire were unavoidable. The system begun under the Merovingians, the usage of the

Partitions
of the Em-
pire un-
avoidable.

741—987 Frankish Realm, which could scarcely have been abandoned without difficulty by the son of Charles Martel, now became inevitable and destructive. Charlemagne's hand had grasped more sceptres than even that mighty hand could hold, and from the hands of his successors they could not but fall. The contests arising from these partitions were as irremediable as the partitions themselves.

The Fourth Monarchy not to be confounded with the Carolingian Empire.

The Imperial authority, reinvigorated by Charlemagne, must be carefully distinguished from his personal Empire; though, viewed in the same line of sight, their images often blend into each other. As Emperor, Charlemagne represented the authority derived from Rome, Rome of the Eagle standard, Pagan Rome, Heathen Rome, the Rome of the Seven Hills, the Rome of Romulus, of Tarquin, of Brutus, the Rome of the Cæsars;—Rome drunken with the blood of Saints and Martyrs, the Rome who built the Coliseum and raised the triumphal arch, the Rome who crucified Saint Peter in the Forum of Nero, cast Saint Paul into the Mamertine dungeons, and plunged Saint John into the cauldron of boiling oil;—that Rome identified by ancient Fathers and interpreters with the Apocalyptic Babylon:—that Rome whose power was symbolized by the gothic imagery and rhyming epigraph of the Golden Bull, *Roma caput mundi, regit orbis frena rotundi*.—That Roman Empire, whose spirit transmigrated through Frederick of Hohenstauffen and Henry

of Luxemburg and Joseph of Lorraine—That Imperial pre-eminence, which, placing its possessor at the honorary summit of the European Commonwealth, subsisted, however debilitated, till the end of the appointed season, when the portraiture of the last effete successor of Charlemagne filled the last vacant tablet in the Frankfort Rœmer Saal. 741—987

As the Representative of the Fourth Empire, Charlemagne was only a transitory instrument in her yet unaccomplished destiny. Our present concern lies with the political history of the Carlovingian Empire, composed of the Kingdoms descending to him by inheritance from an ancestor, who, but for success, would have been termed an usurper, united to the dominions so gloriously gained by his own successful talent, prowess, and energy.

Amongst other inherent germs of evil in the Carlovingian Empire, was the absence of any definite law of succession or heritable representation: the children acknowledged the parent's power of appointing or partitioning his dominions, but never obeyed that power practically or honestly unless under compulsion, or when it suited their own interest. No certain principle could be discovered, whether an appropriation once made to this or that son or nephew was or was not revocable or irrevocable. Some portions of the Empire had distinct constitutional rights;

Evils arising in the Carlovingian Empire from the absence of any certain law of succession.

741—987

Aquitaine especially so : so also Armorica, so also Bavaria. Austrasia and Neustria were sometimes considered as united in one great national Assembly, and sometimes not. Popular assent to the succession was sometimes solicited and sometimes neglected: the throne was elective without election, hereditary without heirship. These excitements to jealousy and ambition were more than human nature could withstand. The dismemberments which ultimately distributed the Carolingian Empire amongst Charlemagne's descendants, who shared them with the greater or lesser communities, with the princes or feudatories of mediæval Italy, Germany and France, were the natural cleavages of masses merely agglutinated by pressure. The races whom Charlemagne had subjugated, the countries over which he ruled, were centres of mutual repulsion. The very essence of the Empire was the preparation for the impending disintegration. No prudence could remedy the inherent malconformation of the Carolingian Empire—the trouble was inseparably attached to the inheritance.

Carlovin-
gian Em-
pire. Its
component
parts mu-
tually re-
pulsive.

Ill ends of
the Carlo-
vingians.

Constantly assailed from within, the external enemies possessed a power of infestation which could not be quelled. As I have observed on a former occasion, the Northmen, in particular, were like clouds of mosquitoes, which, dispersed by the hand passing through them, immediately gathered again. In all their concerns,


the descendants of Charlemagne were beset by untoward circumstances; events, which would have seemed indifferent or promising well, ending badly. The good wine turning sour: small hurts festering into ulcers: unhappy marriages; domestic dissensions, imprudencies of passion, infirmities, diseases; premature, violent and plebeian deaths, none in the field of battle; and these deaths occurring at junctures when the life of the Sovereign was of most importance for the welfare of the State.

§ 3. Mathematicians have felt aggrieved, because they often hear those who are usually called “sensible men,” “educated men” and the like, assert that they do not doubt of “runs of luck;” speaking in a tone which implies that the occurrences of such tides of success or adversity are occasioned by an unknown or mysterious cause. The Analyst calls this a superstition; but there is a superstition approaching to weakness, or worse, in being over afraid of superstition. Men do not doubt the fact of “luck,” simply because the casual coincidences, which over-rule all theories of moral or mathematical probability, are matters of daily observation.

Doctrine of
probabili-
ties.

The theories of probabilities may be indisputably true according to mathematical reasoning, shewing that no one man can have a greater chance in the game than another; nevertheless, experience constantly contradicts the reasoning.

741—987 Perhaps we may rather say, that both views of the question are true ; if so be we recollect that “chance,” under every form or mode of existence, is predestinated in the universal plan of Providence. Matter, Life, Soul and Spirit are ruled by the One Maker of all things visible and invisible, the One Lord of infinity and eternity. Every permutation, every succession, every series and every combination of number, weight, or measure, is pre-ordained. Omnipresence cannot be absent. The Omnipotent cannot be limited, nor his Omniscience bounded. Upon that Earth which has been created for the habitation of man, accident is regulated with determined relations to the accountable beings who are affected by the events, fortuitous and yet designed. The Gamester is brought to the Casino when the faces of the die are to be turned uppermost which will make or mar his fortune. He is conducted thither to meet the pre-directed series of throws. By figures, and tables, and theorems we calculate ourselves out of these realities ; but activity, anxiety, above all, danger will surely bring them home. “Every bullet has its billet,” says the soldier, who falls into the contrary extreme, yielding to the dreary apathy of a blind fatality. Yet the soldier expresses himself truly, for the man who receives the mortal wound is driven by the destroying Angel before the mouth of the cannon whose discharge



is to cut him off. And this involves the whole bearing of casualties and apparent trifles upon the mightiest affairs of collective mankind. Universal History bears witness to the truth, yet the Philosophy of History shrinks away from the conclusions which she dares not deny. 741—987

Nor with respect to those events resulting evidently from physical laws, is the need of the acknowledgment less cogent; for we are bound to reverence these laws as the emanations of Almighty power, obeying His will. When the Sun's noon-day rays are made to fire the meridian mortar, the explosion occasioned by the unvaried rotation of the planetary sphere is effected by the workman whose adaptation of the lens guided the concentrated beams.

Apply the same reasonings to all the operations of secondary causes developed in the material or transitory world, when they are rendered directly and immediately subservient to the government of the spiritual or eternal kingdom. Very superficial and erroneous are the Teachers who worry themselves to employ their Science, the outward yet marvellous knowledge of the works of God obtained through the senses, in discrediting or denying the dispensation that the particular events, occasioned by the regular and orderly course of nature, do equally fulfil the decree of special Providence. The mist or the blast may be condensed or dispersed, guided or

741—987 stayed by the general laws of electricity and heat, of air and moisture; and the fertility of the field certainly depends on the operation of the laws by which vegetation is promoted or retarded. But the husbandman, who acknowledges the abundance as a blessing, or who receives the failing crop as a punishment, has been allotted to that very field for his profit or his trial; and for *him*, each individual cloud has been wafted upon the wings of the wind, with the purposed intent that it may drop fatness on the glebe, or destroy the hopes of the harvest. No event can be disconnected from the First Cause of all events. It was one of the shallow gibes of Frederick “the Great,” that, somehow or another, Providence always takes the side of the King who has the largest battalions. This dictum has not even the recommendation of historical truth—he himself falsified it. But even if it were true, it would not in any wise alter the highest truth, for the question would still remain to be answered, Who imparts the power by which the armies are raised?

Great perplexity of
Carlovin-
gian his-
tory.

§ 4. It is a hindrance to historical research that this Carlovingian era is the most confused in mediæval history; we approach it with distaste. The best informed amongst the French historians, while they expatiate upon the importance annexed to a period constituting the starting-point of our subsisting European system, express themselves strongly concerning the species of

disgust excited by its perplexity. The investigator ^{741—987} feels entangled in a morass. The dissensions and dismemberments, divisions and subdivisions of the Carlovingians and the Carlovingian Empire, cannot be comprehended through any one consecutive recital. Each and every Emperor, King and Pretender, claims in his turn to be presented either as the principal or the subordinate agent. Austrasia, Neustria, Bavaria, Alemannia, Italy, Aquitaine, Lorraine, each kingdom or appanage has a special story, conflicting and conjoined with the story and stories of the others, and yet destitute of any unity sufficiently marked to present a decided prominence, round which the others may be satisfactorily grouped. Each narrative is twisted into loops, or darts off into abrupt zigzags; no one can be made to run in a straight path.

The materials which deter and invite the enquirer are most curious, copious and authentic. Five folio volumes are devoted by the Benedictines to Languedoc, the bulk of one such tome is filled with the history of Aquitaine during the Carlovingian reigns: the like proportion obtains in their equally extensive history of Burgundy, not a page too much in either. The difficulties arising from this embarrassment of riches are enhanced by the frequent recurrence of the same family names; also by changes of names; also by the plurality of names assigned to one and the same individual; also by the con-

Difficulties
arising
from copi-
ousness of
materials:
recurrence
of the same
names, &c.

741—987 version of titles of dignity into proper names, the last peculiarly with females. These causes of confusion occur in other regions of mediæval history, particularly amongst the Cymric tribes; but then we are partially helped by patronymics, whereas the latter are absent amongst the nations who adopted the Romance tongues.

Obscurity
of histori-
cal Geo-
graphy.

The historical Geography of the Carlovingian Empire is extremely obscure: denominations are given colloquially and loosely, names of nations or tribes confounded with names of countries, the name of a particular territory frequently translated to the whole dominion: just as we sometimes carelessly employ the name of "England," as equivalent to Great Britain, or to the United Kingdom, or even to the British Empire. Boundaries were changed, enlarged, contracted: thus the term Neustria is commonly but erroneously assigned to the district which afterwards became Normandy, though the Duchy was but a small portion of the Carlovingian Neustria. And inasmuch as this Carlovingian period is a transition period, the geographical nomenclature of later times is constantly blended by anticipation with more ancient designations. Systematic accuracy in the employment of the geographical names is scarcely obtainable; and when attainable, often inconsistent with intelligibility.

Summary
of the Car-
lovingian

§ 5. This first Chapter contains the argument of Norman history. The reign of Louis-le-

débonnaire shattered the Carlovingian Empire and let the Northmen in; and as the shortest and clearest mode of explaining the future narrative, I shall also present the reader with a brief historical genealogy of the Carlovingians until their dethronement in Italy, Germany and France—their dethronement, not their extinction—summarily indicating the various partitions, divisions, and severances of the Empire, all with reference to transactions and events belonging to the history of Normandy, or to the provinces connected with Norman or Anglo-Norman history.

741—987
genealogies, presented as the argument of Norman story.

In compiling these genealogies, I have scarcely attempted to distinguish between the children called legitimate and those to whom legitimacy is denied. Opinion often made little difference between them: The "*Spurius*" is scarcely stigmatized—he was the child of the "*Amica*"—"naturalis" was taken adjectively, especially in England, equally to denote children born in lawful matrimony as well as those who were not: an ambiguity sometimes causing great mistakes. It is sometimes used to designate the child of a marriage voidable but not void: a *Nothus* was the offspring of adultery; yet the value of epithets in these matters was liable to great changes, and their meanings are very fluctuating: *Mamzer* was the most opprobrious, *escorto natus*, but it did not disgrace Ebles of Poitou, or William the Conqueror.

Difficulty of distinguishing between legitimate and illegitimate children.

741—987

Illegitimate sons were evidently regarded with jealousy by the acknowledged heirs: some, thus branded, obtained the throne; the fact is, that it was often difficult to decide upon the *status* of the party. Concubinage was lawful according to the Teutonic usages, though condemned by the Church; but her jurisdiction in matrimonial causes was tardily acknowledged. We can scarcely discern the exact period when the benediction of the Priest became absolutely needful for the confirmation of a marriage already contracted according to the ancient customs and legal forms, taught by ancestral tradition and recognized as binding amongst the Teutonic nations before they adopted Christianity. Or, to state the matter technically and in the language of our common law, the era had not yet arrived, when any proceeding like the Bishop's Certificate, *ne unques accoupli*, was received as conclusive evidence by the secular tribunal in questions of marriage. The terms *Regina* or *Amica*, *Uxor* or *Pellex*, are therefore not so scandalously apart from each other as they seem. If we try to sift the question,—which the French historians often do with more earnestness than profit,—the grounds of discrimination between the lawful or unlawful consort, the wife or the concubine, frequently become very vague and uncertain. Look at Charlemagne and the bevy of beauties who surround him—Himeltruda, Her-

mengarda, Bertha or Desiderata, Hildegarda, 741—987
 Fastrada, Luitgarda, Mathelgarda, Adelinda, Ger-
 suinda, Reguina, the unnamed damsel said to
 have fascinated him by the talismanic ring :—
 viewed as his Odalisks, they may all be reckoned
 in nearly the same category.

The arrangement of this Chapter is not strictly methodical : some sections are larger in proportion than others; but when compiling the synopsis, after having tried various plans to render the subject useful and intelligible, I have acted as if I were a teacher reading with a pupil.—In that case, I would place before him the original Chronicles, and underline, and also mark in the margin those passages and particulars which would either exemplify the ethos of the age, or guide and help him in making out the subsequent portions of Norman and Anglo-Norman history, so much involved, first with the Carlovingians, and next with the Capets. The King of France supporting or opposing a Duke of Normandy is a character nearly as important to us as the Duke of Normandy himself. Names of persons and names of places, men and localities, act upon doctrines and incidents like the mordants which fix the otherwise fugitive dye upon the memory; and I would advise the student to peruse the following sections as if he were turning over my marked and underlined volume.

The whole subject is most pregnant and fruit-

741—987 } ful, not merely in relation to the events of this specific period, but from their connexion with the subsequent portions of French history. Even in the present contingencies and catastrophes distracting the European world, we are under the full play of the impulses given by the vicissitudes which the Carlovingian Empire sustained, and the principles then evolved.

Charles
Martel and
his issue.

§ 6. CHARLES MARTEL had six sons; Carloman, Pepin-le-bref, Gripho, Remigius, Jerome, and Bernard.

741.
He divides
Childeric's
kingdom,
and dies,
Oct. 24.

Long-haired Childeric was still called King of the Franks; but the Major-domus thought no more about the descendant of Clovis at Soissons or wherever he might be, than the Governor General does of Aurungzebe's successor, Shah Allum, or whatever his name may be, at Delhi. When Charles Martel, prematurely old, felt the near approach of death, he apportioned amongst his three elder sons, Carloman, Pepin, and Gripho, the Kingdoms to which he had small right. Carloman shall rule Austrasia, Alemannia, the *Schwabenland*, and Thuringia. Let Pepin take Neustria, Burgundia, and the Provincia Romana. Gripho was to have a State, indicated as composed of counties or regions severed from the three Kingdoms of Burgundia, Neustria, and Austrasia. Ambition for the future glory of his family may have induced Charles Martel to stint the youngest of the three. In right of his mother Swanhilda,

Gripho was an *Agilolfing*, and might claim Bavaria, bold independent Bavaria, and his scantier share would urge him on.—Aquitaine, not yet reduced, was left to the valour of Carloman or Pepin.

741—987

741—768

Upon the death of Charles Martel, a quarrel instantly arose in the family for their father's spoil. Carloman and Pepin combined against Gripho, to deprive him of his modest appanage. Eginhard, Charlemagne's son-in-law, represents Gripho as the rebel. More impartial authorities shew the contrary. Gripho dreaded his brothers, and with his mother Swanhilda fled to a castle in the Ardennes, and afterwards to Laon. We cannot follow his wanderings: he fought bravely, and the contests between him and his two brothers, but ultimately only with Pepin the survivor, lasted many years, during which he sustained great vicissitudes.—He conquered and lost Bavaria, extorted from his brothers a Duchy containing twelve Counties, and lost them also. His struggles against his enemies were unavailing, and he was miserably slain. Carloman, troubled in conscience, grew weary of the world, resigned his authority, became a monk, and died happily at Monte-Casino. Children he had: a son Drogo, and others whose names we cannot ascertain. Thus abdicating, he placed them under the wardship of his brother Pepin. There was no hesitation on the part of Pepin as to his proper course: he declared himself

741. 748.

Disensions
between
his sons.

747.

Carloman
abdicates:
his children
dispos-
essed by
their uncle
Pepin.

741—987

}

741—768

the unlimited heir of Carloman's rights and realms, dispossessed his nephews completely, would not assign to them a county, not even a villa or domain; and causing them to be shorn, they died forgotten in some monastery.

Younger
sons of
Charles
Martel.

With respect to the three younger sons of Charles Martel, they were all well provided for in the Church or by ecclesiastical preferments, and gave no trouble to their elder brother, Pepin. Remigius was elected to the see of Rouen: a good archbishop, and canonized. Jerome is said to have been Abbot of Sithiu, so well known in the times of Francis the First and Charles the Fifth as St. Quentin, a place of which we shall have much to say hereafter. Bernard, under the title of Comes or Count, was certainly Lay-abbot of that same great monastery. Bernard had five children—Adelhard, Wala or Wallach, Bernarius, Gundrada, and Theodrada. Adelhard and Wala were men who helped to change the whole fortunes of the Carlovingian Empire: unwitting of the results, they contributed most effectually to cause its downfall. They were half brothers: Wala's mother was a Saxon lady, and whether from his looks or some other token, this national descent was very conspicuous, though the son of a Frank and born in the Frankish land; and he was therefore usually called Wala the Saxon.

Bernard,
Count or
Lay-abbot
of St. Quentin:
his
children.

752.

Accession
of Pepin-
le-bref.

§ 7. PEPIN-LE-BREF, possessing all royal power, now assumed the title and state of a crowned

King, King of the Frankish monarchy. Childeric, ^{741—987} the last of the Merovingians, was deposed and ^{741—814} shorn. Carloman, a monk, was dead to the world; so also were his children—Griphe a fugitive—the three younger brothers contented, and the disposition of his dominions entirely in Pepin's power.

Pepin-le-bref had two sons, David (for that ^{Pepin-le-bref: division of his dominions.} really appears to have been his name) otherwise Charles or Charlemagne, and Carloman. Charlemagne obtained the western portion of the Frankish Realm, extending in a somewhat irregular line from Friezeland to the Pyrenees; Carloman had Austrasia, the ancient home of the Franks, and long honoured as superior amongst their kingdoms; *la souveraine France ki est li Rôyaumes de Austrasie*, as we find the same denominated in the Chronicles of Saint Denis; moreover, the Kingdom of Burgundy, including the Provincia Romana; and Eastern Aquitaine, or that region which was annexed to the Austrasian Kingdom. Carloman died in the lifetime of his ^{771.} elder brother, leaving three sons, the canonized ^{Death of Carloman.} Bishop of Nice, Saint Sergius, and two others, the elder named Pepin.

§ 8. CHARLEMAGNE took to himself the ^{768.} whole of his father's realms: first his own share, ^{Oct. 9.} and then his brother's. The issue of Carloman ^{Accession of Charlemagne.} were disinherited by their uncle. Saint Sergius seems quietly to have abandoned all claims.

741—987 Gerberga, Carloman's widow, fled to Lombardy,
 741—814 where she was received by her father King Desiderius, who attempted to assert the rights of her young children his grandsons; but the *parvuli*, as they are called by the Chroniclers, disappear from history. If they lived, they fell into the power of their uncle, and were probably shut up and shorn in a monastery.

Charle-
 magne's
 children.

Charlemagne had seven sons who attained maturity. Pepin-le-bossu, handsome in countenance, though marked by bodily deformity: Charles, King of Neustria and Austrasia: Pepin, (originally called Carloman,) King of Italy: Louis, King of Aquitaine, in history denominated *Ludovicus-pius*, or *Louis-le-débonnaire*: Drogo, Bishop of Metz, drowned whilst fishing, by a great fish which drew him into the water: Hugh, Abbot of Saint Quentin; and Clerk Thierry. Pepin-le-bossu rebelled against Charlemagne, seeking, as it is said, his father's life: he was pardoned, but shut up in the monastery of Pruhm, whose monks were then reclaiming the desolate Eifeld. In this and all similar cases, I anticipate epithets, titles and dignities for the purpose of identifying the parties. Charlemagne in his own life-time never was addressed by his historic name. It was late before Charles, Pepin, and Louis, received their Kingdoms. Drogo and Hugh did not acquire their preferments till after Charlemagne's death.

Charlemagne divided his kingdom amongst the second, third, and fourth—Charles, Pepin and Louis—placing each son in the portion assigned to him, sharing the administration of his dominions amongst his children during his life; a division which he confirmed by Charter before the prelates and nobles of the Gauls and Germany at Thionville, six years after he received the Imperial Crown. But they had all been actually in possession of their authority many years before.

741—987

741—814
806.Division of
the Empire
between
Charles,
Pepin and
Louis.

To Charles, he gave the head and heart of his realm. Neustria, which may be considered equivalent to modern France, north of the Seine, and Austrasia, *Souveraine France*, now, thanks to his conquests, extending from Meuse to Elbe: Austrasia, whose ambit included the most primitive and unaltered of the Teutonic tribes, and the most signal monuments of Roman domination and splendour;—Ostphalen, still swarming with Heathendom; free Friezeland, hardly conscious of the Imperial power, yet claiming her liberties from the concessions of the majestic Cæsar; the red land of Westphalen, awed by the mysterious Vehmgericht; scarcely-subjugated Taxandria, Menapia and the country of the Morini; Brabant and Flanders, uncleared, covered by the dark forests whose remnants yet subsist in the woods of Soignies, all purely Teuton. To these were conjoined that rich and flourishing Ripuarian country, whose sons had at so early

806.

Portion
assigned to
Charles,
Neustria,
Austrasia,
&c.

741—987 a period become the willing imitators or disciples
 of Rome's legislation and policy,—Colonia Agrip-
 pina, delighting in her Roman descent, whose
 Senate and Republic long retained the municipal
 ranks and orders which Rome had bestowed;—
 Metz, whose citizens exulted that Metz was Metz
 before the Franks were known;—Treves, adorned
 by the solid magnificence of Roman art, but
 boasting that Treves had stood thirteen hundred
 years ere Rome was founded.

Portion
 assigned to
 Pepin.

Pepin had all Carlovingian Italy. Lombardy, lost by Desiderius, from Alps to Appenines, the Tuscan Marquisate, the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Dukedom of Rome. Moreover, the wide-extended land of Bavaria, as held by Tassilo, opening down to Valtellina, conjoining Germany with the Lombard marches. Thus his dominion, bounded on the far North and East by the Hercynian forest and the Danube, descended to Benevento, the extreme South of the Empire.

Portion
 assigned to
 Louis.

The portion assigned to Louis fully maintained his dignity amongst his brethren. He was invested with the Kingdom of Aquitaine, vastly enlarged by annexations and conquest: Gascony, swarming with restless population:—the Spanish marches, the marches of Gascony, the marches of Gothia or Septimania,—the Tolosain and Auvergne,—most also if not all the counties and *pagi* within the great Archiepiscopal provinces of Bourges and Bourdeaux, composing

a state equally opulent and defensible.—Some
 few margins excepted, Louis was acknowledged
 in all the lands between Ebro, Rhone and Loire
 and the Atlantic and Mediterranean, the seas
 into which these three great rivers pour their
 waters.

§ 9. Dangerous as the practice thus sanctioned by Charlemagne of dividing the Empire may be pronounced, the transaction was dictated by necessity. Infirmary of power resulted from the ambition of power. It was physically impossible that such an Empire could continue to obey a single Sovereign residing at Aix-la-Chapelle or Ingleheim, Compiègne or Nimeguen. Charlemagne perceived that his Empire must fall to pieces by its own weight, unless clamped together by local governments possessing an unity of interest. Risk for risk, even with all hazards of rivalry, who better than brethren? His institutions were carefully planned for maintaining an unity of dominion. Yet anxious must have been the retrospect, and more anxious the forebodings, when Charlemagne, his heart trembling within him, dictated the clauses, needful, as he deemed, to secure the permanence of the dominion he had founded. He declared that the younger branches should be under the jurisdiction of the elder.—The extent of the authority is obscurely indicated by its restrictions. Fathers or uncles were not to inflict upon sons or nephews the punish-

741—987

741—814

Necessity
 of the di-
 vision of
 the Carlo-
 vingian
 Empire.
 Principles
 of the par-
 tition.
 Gibbon's
 censure ill-
 founded.

741—987

741—814

ments of death, mutilation, blinding, or perpetual imprisonment, the last so odiously accompanied by the enforced monastic vow. The Empire was governed as one State. A civil Hierarchy of Dukes or Counts, amovable perhaps by prerogative, but permanent in many cases by usage, or selected from the old enchorial lineages, satisfied to a certain extent the desire of nationality. Pepin he caused to be educated from his early youth in Lombardy. Louis was born in Aquitaine, and it is probable that the journey whereby his mother, Queen Hermengarda was brought to Cas-seneuil on the Lot, and which rendered him an Aquitanian by birth-place, did not result from accident. Moreover, the transmission of authority to his grandsons was, as it should seem, to depend upon a threefold title, the nomination of the parent, the election made by the people, and the assent of the surviving Monarchs, the uncles of the designated heir.

It is a mistaken supposition that the mediæval sovereigns were ignorant concerning the extent, value and situation of their dominions. This has been very confidently asserted with respect to the partitions of the Carolingian Empire. But the system of administration was ably organized. The country was constantly traversed. They understood it from its own face. Travel and tramp are good teachers both of statistics and geography : much is learnt without

maps or tables. Trust the farmer for knowing every nook of his holding, though he may never have seen a survey. Kings were thoroughly acquainted with the resources of their dominions;—how much provisions a province would furnish, sheep or kine, oxen or swine;—how much money could be collected, and whether the collection were easy or no;—how many soldiers the land could raise, and whether, if raised, they were to be trusted or dreaded, stationed in the van or the rear. Charlemagne well knew the difficulties of dealing with the qualities and distinctions of race. In the tripartite division plotted out by him, his attention was peculiarly directed to these elements of strength and weakness.

Romanized Gauls, Romanized Franks, and the stern and half-reclaimed tribes retaining their ancient Teutonic spirit, were judiciously balanced in the kingdom given to Charles.—A similar equilibrium Charlemagne established in Pepin's portion, which included the extremes of refinement and barbarity.—Lastly, the solid kingdom of Aquitaine, supporting the Spanish marches, opposed a needful bulwark against the Saracens, who penetrating to the centre of the *Provincia Romana*, raised their towers upon the amphitheatre of Arles, the Arabs, checked, but not daunted, and yearning to avenge the shame they had sustained from Charles Martel's heavy hand.

741—987

741—814

Adverse
contingen-
cies disap-
pointing
the plans
of Char-
lemagne.

809.

Pepin,
King of
Italy, at-
tacks the
Venetians
in the La-
gune, and
is defeated
by them.

§ 10. But the deep-thought schemes of Charlemagne's policy and political wisdom, his cares for the future, all came to nought. The black sails of the Northmen had been seen in the horizon hovering off the coasts of his Empire: the Saracens were renewing their attacks; the Slavonians attempted to regain their freedom, and the Carolingian power received a check, indicating the approaching decline.

Pepin, King of Italy, prepared to attack the rising republic of the Venetians. They had avoided acknowledging Pepin's authority and incurred Charlemagne's indignation: their merchants, already traders of note, had been expelled from Ravenna. Pepin entered the Lagune with a mighty fleet. The seat of government had been removed from Torcello to Malamocco: the vessels of Pepin, filled with the boldest soldiery, had successively occupied Chiozza, Palestrina, and Albiola. Malamocco was indefensible; and by the advice of the Doge Angelo Participazio, the whole population took refuge in Rio Alto, unoccupied except by the fishermen whose hovels dotted its shores; and it was this migration, which, reducing the other isles to comparative insignificance, raised the Palace of the Adriatic Queen. Entangled in the Lagune, the heavy drawing Lombard barks, surrounded by light Venetian boats, were pestered by the Greek fire. Many were burnt, some few escaped with the

rising tide. The engagement took place in or 741—987
 about the Canale Orfano, which, according to the 814—840
 popular tradition, derived its name from this
 battle: so many were the children rendered
 fatherless by the slaughter. A painting of the
 conflict still exists amongst the faded adornments
 of the dreary Sala del Scrutinio. Pepin retired 810.
 to Milan, sickened and died, leaving one son, Death of
 Bernard his successor. Pepin,
King of
Italy.

This is the Pepin whose bounty raised at
 Verona the Basilica of San' Zeno, and whose se-
 pulchral catacomb is excavated in the cemetery
 hard by.

Death had now grasped the family: within a 811.
 year, the death of Pepin was followed by the Death of
 death of his brother Charles, King of Austrasia Charles,
King of
Austrasia.
 and Neustria. Charlemagne had been proud of
 Pepin; Louis was most promising, yet Charles
 was on the whole the son most dearly loved.
 The old Monarch was so afflicted and broken
 down, that his natural affection was almost im-
 puted to him as a blame. His health failing, he
 put his affairs in order. All the Bishops, Abbots,
 Counts and Nobles, all the Senators of the Franks
 were convened at Aix-la-Chapelle. With their
 assent he directed Louis with his own hands, to 813.
 lift up the crown from off the altar, and to place Sept.
 the diadem on his own head. *Vivat Imperator* Charle-
Ludovicus resounded from the multitude. Then magne in-
 calling up Bernard the son of Pepin, Charlemagne augurates
 as his suc- Louis-le-
debonnaire
cessor.

741—987 invested his grandchild with Pepin's Kingdom of
 Italy, and caused him equally to be hailed as King:
 814—840 lastly, before the august assembly, he earnestly
 commended the children of his old age, his three
 young sons, Hugh, Drogo, and Thierry, to the
 care of the new Emperor: Louis swore that he
 would be their guardian and protector: no appa-
 nage did Charlemagne bestow upon them which
 might enfeeble the Empire—he entrusted them to
 their brother's love. In the gallery of the Ba-
 silica he had erected his marble throne, covered
 with plates of gold, studded with Greek cameos
 and astral gems from Nineveh or Babylon. Be-
 fore that throne were the stairs, straight down
 decending to the sepulchre which Charlemagne
 had already dug deep for himself in the holy
 ground, even when he raised that marble throne.
 Soon afterwards the huge broad flagstone which
 covers the vault was heaved up,—there they reve-
 rently deposited the embalmed corpse, surrounded
 by ghastly magnificence, sitting erect on his curule
 chair, clad in his silken robes, ponderous with
 broidery, pearls, and orfray, the imperial diadem
 on his head, his closed eyelids covered, his face
 swathed in the dead clothes, girt with his baldric,
 the ivory horn slung in his scarf, his good sword
 Joyeuse by his side, the Gospel-book open on his
 lap,—musk and amber, and sweet spices poured
 around,—his golden shield and golden sceptre
 pendant before him.

814.
 Jan. 28.
 Death and
 entomb-
 ment of
 Charle-
 magne.

§ 11. Charlemagne's dissoluteness contrasts painfully with the virtues of his mainly just and pious character. Haroun Alraschid's compeer, the license of Bagdad luxuriated at Aix-la-Chapelle; but the Moslem Caliph, far more excusable than the Christian Emperor, did not violate the law by which his conscience was bound.

741—987

814—840

Charle-
magne's
licentious-
ness.

Men hardly dared to blame the glorious Monarch, so bountiful, so brave, so charitable, so liberal to Priest and Poor, so equitable, so wise, bright and active; in his genius both practical and poetical, so honest, affectionate and hearty, knowing his duty, so thoroughly following that duty in many points, sometimes even restraining his ambition, but never attempting to contend against the temptations of lust, becoming as he grew older more doting in his folly. Great scandal, but also great sorrow was occasioned by Charlemagne's conduct, sorrow ending not with life. According to the doctrines of the age, prayer, penitence and charity connected the living with the departed: departed, not dead; living under punishment, but still within reach of help, asking for aid; hence the dead were perhaps more endeared to the thoughts of those who loved them, even than when sustaining their earthly trial.

Popular
opinion re-
probating
Charle-
magne.

Evidence of
the prevail-
ing senti-
ments in the
Vision of
Wettinus.

The subsistence of these dogmas in the largest portions of Christendom to the present day, very imperfectly represents the psychological influence which they possessed in the mediæval

741—987

814—840

era, when they were not opposed by any antagonistic habits of thought or philosophy. In the opinion, teaching that the supplications and good works of those living in the valley of tears, refreshed the disembodied spirit, all were consensual. However conflicting the forms of faith might be, on this article of belief all substantially agreed, Jew, Christian and Moslem. All contemporary theology supported this credence, and no one had contributed more to popularize the sentiment by connecting it with a literary or intellectual interest, than Gregory the Great, whose dramatic dialogues contain so many legends of visions and apparitions which now unfortunately tempt us to irreverend scorn. The state of the dead was also constantly portrayed and realized to the imagination by the rude precursors of Orgagna and Michael Angelo,—corpses mouldering in their sepulchres, the horrible conceptions combining life and death, the half-fleshed skeleton, and the light of the eye glaring through the hollow socket of the skull: Emperors, Kings, Queens and Prelates, sinners and saints, writhing in anguish or calm in beatitude, as seen in the mosaics keenly glittering through the dark arches of the Basilica, equally excited the fancy and sustained the mourners' hopes and fears.

The cripple who had profited by Charlemagne's bounty, the suitor whom he had graciously relieved, the criminal to whom he had shewn mercy,

the veteran who remembered his liberality, the
 matron who in her blooming maiden days had
 admired his noble features and stately form, the
 monk secluded in the monastery which he had
 endowed, would all seek to offer their suffrages
 for the repose of his soul, his liberation from
 expiatory flame.

741—987

814—840

Of the general opinion entertained concerning Charlemagne, the anxious grief prevailing respecting the error, which more than any other, has tarnished his transcendant reputation, we possess a remarkable memorial.

Just where the Rhine rushes away with youthful vigour through the Lake of Constance, is the Island of Reichenau, the *rich meadow*, thus called from its great fertility, upon which, years ago, we saw the portal, now demolished, the last mutilated vestige of the monastery, in the Carlovingian era one of the chief Colleges of the region, imparting religion and instruction, light and knowledge to all the nations and tribes around. Faithful and prayerful were those at Reichenau, whose thoughts, according to their conscience and doctrines, continued earnestly directed to the deceased Charlemagne's eternal welfare. Here was Heitto, who had been confidentially employed by him in his memorable embassy to Nicephorus the Byzantine Emperor, Abbot and also Bishop of Bâle, not a pluralist for profit or gain, but because the conjunction of the two offices rendered him the more

Island and
Monastery
of Reiche-
nau.

741—987 useful in the cause for which he so diligently
 814—824 laboured. It was Heitto who built that strangely-
 decorated Cathedral, in which the ornaments
 suggested by the timber fabrics of the Burgun-
 dians are combined with the mouldings and capi-
 tals roughly imitated from Roman art.—Here at
 Reichenau also was the monk Wettinus, the
 nephew of Grimoald, once also the friend of
 Charlemagne, and who, worn out by penances
 and devotional exercises, expired in the eleventh
 year after the accession of Louis-le-débon-
 naire.

824.
 Oct. 29, 30,
 and 31.
 Trances
 and death
 of Wetti-
 nus, the
 Monk of
 Reichenau.

During three preceding days the sick man had
 fallen repeatedly into a state of syncope: tre-
 mendous shadows filled the cell: Demons armed
 with spears and shields, Saints sternly majestic
 appeared to aid and defend him, an Angel, as it
 seemed to the Sleeper, conducted him through
 the realms of chastisement, despair and glory.
 Wettinus passing beyond the first purgatorial
 Phlegethon, beheld the great Emperor punished
 by the direst torment, gnawed and lacerated by the
 hound of hell, yet not condemned to perdition—
“in sorte electorum ad vitam prædestinatus est”
 —was the most comforting reply which the
 anxiously-enquiring Pilgrim received from his
 angelic guide.

At a later period of mediæval literature, it is
 often difficult to decide whether such visions are
 to be read as resulting from sincere impressions,

or as the vehicle of allegorical instruction, bold reprehension or disguised satire.

741—987

814—824

The phantasms of Wettinus do not offer any such uncertainties. We cannot deny that they are authentic, and, so far as the intent of the narrators, true; and treating this very perplexed and awful enquiry simply as belonging to the history of the human mind, we are enabled to trace—and not indistinctly—some of the causes suggesting the imagery, adapted to the conceptions of the percipient, thereby constituting, through him, a symbolical language, intelligible to the outward world.

However prevalent may have been the al-
most instinctive doctrine that an intermediate
Hades of suffering is reserved for the justified
sinner, the belief acquired greater force through
the revelations recorded by Venerable Bede,
which, sanctioned by his name, were disseminated throughout the Western Church.

Visions of
Fursæus
(633) and
Drithelm
(696) in-
cluded by
Bede in
his ecclesi-
astical his-
tory.

The Stranger, on the dank marshy shores of the oozy Yare, contemplating the lichen-encrusted ruins of the Roman castramentation,—Burgh Castle or Gariononum, scarcely supposes that those grey walls once enclosed the cell of an obscure anchorite, destined,—so strangely is the chain of causation involved,—to exercise a mighty influence equally upon the dogma and genius of Roman Christendom. This was the Milesian Scot Fursæus, who, received in East Anglia by

741—987 King Sigebert, there became enwrapped in the
 814—824 trances which disclosed to him the secrets of
 the world beyond the grave. Theologically, the
 development of these opinions concerns us not.
 But theology was as the sap flowing into all
 the branches of human literature; and Fursæus
 kindled the spark which, transmitted to the in-
 harmonious Dante of a barbarous age, occasioned
 the first of the metrical compositions from whose
 combination the *Divina Commedia* arose.

Feast of
 All Souls
 —its origin.

Fursæus was followed by the Anglo-Saxon Dri-
 thelm, similarly gifted, similarly raised up, as was
 supposed, to convince the faithful that sin is a
 fearful reality. Sermon and Homily repeated
 these legends; and the curious archæologist still
 recovers from the walls of the East-Anglian
 churches, the fading traces of the grotesque de-
 signs by which the same lessons were imparted.
 The well-known festival for the dead, the Feast
 of All Souls, was not formally instituted till the
 eleventh century; but the dreams of the night, pre-
 sented to the Celtic and Saxon recluses, had, long
 before, instigated the members of various monastic
 bodies, to agree upon periodical commemorations,
 enabling them to join in common prayer for the
 repose of the deceased, under chastisement, but not
 lost—and the earliest community who practised
 this work of faith and charity, were the monks
 assembled in the venerable sanctuary founded by
 the countryman of Fursæus the Scot, Saint Co-

lumbanus, the Monastery of Saint Gall. The neighbouring House of Reichenau followed this influential example. In the same year during which Charlemagne received the Imperial Crown, Saint Gall and Reichenau united themselves for this pious observance into one sodality. And had Wettinus lived till the fifteenth of November, he would have joined in the annual Service appointed by mutual agreement for that day. In preparation, without doubt, for this solemnity, Wettinus had been subjecting himself to increased austerities, and applying himself to appropriate studies; and it was whilst reading the Dialogues of Pope Gregory relating to the apparitions of the dead, that the fainting fits had come on.

The brethren had watched by the bed of Wettinus. As his strength failed he intreated them, before his tongue should be silenced, to bear record of his words. Detailing the substance of his visions, the narrative was taken down upon the waxen tablets. Heitto, on the following morning, read these notes in the presence of four other monks to the dying man, who confirmed their accuracy: the Abbot-Bishop forthwith reduced them into a regular statement, plain and unadorned. In order however to give greater currency to the warnings which he deemed so profitable, Heitto requested the celebrated Walafriid Strabo, who himself was afterwards Abbot

741—967
 814—824

The visions of Wettinus, taken down by Bishop Heitto, and versified by Walafriid Strabo.

741—987

814—824

of Reichenau, to versify these disclosures—parables, if we choose so to accept them—of future retribution and mercy. The passage portraying Charlemagne is here inserted textually, being an indispensable graphic illustration. Consider it as an impression from an ancient block-engraving, the very reality itself, and therefore essentially better than the best fac-simile. No paraphrase, or summary, or translation, could convey any adequate idea of the uncouth, halting hexameters, or actually exhibit the acrostic device which conceals and yet discloses the Monarch's name.

Contemplatur item quemdam lustrante pupilla
 Ausoniæ quondam qui regna tenebat, et altæ
 Romanæ gentis, fixo consistere gressu,
 Oppositumque animal lacerare virilia stantis,
 Lætaque per reliquum corpus lue membra carebant.
 Viderat hæc, magnoque stupens terrore profatur,
 Sortibus hic hominum, dum vitam in corpore gessit
 Iustitiæ nutritor erat, sæcloque moderno
 Maxima pro Domino fecit documenta vigere,
 Protexitque pio sacram tutamine plebem:
 Et velut in mundo sumpsit speciale cacumen
 Recta volens, dulcique volans per regna favore.
 Ast hic quam sæva sub conditione tenetur,
 Tam tristique notam sustentat peste severam,
 Oro refer. Tum ductor: in his cruciatibus, inquit,
 Restat ob hoc, quando bona facta libidine turpi
 Fœdavit, ratus inlecebras sub mole bonorum
 Absumi, et vitam voluit finire suetis
 Sordibus. Ipse tamen vitam captabit opimam,
 Dispositum à Domino gaudens invadet honorem.

814.
 Jan. 28.
 State of
 affairs at
 the death
 of Charle-
 magne.

§ 12. On the day of Charlemagne's death, the fifth of the Kalends of February, still cele-

brated in some of the Gallican and German churches as the Emperor's commemorative festival, Louis-le-débonnaire was at Doué in Anjou, between Sablé and Angers, about ten miles from the banks of the Loire. . This was a favourite hunting-seat or mansion which he had built, partly formed out of a Roman Amphitheatre, portions of whose walls are yet standing. Noble woods and pleasant fishing-places surrounded Theotudum, as it was then called; and the locality, thus rendered agreeable, was one of the four principal Royal residences of the Aquitanian King.

741—987

714—824

Louis had fully anticipated his father's death, and he must therefore have been prepared for the journey to Aix-la-Chapelle. They retained a system of posting, less perfect than that which previously prevailed under the Roman Empire, yet regular; nevertheless, he did not reach his destination until the thirtieth day after the event, a particular worth noting, inasmuch as it affords a tolerable estimate of the time required for communication between distant localities. Whilst Louis was absent from the Austrasian Capital, the affairs of government were carried on by the Imperial officers, who had assembled round the expiring Monarch at the Pfaltz of Aix-la-Chapelle—a virtual interregnum, during which they possessed great power. They had full opportunity of organizing any scheme of opposition or advancement,

814. Feb.
Journey of
Louis from
Doué in
Anjou to
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

741—987

768—814

if such were sought. According to the Frankish constitution, the Archicapellanus, or Chancellor—the Chancery being always held in the Royal Chapel—was chief or prime minister. At the period when Charlemagne died, his Seal, the signet gem displaying the bust of the Emperor crowned with the laurel wreath of Rome, was in the custody of Helisachar, Abbot of Saint Maximin, nigh Trèves. Confidence however is not necessarily annexed to official station. Helisachar enjoyed his dignity, but the Ministers whom Charlemagne trusted, who held the highest place in his favour, whom he considered as the proper guides, the protecting advisers of his children, and who had to receive the new Monarch, were two paternal relations, members of the royal family, the grandsons of Charles Martel, whose remarkable history commences during their early youth in the first years of Charlemagne's reign.

768—770.
The early
history of
Adelhard
and Wala,
the grand-
sons of
Charles
Martel, v.
§ 6.

§ 13. SUSPENDING our present narrative, and reverting to the genealogy given in a preceding Section, it will be found that the youngest of Charles Martel's six sons was Bernard, Lay-abbot or Count-abbot of Sithiu or St. Quentin. Upon Bernard's death, the Abbey was given to another Lay-abbot or Count-abbot. The name of the immediate successor is uncertain; but the principle of semi-secularization continued. Sithiu was again and again bestowed upon members of the Carolingian family, and became the nucleus of

the dominion out of which the great County of 741—987
 Vermandois was ultimately formed. Bernard's
 children, Adelhard and Wala, were received into 768—814
 the Imperial palace, an academy of elegance, good ^{—nurtured}
 manners and sound learning, where, like the ^{in Charle-}
^{magne's}
^{palace.}
 other noble youths fostered in the royal house-
 hold, they experienced the Sovereign's gracious-
 ness and exercised his vigilance. Though useful
 and kind, yet Charlemagne's scheme of education
 was connected with State policy. Children thus
 nurtured, were hostages for the good behaviour
 of their kindred and connexions; and if the lads
 displayed any indications of becoming dangerous,
 means might be taken to prevent their being
 troublesome to others or themselves.

Popular traditions represent Bertha, Charle-
 magne's Mother, *Berthe-aux-grands-pieds*, as a
 mythic personification of simplicity and love—
il buon tempo quando Berta filava,—that happy
 time when Bertha span, will it ever return in
 ours? Bertha had but one cause of grief with
 her son Charlemagne, he was not settled to her
 mind. But the Monarch having agreed to dis-
 card his beautiful Consort Himmeltruda, the
 Queen-mother now attempted the difficult task
 of providing him with a new Bride, supposing
 that if the new love were according to her
 heart, the damsel would be sure to be accord-
 ing to the heart of her son. A joyful season
 opened upon the Court of Aix-la-Chapelle when

770.

Marriage
 between
 the daugh-
 ter of King
 Desiderius
 and Charle-
 magne
 brought
 about by
 Queen Ber-
 tha his
 mother.

741—987 the Queen-mother Bertha returned from Pavia,—
 the Palace of which the general form is still
 768—814 retraced in the massy quadrangle, flanked by
 the desolated Visconti towers,—conducting with
 her that fair one so anxiously sought, her name-
 sake, the young Bertha, daughter of Desiderius,
 King of Italy, the Lombard King.

The Princess had not been easily won. Scarcely
 covered at this period by a grudging friendship,
 the rivalry between the Franks and Lombards
 may have occasioned the obstacles; but Queen
 Bertha's persevering anxiety overcame them, and
 the Frankish nobles sanctioned and confirmed
 the marriage-compact by their oaths: a pro-
 ceeding indicating some distrust on the part of
 Desiderius. When the Lombard Lady reached
 the dominions of her future husband, and the
 union was accomplished, the name of *Desiderata*
 was given to her, doubly appropriate, suggested
 equally by her father's name and by the senti-
 ments which had brought her there.

Name of the
 Lombard
 Princess
 changed to
 Desiderata.

This marriage began in wrong and ended in
 wrong. Himmeltruda his wife, the mother of
 his eldest son, Pepin-le-bossu, was discarded by
 Charlemagne's impetuous passions and volatile
 affection. The Frankish Chroniclers, some kins-
 men like Eginhard his son-in-law, and all of them
 his favourites, his admirers or his friends, speak
 under their breath concerning these transactions:
 we get at them obscurely. No colourable pre-

tence is alleged, no allusion made, even to a ^{741—987}
 causeless divorce. Possibly Pepin's deformity ^{768—814}
 was the reason why Charlemagne excluded him,
 the first-born, from the Throne; and his subse-
 quent rebellion against his father may have been
 instigated by the injury he and his mother had
 sustained. A year had scarcely elapsed when
 Charlemagne, adding evil to evil, deeply grieving
 his mother and causing his nobles to violate their
 oaths, put away Desiderata, no longer desired.
 Childless, she found no favour in her husband's
 eyes, and Pope Stephen, as we are told, sanc-
 tioned the dissolution of the unhappy union.
 Charlemagne then took another wife, Hildegarda,
 mother of his three sons, Charles, Pepin King
 of Italy, and Louis, the Emperor now upon the
 throne.

771.
 Charle-
 magne re-
 pudates
 Desiderata,
 and marries
 Hildegarda.

Charlemagne may have received some private rebukes from his Clergy, but never did they openly oppose his unbridled indulgence. There are seasons when popular sins are so universally condoned, so attractive, so recommended by national pride, so palliated by fashion, so fascinating to intellect, so intimately conducive to the material interests and resources of society, so thoroughly assimilated into the body politic, that it seems as if the Priesthood must, out of mere charity, yield to the universal hardness of heart: refraining from their duty lest rebuke should aggravate iniquity, by occasioning the worse

741—987 transgression, of sinning against warning and
knowledge. Faith failing through irremovable
768—814 ignorance, inveterate habit, or unsurmountable
temptation, it appears impossible to correct the
perceptions of the sinner, in whom a moral polar-
ization of light has taken place—the black looks
couleur-de-rose.

Take home instances, familiar instances, stale, vulgar instances, disagreeable instances, humiliating instances, they shew the truth more clearly. Can we conceive the possibility of any Parochial Minister gifted with the firmness, zeal, kindness, talent and earnestness, which fifty years ago, combining in due proportions, would have enabled him to exhort against wrecking on the Cornish Coast? Did any one incumbent of Newmarket or Epsom ever reprove the crowds who, to their temporal or eternal ruin, so thickly congregate upon the verdant turf of the Heath or the Downs: or chide the pestilential profligacy fostered by the race-course-stand, the betting-room and the roulette-table?—Influence and station may environ the offenders by circumstances which deter all but those who are raised up as special ministers of holiness. Whether a Charles, a James, or a William, listened or were supposed to listen in the Royal Closet, no voice was ever heard from the pulpit of Whitehall which could trouble the lovers of such charmers as Nell Gwynne or Mademoiselle de Querouaille, my Lady Cas-

tlemaine, Mistress Arabella Churchill, Miss Lucy Walters or my Lady Orkney. Ward and Sheldon were lulled into dutiful somnolence. Stillingfleet and Tillotson, waging an uncompromising warfare against Socinian Heresy and Popish corruption, knew nothing whatever of the debaucheries perpetrated by King and Duke, which made the Wapping sailors cry, Shame! The Revolution did not diminish their mildness; and smiling over their velvet cushions, they practised the same toleration towards the phlegmatic amours of him of the "glorious memory." Hoadly, gently creeping up the Palace back-stairs in search of the successive mitres of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester, and fully impressed with "the unreasonableness of nonconformity" to a Monarch's liaison, never startled during his ascent at the patched and painted Countesses of Yarmouth or of Suffolk, the bulky Baroness Killmansegg, or the gawky Duchess of Kendal.—The awe inspired by Charlemagne, the respect for his active piety and zeal, his personal energy in the good cause, the gratitude earned by his munificence, the prestige of his poetical grandeur, subdued the Clergy into a practical connivance, which would receive a harder name were it not for the indulgence with which man is bound to judge of human infirmity. Nor can we escape from similar examples of moral debility in any era.—Cranmer's docility reflects the accommo-

741—987

768—814

741—987

dation given by Pope Stephen. Desiderata is repeated in Anne of Cleves.

768—814

Adelhard
resents the
divorce of
Desiderata
—becomes
a monk at
Corbey.

Adelhard, young, ardent, conscientious, was rendered indignant by Desiderata's wrongs. Was not Hildegarda an intrusive queen? Could he render to her that respect which his station in the Court required? He spoke loudly, honestly, boldly—spared not the Frankish nobles, reproached them with their flagrant untruth, till at length, sickened and disgusted with the world, he fled its trials and temptations and became a monk in the newly-founded Abbey of Corbey, afterwards called *vieux-Corbey*, near Amiens. You see the Abbey Towers from the parapet of Amiens Cathedral. During Adelhard's noviciate they put him to work in the garden; he became Abbot in course of time, and founded in Westphalia the Monastery called New Corbey, or Corvey, on the banks of the Weser.

774.

Desiderius
King of
Lombardy,
dethroned
by Charle-
magne, and
shorn as a
monk at
Corbey.

About four years after Adelhard had professed, another fugitive, an unwilling fugitive, a prisoner, found refuge from trouble in the same sanctuary of Corbey. The repudiation of Desiderata had been followed by a war between the aggressive Franks and the yet warlike Lombards. Charlemagne invaded the dominions of Desiderius. The Alpine passes were well though unsuccessfully defended; but a series of victories gave to Charlemagne the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Venetian and Istrian provinces, Spoleto and Benevento,

Parma, Reggio, Mantua, finally Pavia and the whole Lombard Kingdom. Yet it is said that Desiderius was dethroned by treachery, and surrendered by his lieges to Charlemagne, who transported him to France. He was shorn and placed in custody at Corbey, where, after passing many years in penitence and seclusion, he died. Some of the Italian Chroniclers maintain that Charlemagne caused Desiderius to be blinded; but such an unnecessary cruelty we would willingly disbelieve. Thus was the kingdom of Italy acquired, of which, as before mentioned, Pepin had been appointed King.

741—987

768—814

Wala the King's kinsman, continued in the Pfaltz of Aix-la-Chapelle; encouraged and admired; and at the proper age, the Tyro—(we must not commit the anachronism of calling him an Esquire)—was invested with belt and sword. Suddenly the young son of the Count-abbot Bernard roused Charlemagne's suspicion or anger. No reason is stated; but in the Monarch's estimation he had committed some grave offence occasioning stern displeasure, yet tempered by consideration for his youth and merit. Shall we suppose that Wala shared in his brother Adelhard's sentiments, and continued to affront the new Queen?—or another hypothesis may be vaguely suggested. About this period Charlemagne was waging his cruel and exterminating warfare against the old Saxons:—thousands of

Wala
falls into
disgrace.

741—987

768—814

captives made shorter by the head, as his admiring chroniclers relate, in the course of a day; and the historian will scarcely exceed the permitted range of conjecture if he assumes that Wala the Saxon, unable to controul his national feeling, testified his horror against these aggressions. Might not Wala endeavour to raise again the Irminsule, which Charlemagne had cast down?

Wala banished to a royal villa, and employed in servile labour.

Wala was banished to a distant Villa; one of those royal domains, those vast farms which Charlemagne managed with so much prudent care: he was strictly watched, almost treated as a serf, a *theome* according to the Anglo-Saxon law—a free-born man reduced to thralldom by legal judgment, employed in the meanest labours of husbandry. He had, however, preserved his insignia of dignity; and he followed the plough and drove the wain, girt with belt and sword. While so employed, jolting in his vehicle drawn by bullocks, he chanced to meet a villein, clad in rustic gear. Wala entreated the peasant to exchange:—"Take the belt, take the sword—these decorations," said he, "no more befit me: mean have I become, mean and humble let me be."

Wala and Adelhard restored to Charlemagne's favour.

Here his personal history is suddenly broken off, until, after a chasm of many years, without any indication of intermediate adventures, we find Charles Martel's grandsons highest in Charlemagne's favour.

Count Wala, regaining the honours due to his royal lineage, suddenly reappears as the husband of a noble damsel, daughter of William, Count of Toulouse, that Count William sung and celebrated in minstrelsy and romance as *Guillaume Fierbras*, *Guillaume au Court-Nez*, or *Guillaume d'Orange*, whilst, in the ecclesiastical legends, he is discovered with somewhat more difficulty, under the name of *Guillaume-de-Gellone*, commemorating the monastery founded by him as a Prince, but wherein he died a recluse.

Favour flowing in, his utility fully recognized, Wala, stern, determined, pitiless, now continued actively engaged in various departments of the State, commanding Charlemagne's armies, warring against the Slavonians, ambassador to the Pagan Danes. It is interesting to observe the instinctive prescience which led Charlemagne to attempt the conciliation of these enemies. Count Wala was ultimately appointed chief of the royal household: "another Joseph," is the expression used by his Biographer,—*economus totius domus Augusti*,—a dreaded yet equitable judge, "Senator of the Senators, inferior only to Cæsar."

Adelhard appears to have been in great measure removed from his monastery; and, diverted from his proper charge to act as a confidential minister, he was much employed by Charlemagne in settling the affairs of Italy. First the fellow monk of Desiderius, and afterwards the Abbot

Adelhard
much em-
ployed in
Italy.

741—987
 768—814 of Corbey, he, when Desiderius came within his care and custody, may have gained some useful information from the royal captive, qualifying him for the administration of the conquered territory. Pepin having assumed the government of Lombardy, Adelhard accompanied him as Chief Justiciar. Judgments given by him in that capacity are extant: his authority was so great that he may be considered as virtually associated to the King.

Wala employed also in Italy by Charlemagne.

Wala was also often sent to Italy: he and Adelhard were successively or alternately entrusted with the guidance of Pepin's successor in the kingdom, his son Bernard, that grandchild whom Charlemagne peculiarly loved, assisting him by their advice, or more probably governing in his name. Wala resided with Bernard during the last year of Charlemagne's reign. A Saracen invasion then threatened Italy, and his aid and counsel were eminently needed, but he was recalled by the encreasing feebleness of the Emperor. Count Wala is one of the witnesses of Charlemagne's Will: he took charge of the palace when the Emperor expired, and it was there that the Senator of the Senators was found by Louis-le-débonnaire.

781—814
 Louis King of Aquitaine.

§ 14. LOUIS had three sons by his first wife Hermengarda (she was the daughter of Ingelram Count of Hasbaye), Lothair, Pepin, and Louis: a fourth was afterwards born to him by a second

consort; he also had three daughters—Gisela, ^{741—987} married to Everard Count of Friuli, an Adelaide, ^{768—814} (perhaps also bearing some other name)—and Hildegard. Count Everard was the father of King Berengarius, *il Rè Berengario*, so well recollected at Monza and Milan, who acquired Italy, when, upon the deposition of Charles-le-gros, that realm was lost to the Carlovingian dynasty.

Louis, as King of Aquitaine, attained experience and wisdom, and earned universal love and respect. Charlemagne's teaching and Charlemagne's care had turned to excellent account. An Aquitanian by birth-place and nurtured in that country, Louis, from his youth upwards, had been the object of delight and admiration: he had subdued the fiery Vascons by his grace, his talent and adaptability, conforming himself to their national customs, assuming their garb: a gracious King and discreet withal, liberal in hand, liberal in mind, but maintaining his authority by intellect, strenuousness and justice.

He inherited his father's love for literature, and had eagerly profited by the education which Charlemagne bestowed. Louis was an excellent Latin scholar, and well acquainted with the Greek language. He delighted in the Poets and Rhetors of the classical age;—the most humble, most pleasantly-minded, most promising amongst Charlemagne's children, holy men had fondly designated him as fittest for the succession; the one

Varied
talents of
Louis-le-
debonnaire.

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 likeliest to flourish as a happy, and a happiness-
 bestowing Sovereign. Such expectations had
 circled widely:—were talent, good intentions and
 sincerity always sure to profit, his deeds would

Energy and
 wisdom
 displayed
 by Louis as
 King of
 Aquitaine.

have justified the anticipations. King of Aquitaine, Louis assembled his Cour Plenièrre at Toulouse; and the Capitol of that ancient municipality, so noble amongst the adopted daughters of Rome, became his palace. Three days in each week he devoted to the administration of the law, and his sage decisions were replete with equity. Louis was bold and energetic as well as wise: no archer drew the bow with greater strength, no huntsman chasing the tusked boar could dart the Mozarabic *javalina*,—the weapon still named from the animal against which it was employed,—with more unerring skill.

Bravely did Louis encounter the wild and resentful Avars. Charlemagne subsequently placed him at the head of the army destined to repel the Infidels: the Saracens fled, Barcelona surrendered before him. Those who recollected Charlemagne at the same age of thirty-six years, when the last bloom of youth had been succeeded by the full fruit of manhood, might have said that the son vied with the father in worth, cultivation, prowess and valour. Had he died King of Aquitaine, he would have shone amongst the best and most illustrious monarchs in French history.

§ 15. LOUIS upon his accession to the Empire did not disappoint the promises given by the pleasant manner, piety and conscientiousness of the Aquitanian King. Imitating his predecessor Antoninus, the new Emperor accepted the cognomen of *Pius*—perhaps bestowed upon him by the Clergy or the Pope—and stamped the appellation upon his coins. The people called him “*le débonnaire*,” a name perpetuated by tradition; for, so far as we have ascertained, this epithet of *le débonnaire* never appears in writing until employed by the Monks of St. Denis, in their vernacular Chronicle. Archæologists may possibly discover it lurking in some inedited *Chanson de geste*, some Romance poem of the Trouveurs.

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814—840
814.
Conduct
of Louis-
le-débon-
naire as
Emperor.

Earnest childlike faith was the peculiar characteristic of Louis-le-débonnaire. Commiserated for this reason by historians, termed, rather in disparagement than in praise, the Saint Louis of the ninth century, his lot was cast in a dark and troubled era, teeming with negligences and abuses. History can only display the human economy of the Spiritual Empire, therefore always full of frailties and disorders, her ministers and members lingering, halting, yielding, flinching, failing, falling off.—

— THE CHURCH, though no part of the world, is included in the world. Her members, so long as they are militant, must tread upon the world's paths—aye, even in the desert of the Thebais—

741—987

814—840

live in the world's atmosphere, and breathe the world's ambient air. Amongst the Great, the garments of the Sainted Princess will be redolent of her boudoir essences and cassolette perfumes: amongst the Humble, the raiments of God's servants smell of the hovel's sordidness, the littered stable, the smoky forge. The rich man, though truly seeking heaven, will occasionally stumble against his money-bags. The poor man, though truly contrite, listens to the Pastor's exhortations with unconscious selfishness and the asking glance of hunger. Pervading faith dignifies the meanest objects. Civilization imparts to the holiest her admixture of utilitarianism and unreality. All communions partake of the taint.—Albertus Magnus is supposed by some to have been the inventor of Gothic architecture. How grimly would his ghost behold his Cologne Cathedral, completed by the tributary fantasies of romantic æstheticism, or the contributions coaxed from Teutonic belles and beaux by the English-taught *Dombau-verein* at the Bazaar and the Fancy Fair.—

In the Middle Ages, the Clergy were compelled by their duties to engage actively in the rougher concerns of the world, and these hard necessities were constantly conflicting with the internal life whence all their actions ought to spring. The inestimable temporal benefits bestowed by Religion upon mankind, often tempt even the right-minded to consider the Church as approximating

The ecclesiastical reforms of Louis-le-débonnaire.

to an engine of State policy, not entirely a State engine, but much of the same sort: a good help to the Empire's wealth, credit, progress, security and commercial prosperity. A discreet hint that "Church extension" may co-operate in keeping up the price of Consols occasionally breathes amidst the appalling statistics of chartism and "spiritual destitution" in the great manufacturing towns: the concurrently-encreasing demand for cotton goods and Christianity has been joyfully proclaimed from the Missionary platform. The gratitude due to Charlemagne's ample munificence, sometimes induced the conscientious amongst the Sacerdotal Order to sad compromises of principle: the patron and founder of so many Abbeys and Bishopricks never scrupled to employ his foundations in his own way.

"Trovata la legge, trovato l'inganno:" says the Italian proverb;—we would quote in English could we find a parallel adage; the good law immediately suggests the evasion: the most salutary institutions are most susceptible of malversations; and this was eminently the case with the monastic institutions of the Middle Ages. At the very period when, if sincerely administered, their workings were so signally and extensively useful and beneficent—calm regions amidst the tumults of the world, homes for the destitute, solaces to the poor, comforts to the afflicted, schools of industry and learning—

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The great
abuse of
bestowing
Abbeys as
lay bene-
fices.

741—987
 814—840 they had to contend against the secular power which bestowed their possessions, honoured their position, and recognized their transcendant importance in society.

Prince
 Eugène
 Abbot of
 San' Mi-
 chele in
 Chiusa, &c.

We can best exemplify the Carlovingian corruptions by contemplating a Great Commander on Blenheim field. If you ascended the rock of Chiusa, and reached the mysterious tower of San' Michele, where you passed between the ranged corpses, stationed as warders of the portal sculptured with zodiacal signs, and asked for the Abbot, the Monks informed you that you would find him in Marlborough's camp, for it was as *Monseigneur l'Abbé de Savoie* that Prince Eugène made his earliest campaigns, he being at that time Commandatory Abbot of that and another of the most venerable monasteries of ancient Lombardy, situated in the district to which, from its position, the name of "Piedmonte" was subsequently assigned. Such were the "Lay-Abbots" whom we have so often noticed, who held the most important monasteries in the Carlovingian Gauls,—a motley groupe,—stout soldiers, clever statesmen, delicate young princes, half-acknowledged husbands of princesses, or husbands fully declared, courtiers, most in favour with the monarch, partizans, who were to be conciliated by favours, or claimants who were to be pacified,—constituted the class who usually obtained these excellent pieces of preferment, which in many respects were more advan-

tageous than any secular domain. Sometimes these Abbots Commendatory were in minor orders, but very frequently mere laymen, like those we have already noticed of Sithiu or Centulla. Outwardly the Abbey did not appear to be changed. You heard of an Abbot as you now do of the noble or reverend "Master" of this or that "Hospital," realizing the fines and rents according to the valuations and currency of Queen Victoria, and staving off the "Brethren," by tendering their stipends in the nominal pence of Plantagenet.—The Count was not in the Abbey, he might be fighting against the Northmen, or enjoying himself in the palace: truly there was a Prior presiding in the refectory, and the monks were chanting in the choir, but the real spirit of the institution was of course fleeting away. How earnestly the Church laboured to counteract these monstrous misappropriations, by dauntless assertion of her lawful power, faith, energy, and diligence, cannot here be told. It may be a question whether an ecclesiastical foundation given to a secular man is more secularized than when held by a Priest whose spirit is secular. There is not much to choose; nevertheless, the evil was enormous: amongst all the pious-minded the practice excited great sorrow and scandal, whilst, protected by so many interests, it was most inaccessible to reform.

A partial remedy, but satisfactory as far as

741—987

814—840

741—987 the measure extended, was applied by Louis.
 { The duties annexed to the possessions and lands
 814—840 held by monastic communities, received an adjustment throughout a large portion of the Empire by the following distribution. Fourteen monasteries were to contribute to the *Dona* or gifts, and perform military service: sixteen were to be charged only with gifts; whilst the duty of praying for the welfare of the Emperor and his children and the Empire, was accepted by the State in full discharge of the obligations imposed upon the remainder. The division of Church-lands into lands held by Knight's service,—lands contributing to aids and subsidies,—and lands held in *frank almoigne*, prevailed subsequently in England as a portion of our constitutional Law. It was unquestionably recognized in the Anglo-Saxon Empire; but this is the earliest instance of a clear and definite legislation upon a subject which had great influence on the political position of the Clergy.

814—820
 Good be-
 ginning of
 the reign
 of Louis-
 le-débon-
 naire.

Heavy and vexatious taxes were remitted by Louis: he restrained the impudent gallantry of his beautiful sisters sternly but not unkindly. Obeying his father's earnest injunction, his three young brothers, Hugh, Drogo and Thierry, were cherished in the Palace, educated and cared for, as though they had been his own sons.

Economical in his household, but liberal and unsparing on all occasions when dignity required

expenditure and munificence, he appeared on the throne in the full splendour of Imperial Majesty—all his garments were cloth of gold. So far as depended upon his own intentions and exertions, he maintained the civil and military dignity of the Empire,—he numbered at one prosperous era more vassals than his father. Nevertheless the heart of Louis became more and more alienated from the world: all about him were wont to remark, that the example which he afforded rendered him a true model for the Priesthood—perhaps a rebuke to the ordinary character of a King.

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814—840

His alienation from the world.

Tastes, more stubborn than principles, less susceptible of change, yielded to devotional feeling.—His fondness for that elegant literature in which, thanks to his father's care, he was so well versed, declined and ceased. The poets and rhetors of classical antiquity were neglected, and at length utterly cast aside for the study of Holy Scripture. Even the heroic legends of the Frankish race, the ancient and barbarous lays which told the tales of Hildebrand or Hathu-brand, the doughty deeds of primeval warriors and fabled kings collected by Charlemagne, were more than discarded by Louis; for he destroyed the precious volume on account of the memoirs of ancient heathenism perpetuated in the national song. This proscription was not the result of a blind or ignorant zeal: Louis appreciated the inestimable worth which poetry in-

Louis-le-debonnaire abandons classical literature for the study of the Holy Scriptures.

741—987 }
 814—840 }
 involves; and whilst he laboured to extirpate the productions shunned by him as the vehicles of evil, he sought to enlist the gift of verse and the endearing associations of national language in the service of the Lord.

Metrical
version of
the Holy
Scriptures
made under
the dicta-
tion of
Louis-le-
débon-
naire.

Codex
Cottoni-
anus or
Liber
Aureus in
the British
Museum,
a portion of
such ver-
sion.

Philology has been singularly enriched through this direction of his mind. It chanced that amongst the Continental Saxons a Husbandman exhibited a sudden development of poetic power, so high, so transcendent in the judgment of his own time and people, that the talent was ascribed to inspiration; another Cædmon in the Anglo-Saxon's ancient Fatherland. This Bard, this *Vates*, as he is termed by the contemporary writers, was invited by Louis to interpret the whole of the Old and New Testament in the Teutonic tongue; and the paraphrase which he composed in alliterative staves,—being, with the exception of one fragment, the only example existing in Germany of that ancient measure,—acquired the greatest praise and popularity from its clearness and elegance. A portion of this remarkable linguistic monument, comprehending a metrical harmony of the Gospels, exists in the celebrated *Codex Cottonianus*, the *Liber Aureus*, once deemed the most valuable treasure of the renowned Collector to whom it formerly belonged, as well as of the national Repository in which the Manuscript is now contained.

§ 16. Louis-le-débonnaire, humiliated before

the altar, is perhaps already prejudged by the historical student.—Let that judgment be rectified. It is a happiness in our own British Empire possessed by no other nation, that the great constitutional maxim, “The King can do no wrong,” has ceased to be a metaphor. Governing according to Law, not merely the written Law, but the equally binding unwritten law, resulting from the usages and traditions of the British Empire, the silent legislation effected by practice, compromise, decorum, etiquette, official obedience and official form, the Sovereign is released from the performance of those public or political acts of prerogative or government which involve moral responsibility.

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814—840

British
Constitu-
tion. The
Sovereign
in all acts
of Govern-
ment ex-
onerated
from moral
responsi-
bility as a
Sovereign.

In our Empire, “the people are in no subjection, but such as they willingly have condescended unto for their own behoof and security.” The wearer of the British Crown is “major singulis, universis minor.”—As Ruler of that British Empire, the person of the British Sovereign merges in the person of the Ministers, and the moral responsibility of the Ruler, when executing such acts, becomes the burthen of those Ministers, most happily for the security of the commonwealth and the peace of the Sovereign’s mind : the liability incurred by the nation is refracted through so many media, that it is dispersed before reaching the foot of the throne. To the voice, the influence, the power of the people expressed or exercised in

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Parliament, the Sovereign conforms. The law enjoins such conformity. Should a British Sovereign ever dream of regaining the perilous prerogative abandoned by the last who wrote himself “King of England”—the prerogative which William the Third possessed, exercised, and then reluctantly surrendered for ever—the dangerous venture of answering *Le Roi s’avisera*, in refusal of the national demand, then the constitutional monarchy would expire. But by our Sovereign’s obedience to the law, the responsibility is cast upon the ranks and orders of the people, Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament assembled; and most of all, upon those whose votes and voices sent the Commons there. If the Rulers commit a wrong, it is instigated and sanctioned by the monarchy of the middle classes. If any legislative act or proceeding offend against our duties, the sin is lying at our own doors.

Greater
moral re-
sponsibility
of Mo-
narchs
in the
mediæval
period.

But where this repartition and diffusion of authority does not subsist, the Sovereign is exposed to grievous temptations: a hint may pervert justice, a smile wrest the laws for his own gratification, a frown be the cause of hunting down a State offender with implacable cruelty; and in such a state of society as subsisted in the mediæval period, the desire to remove a troublesome opponent may be expressed so emphatically, that the ruffian courtier cannot fail to construe

the anticipation into a command. If roused to repentance, should the King feel that he guided the murderers, become convinced that he is accountable for his own sin, and therefore impute to himself his own rash words, is it his duty to harden himself, or to testify penitence as open as the crime, and to seek mercy?

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Louis-le-débonnaire, accused by his own conscience, followed the dictate, and found comfort in humiliation; faith solaced his misfortunes. Yet these misfortunes have been perversely imputed to his faith. Obedience to the dictates of religion was the predominating sentiment by which Louis was actuated; and Historians, arguing from his example, have been tempted to raise the question, whether the piety of the man may not be a pernicious debility in the Sovereign. The fine gold destined for the vessels of the Sanctuary has not, as they say, hardness enough to stand the wear and tear of human commerce: the needful strength must be given by the baser alloy.

Dwelling, as we do, in twilight, always in the shadow of death, it is often difficult to discriminate Faith and Superstition, or, in judging others, to pronounce that their apparent conviction is a cover for delusion. Nevertheless, in the case of Louis-le-débonnaire, we may convince ourselves that it was not the excess of faith, but the human accompaniment, inconsistency, which, through this one individual, confirmed the ruin

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814—840

*Nervous
timidity*
the over-
ruling
defect in
the charac-
ter of Louis-
le-débon-
naire.

of the great Carlovingian Empire; and this inconsistency was the result of one defect in his moral or physical character, a minor failing, which under other contingencies would have been harmless, but in his political destiny became over-ruling. Neither physiology nor psychology can decide whether this defect be occasioned through the body or through the mind; being that which in ordinary and colloquial language (the best exponent of social experience) is called “nervous timidity.” Louis never shrank from present danger; rarely, and perhaps but once, did he allow his passive courage to submit to present suffering; but the future appalled his imaginative mind. Shadows were his dread. Sometimes he would support himself by the advice of his counsellors, wholly throwing himself upon their opinions; sometimes, and more dangerously, he would be wholly guided by his own, and his very irresolution urged him to acts of harshness, nay cruelty, which his soul abhorred.

Contrast
between
the situa-
tion of
Louis King
of Aquit-
taine and
Louis the
Emperor.

§ 17. The circumstances of the Carlovingian Empire, when the Imperial power devolved upon Louis, were calculated to try him to the utmost, to search his conscience, to prove his heart, to discipline him by contrariety and affliction. Humanly speaking, nothing but the heroic virtue of unsparing firmness, reckless determination of purpose screwed to the highest pitch, could have resisted the combination of difficulties and dan-

gers and treasons against which the Sovereign had to contend.

141—987

814—840

781.

Baptism
and Coro-
nation of
Louis-le-
debonnaire.

Louis could not recollect the time when he had not been King of Aquitaine. Just turned two years of age, Pope Adrian baptized and crowned him upon the same day. Borne in his cradle from Rome to Aquitaine, the infant was exhibited to the people, held and steadied by the groom-nurse on the ambling steed. He had grown up as a King; and all the recollections of the Aquitanian reign were pleasurable—this exalted situation had brought out all his good qualities, restrained the development of his failings. Married young and happily to Hermengarda whom he loved and trusted, his conduct had, if tried by the ordinary standard of the era, been exemplarily correct: he enjoyed all the state and privileges annexed to royalty, exercised the most ennobling functions of a Sovereign, the administration of justice and mercy, and participated in all the excitements of war without sustaining any wearing anxieties. There was no rivalry between Charlemagne and Louis, no jealousy or grudge between father and son. Louis depended upon his father: submission to paternal authority was to him a privilege and a gain. Charlemagne's gigantic power and celebrity diffused protection throughout the Empire; and Louis, though ruling in his own territory as an independent and national King, was exalted by his

781—814.
Prosperity
of Louis
when King
of Aquitaine.

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subjection to the Imperial Crown. Charlemagne's experience, opulence and armies, ever ready to succour or support him, guarded him from all apprehension of danger.

Moral debility of the Frankish Empire.

Far otherwise when Louis was thrown upon his own resources, himself the Emperor, supreme in dominion, seated upon a throne which invited retribution. The sword was never to depart from the House of Charles Martel, and Louis felt it piercing his heart. The exulting legend "*Renovatio Regni Francorum*," graced by the laurel-wreath of Rome, appears upon the imperial signet of Louis, but there was no youthful vitality. Brief had been the period of Carolingian domination, yet the Imperial authority had reverted to the decrepitude of the Lower Empire, the debility of antiquity without its privileges. The Carolingian Empire was utterly destitute of the consolidation resulting from long-practised constitutional usages, maxims admitted as self-evident truths, undiscussed cogencies, principles learnt without a teacher: the sanctity which time alone can impart, an element uncreateable by human intellect or power. On the contrary, the royal authority was infirm from the commencement: all the traditions of the past were hostile, whatever precedents memory could furnish were melancholy and painful, suggestive of disquiet, uncertainty, moral and political crime.

Louis-le-débonnaire was well versed in his-

tory; and if he consulted the chronicles of the realm, such as were treasured at Tours or Saint Denis, he would find them saturated with evil, memorials of evil, lessons of evil; a faithless nation, wild and profligate, fierce to others, fiercer amongst themselves; loyalty an unknown sentiment, a people sharing and rejoicing in the atrocities of their sovereigns. The sovereigns, a lineage void of natural affection: the name of their traditionary ancestor, *Wahrmund*, "the mouth of truth," being a constant satire against them: false and fickle, love restrained them not nor consanguinity—some basely vicious, others wanting in cruelty, indulged until that cruelty became a morbid appetite or rather insanity; children visited for their father's sins, and yet unchastened by the punishment, and preparing, by their own sins, the same inflictions for their progeny.

§ 18. DESTITUTE even of the conventional Crimes of the Merovingians. apologies for national iniquity are the Merovingian annals, exhibiting, as they recede before us, a weary display of wickedness without grandeur, dull and inglorious, unadorned by any of the attributes through which splendid villany is redeemed in history. Glance merely at the succession:—Dagobert son of Sigebert murdered by the Austrasian nobles:—Childeric, the son of the second Clovis, his queen and children, slaughtered in like manner by their aristocracy:—Dagobert,

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814—840

679.

673.

638.

- 741—987 the first Dagobert, whose talent renders his stains
 more visible, wallowing in outrageous profligacy,
 814—840 murdering his nephew Chilperic the son of Cha-
 618. ribert to secure his spoil:—Brunhilda, sister,
 576—584. mother and grandmother of Kings, torn to pieces
 by wild horses, and her grandchildren slain by the
 second Clothaire:—Chilperic concurring in the
 575 assassination of his brother Sigebert:—encou-
 raged by Fredegonda in those dire inflictions of
 torture which caused him to be named the Nero
 of the Franks, and perishing by the murderous
 devices of that same Fredegonda:—Clothaire the
 first and Childebert, brothers, incestuous, merci-
 less, warring against each other, and then uniting
 526. in the butchery of their nephews, the infant sons
 of their brother Clodomir; he, Clothaire, stabbing
 the imploring children, dashing them to the ground
 as they shriek for mercy, causing his own son,
 560. Chramnus, his wife and children, to be burnt
 alive, and, stricken himself by death on the year
 and the day after that day of horror.—Clovis, the
 founder of the monarchy, pre-eminent in deceit
 and ferocity; consolidating his dominion by the
 luxury of treachery and crime, planning the de-
 struction of his own relations, like the hunstman
 surrounding his prey, enjoying equally the sport
 497—510. and the slaughter, causing the death of Sigebert by
 the hands of his own son Cloderic, and entrapping
 the parricide to destruction: King Chararic slain,
 King Ragnacharius slain, King Richarius slain,

King Rignomer slain, Theodoric slain, Guntheric slain—all the members of the Merovingian race extirpated, until Clovis, standing alone amidst the corpses, becomes the sole representative of the lineage. All the previous long-haired Kings, all their kindred exterminated by him in whom the Franks exult as their glory.

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814—840

§ 19. SMITTEN by their own iniquities, the Merovingians had passed away, they had received their chastisement; but, if turning from the contemplation of that race, Louis studied the deeds of his ancestors, weighed their own responsibilities, investigated his own title and judged his own claim to the throne, his conscience must have been equally grieved, and his mind even more disturbed.

Crimes of
the Carlo-
vingians.

Time was beginning to sanction the possession of authority: three generations had succeeded, yet each was saddened by remorse. If Louis recollected his brother Pepin, it was as a proclaimed rebel against their father Charlemagne, a prisoner who had wasted away in the Monastery of Pruhm, apparently a parricide in intent; and if Pepin was in any wise rendered excusable by their father's conduct towards the repudiated Himeltruda, this extenuation only inflicted another and additional pang. Furthermore, how had Charlemagne dealt with his own infant nephews, who could tell how the *parvuli* had disappeared?

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When Louis consulted the great Charter by which Charlemagne had divided his Empire, the words read like a record of condemnation—*placuit nobis præcipere, ut nullus eorum per quaslibet occasiones, quemlibet ex illis apud se accusatum, sine justa discussione atque examinatione, aut occidere, aut membris mancare, aut excæcare, aut invitum tondere faciat*—Charlemagne and Carloman, and Pepin-le-bref had all transgressed the precepts of benignity and justice thus dictated. Charlemagne collected the future from the past: he anticipated that his descendants would commit the crimes of which he and his brother and his father had given them the precedents, vainly endeavouring to fence against evil by a phrase. So it fares with the Testator and his counsel, the memory of the speaker and his words effaced by his bequest, or, more affrontingly, remembered only as nullities—the delusions of the Tombstone and the Grave.

Ascend a grade higher in the family history: no resting-place of comfort could Louis find there—Carloman his uncle, and his own grand-sire Pepin, cruelly persecuting their brother Gripho from youth to adolescence, from adolescence till death—Charles Martel, henceforward to be honoured as their heroic founder, how was he to be appreciated, according to conscience or to law?—Louis derived his authority through predecessors who gradually established

themselves by a usurpation of the most odious
 complexion; the sly dependant defrauding his
 patron; servants bearing rule over their masters;
 ministers stealing away the confidence of the
 people from their Sovereign, a dominion grounded
 upon domestic treachery and disloyalty. Each
 Majordomus, each Mayor of the Palace, justi-
 fied the improvement of his opportunities by the
 example of his predecessors. These Mayors of
 the Palace were not all of the same race, but they
 all pursued the same scheme, until the Merovin-
 gian dynasty was finally subverted by the people
 pronouncing sentence against a lineage, who,
 through their accumulated depravities, their sloth,
 their follies, had forfeited the throne.

§ 20. THEOLOGIANS have been accustomed to
 remark that there is no such thing as a new
 heresy: every erroneous doctrine, apparently
 new, say they, is only the repetition of an ear-
 lier error, brought forth under a new aspect,
 expressed more clearly or more obscurely, the
 venom enfeebled or more mortiferous, offered with
 some slight modification, or may be with none.
 In the main, the proposition is incontestable, yet
 incompletely enounced: it must not be confined to
 the dogmas of theology nor employed invidiously,
 but extended to all the doctrines and opinions,
 salutary or mischievous, sound or unsound, right
 or wrong, of the human mind. It is a universal
 intellectual proposition. Physiological science

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Revolutionary
 opinions, their
 antiquity in
 France.

741—987 has ascertained, almost to the astonishment of
 the observers, that notwithstanding all the varie-
 814—840 ties of the children of Adam, their contrasts
 of colour or differences in conformation, mould
 of skull or shape of bone, or even in the texture
 of tissues or membranes, their blood is iden-
 tical. Amongst all the millions and millions of
 mankind, the elements, proportions and magni-
 tudes of serum and globule, the fluid and solid
 composing the mysterious vehicle of life, present
 an absolutely invariable and homogeneous unity;
 the blood is one; and the life-blood is the type
 of the living soul.

Whatever may be either the advantages which
 the inbreathed spirit receives from physical causes
 or moral relations, or the disadvantages resulting
 from these bonds, our intellectual nature is also
 invariable and homogeneous. Whatever man
 has thought, man will think: whatever he now
 imagines he has imagined. Man's imaginations
 may be translated into various dialects, but how-
 ever multifarious in nomenclature they convey
 the same meaning; there neither is nor can be
 anything new under the sun. It is a hazardous
 encomium to claim for any thought or invention
 the merit of originality: a very uncertain mode
 of bestowing praise; but far more hazardous to rail
 at any political doctrine or dogma as an innova-
 tion. Oxford Convocation condemned as impious
 the doctrine of the popular origin of royal autho-

rity. Did her Heads of houses recollect that the ^{741—987}
 political philosophy of Locke had been previously ^{814—840}
 taught by Hooker; and how much earlier?—Take
 the following uncomplimentary portraiture of the
 model King. It is not quoted from Mirabeau
 or Lafayette, but from the *Roman de la Rose*.

Lors convint que l'en esgardât
 Aucun qui les loyes gardât,
 Et qui les maufeteurs preist,
 Et droit as plaintifz en feist,
 Ne nuls ne l'osast contredire,
 Lors s'assemblerent pour élire.
 Ung grant vilain entre eus eslurent
 Le plus ossu de quanqu'il furent,
 Le plus corsu et le greignor
 Si le firent prince et seignor.

§ 21. WHILST we assert the continuity of an- <sup>Doctrines
of Divine
right and
popular
origin of
Monarchy.</sup>
 cient and modern principle, there is nevertheless
 a wide diversity in modes of argument. Locke
 stands in the zone of intellectual progress which
 connects and yet separates the ancient and the
 modern reasoners: the former, however contra-
 dictory their doctrines or discrepant in their
 Creeds, substantially agreed in supporting their
 inductions by an appeal to Holy Scriptures. Too
 often have the advocates of that doctrine, which,
 in the language of our political philosophy is
 termed the "Divine right of Kings," been swerved
 by self-interested adulation: their opponents by
 faction and self-will. Nevertheless, whilst ad-
 mitting and deploring these wrestings of truth,
 the greater part of the mutually antagonistic

741—987 advocates must be equally named with reverence :
 814—840 few without respect. Nor should we harshly
 censure those, who, enveloped in the calamities
 of their times, boldly asserted their principles by
 appealing to the sword.

Let us refrain from hard words against Round-head or Cavalier, Papist or Protestant, Covenanter or Royalist, Whigamore or Tory.—Piety, zeal, intelligence, sincerity, employed in the investigation of questions so vitally important to human society, courage exerted, suffering endured, death faced on the field or welcomed on the scaffold, torture, poverty, exile, contumely, all braved in defence of loyalty or liberty, faith or nationality, should have moderated even the rancour of an enemy. Nor would it be difficult to allay the miserable and besetting bitterness of political and theological antipathies, an affliction to those who entertain it and a snare to their consciences, seducing them into worse errors than the misdeeds they reprobate, could we, but for once, cast ourselves into the heart and mind of the men whose destiny has compelled them to take a side in any civil dissension, when the conflict becomes practical in human society. How idle, how thoughtless, how cruel, are then such bandied terms as “base servility” or “unnatural treason.” Are the lacerations of feeling which the duty of making a choice under such exigencies imposes, adequately appreciated by the fortunate who are

spared the pangs?—Do we sufficiently feel the blessing of not having been Englishmen when the royal standard was unfurled at Nottingham—
 not having been Scotsmen when Charles Edward landed—not having been Irishmen of the Irish after the battle of the Boyne?

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§ 22. THE DOCTRINE of the “Divine right of Kings,” has been rendered, in a manner, odious from its illogical, and let us be permitted to add, erroneous connexion with the doctrine of unconditional submission, whilst another misapprehension, equally fruitful in rancour and discord, arises from the circumstance that the same truth may be so presented as to convey entirely contradictory meanings. Supposing you wish to exemplify to a child the form of convexity, and for that purpose you trace a curved line on the paper before you, it will answer your intent; but you may equally employ the same curved line to suggest the idea of concavity: the curvature is concave or convex as you look to it on this side or on that side. Point to the segment of the circle on the right side, it is convex, on the left it is concave. It is one and the other, both or either—the truth of your assertion depends upon the position of your finger or the glance of your eye. The apparently opposite doctrines of the derivation of monarchy from divine right, and the foundation of monarchy upon popular assent, are one and the same,—divine, if you look up to Heaven, earthly, if you

Divine
right of
Kings.

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—
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view the monarch amongst his equals before God, from whose obedience, working out a counsel which is not their own, royal authority obtains its existence.

The mutual obligations of rulers and people are taught in that Book which teaches all other duties; but the precepts which require justice and righteousness from the Sovereign, are no less emphatic than the precepts enjoining reverence and obedience to the subject; equally stringent on both. The tyrannical sovereign shares the sin of the subject whom he provokes to resistance; the perverse subject, the guilt of the sovereign whom he tempts to illegal tyranny. No fair reasoning can extort from Holy Writ the condemnation of any of the various modes through which government is exercised as an ordinance. No exclusive sanction is given to individual monarchy. However appointed or constituted, the powers that be receive their delegation from the same Source, a delegation equally imparted to the ostentatious simplicity of democracy and to the purple canopy and golden crown. All govern by the grace of God, however that grace may be misused, however obstinately its very existence may be denied. Though you expunge the acknowledgment from the Monarch's style, it continues written in the eternal Charter. But to designate any one form of civil government as the sole medium of Divine Right, thereby

refusing that sanction to all others, is a presumption which has disparaged Divine Truth, and tempted the people to suspect that Faith is invoked invidiously and craftily, for the purpose of aiding the policy of man. The teaching of our Churchmen has too often destroyed the impressions of their sincerity. A Sextipartite Homily against wilful rebellion, unbalanced by a single text of warning to the rulers, betrays the cause of lawful authority.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that monarchy, hereditary according to primogeniture, the elder preferred before the younger, appears more conformable to the spirit of the Divine Law than democratic institutions. The pre-eminences and rights given to the first-born, the promise that, as a reward, dominion shall be continued to children and children's children, support this opinion. Moreover, strict hereditary succession takes the nomination of the ruler entirely out of man's hand; for this institution renders the agency of man subservient to the irrevocable past, leaving, as far as human will can be said to possess the power of assent, the appointment to the Supreme Disposer of events. And, practically, men feel it a mercy to be exonerated from the labour of exercising such a power of appointment. No theory can be more plausible than that of election, yet, in the long run, this theory always fails: nations are tired out by it,

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741—987 they abandon the responsibility. As far as His-
 tory is known, all democracies,—that is to say,
 814—819 the absolutism of the majority over the mino-
 rity—all elective Sovereignities, with few appa-
 rent but no real exceptions, ultimately ruin the
 Commonwealth, or condense themselves into
 hereditary sovereignty.

Difficulties
 of the po-
 sition of
 Louis upon
 his acces-
 sion.

§ 23. CONTEMPLATING his affairs simply as a
 Statesman, putting conscience out of the question,
 the political difficulties encompassing Louis-le-
 débonnaire were manifold: they wrapped him
 round. Whatever precedents he could find in
 past history,—and more useful teachers than his
 Orosius and his Saint Augustine, no Monarch
 could have enjoyed—they only encreased his
 perplexity. The new and yet crumbling Carlo-
 vingian Empire was destitute of any constitu-
 tional principles to which you could appeal even
 in theoretical discussion. It was an untapestried
 Hall; the bowing walls freshly built with untem-
 pered mortar. There was no approximation to
 any code or canon, whereby the descent, trans-
 mission or acquisition of supreme authority
 could be regulated. Popular assent seemed to
 be almost the only principle definitely enounced.
 Try to discover any certainty from their annals.—
 Had any son the right to represent his father?
 Was there any privilege attached to primogeni-
 ture? any prerogative given to seniority? and if
 so, did the right or preference die with the party

No Canon
 of inheri-
 tance esta-
 blished in
 the Carlo-
 vingian
 Empire.

or pass on to his progeny? And here Louis-le-débonnaire was driven upon the practical question, Could King Bernard, the son of Pepin, his elder brother, be deprived of Pepin's rights? Was not Bernard the lawful successor to the supremacy, either in right of seniority or as the ruler of Italy? Was Rome to be subservient to Aix-la-Chapelle? and to whom did Rome's sovereignty appertain? Had the Duchy of Rome reverted to the Kingdom of Italy, or was it annexed to the Imperial title? Louis took the Crown from off the Altar: the Franks shouted *Vivat Imperator Ludovicus!* but was he really Emperor? Could Charlemagne of his own authority empower Louis to assume the Imperial diadem? The very foundation of the *Emperor* Charlemagne's authority was the previous recognition of the *Patrician* Charlemagne by the Roman people; and when he received the diadem from the Pontiff, Leo spoke equally as the representative of the *gens togata*, the worthless, though legitimate inheritors of the Eternal City, and as the spiritual head of Western Christendom.

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Imperial
title of
Louis
hitherto
dubious.

But there were deeper griefs and more gnawing. Could Louis prognosticate the destiny preparing for his three sons? the eldest, Lothair, a youth, the youngest, Louis, a mere child. How could he secure to them their share of dominion? nay more, their liberty, their lives? Louis-le-débonnaire entertained a morbid anticipation of

741—987
—————
814—819

early death, and were his children to be left to their cousin King Bernard's mercies?

Whatever way Louis reasoned concerning himself, his family, or his sovereignty, he only argued in a circle which brought him back to uncertainty. If the Frankish Sovereign possessed an indefeasible right, then his own ancestors were usurpers; but if the Sovereigns were amenable to the nation, then the proud, the versatile, the treacherous Franks, the ruling and predominant caste, might at any time, upon cause pretended or found, make him share the fate of the last Merovingians. Charles Martel had been accepted as the *gros vilain*, able to keep the peace; but if he, Louis, failed, or was thought to fail, why should not the Franks look out for another *gros vilain*, whose thews and sinews would be more adequate to the duty required; and those who might organize the revolution were close at hand. Upon the highest steps of the estrade, next to the throne itself, there stood the Senator of the Senators, the Administrator of the realm, another Major-domus, a descendant of Charles Martel, with Charles Martel's energy,—Count Wala; and he, supported by his brother Adelhard, the rigid, stern and inflexible enforcer of justice. Louis, distrustful of his own judgment, always ended by being at the disposal of his advisers, and his chief adviser, Hermengarda, his wife, his Queen.

Without accusers, without witnesses, without

trial, without any definite charge, contrary to the rights of the Frankish nobles, the privileges of the Church or natural equity, Louis, yielding to the counsellors who abused his confidence, caused Abbot Adelhard to be arrested, and sent to the island of Hero or Hermoutier, off the coast of Poitou, below the estuary of the Loire, where he was kept in vile captivity. Count Wala was seized, compelled to become a monk, and thrust into the cloister of Corbey, and his wife, the daughter of Count William of Toulouse, from whom he was thus separated, also confined in a monastery. There is some difficulty in ascertaining her name, but it seems that she was afterwards cruelly drowned as a witch in the Saône. The other members of the family were involved in the same proscription; Bernard or Bernarius, the younger brother, transported as a convict to the island of Lerins in the Mediterranean, and their sister Gundreda, a lady of the Royal Household, enforced to take the veil. The persecution of such harmless individuals shows the panic fear by which Louis-le-débonnaire was possessed.

§ 24. Sore repentance, sore punishment was he preparing for himself; and whilst adopting these measures, which accumulated sorrows instead of removing troubles, he began to take counsel for the administration of the Empire. Further perplexities. How was he to deal with his sons? Lothair, audacious and hard, Pepin rest-

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Banish-
ment of
Count
Wala and
his brother
Adelhard,
&c.

814.

First par-
tition of
the Empire
made by
Louis-le-
débon-
naire.

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 814—819 less, Louis scarcely formed : he feared them as future rivals, yet loved them tenderly. If he gave them authority, they might rise up against him ; if he did not, how was their succession to be confirmed ? If he did not apportion their lots, they would quarrel for their share, and if he did, would they abide by his decision ? The long-continued practice of the Frankish dynasties, as well as the absolute necessity of providing for local government, compelled him, however, to plan a partition, even as his father had done.

The Franks were very proud of their nationality, glorious in their Empire's unity and dignity. In their minds Charlemagne had become, and not unduly, the personification of the Commonwealth. "*L'Etat, c'est moi*," is not a vain or insolent assertion of despotism, but simply the expressed consciousness of the mission bestowed upon the individual who obtains the mastery over society. The magic influence of Charlemagne maintained the unity of the Empire during his life, but the spell was breaking : the regalia of Charlemagne were amulets losing their charm under an adverse constellation.

Louis-le-débonnaire proceeded with caution. Italy belonged to the son of the elder Pepin, King Bernard, whose fealty he had received—the nephew, confirmed by his uncle's authority. He could therefore only deal with the territories on his side the Alps. Lothair received the ancient

Baier-land and its dependencies, extending from Valtellina to the Northgau: Pepin repaired to his father's kingdom of Aquitaine: the appanage of Louis, the youngest, was postponed. Upon his aspiring sons, Louis-le-débonnaire bestowed the titles of Kings, yet scarcely intending to impart any royal power. He contemplated that they should be merely interposed between him and the Counts or Dukes of the Empire as Imperial Vicars; but in this position they had full opportunity of making friends, acquiring supporters, forming parties. Prelates, nobles and people courted the young Princes; and Lothair and Pepin, thus prematurely advanced, while their father was prematurely declining, never receded from the vantage ground they had gained.

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Portions assigned to Lothair and to Pepin, being the first partition made by Louis-le-débonnaire.

§ 25. According to the policy indicated by his ancestors, Louis ought to have proceeded Rome-wards: the fealty of the Roman people, rendered to Pepin-le-bref and Charlemagne, was equally required to testify their acceptance of Louis as the legitimate successor of the Cæsars; and their acclamation needed to be confirmed by the Pontiff bestowing the Imperial diadem. Louis-le-débonnaire was not really and fully acknowledged as Emperor. Many studiously and stiffly spoke of King Louis and Queen Hermengarda. The Romans had conspired against Pope Leo: the patri- cians rebelled against him: some say they sought his death, threatening a repetition of the violences

Confirma- tion of the Imperial authority needed by Louis-le-débon- naire.

815—816.

Transac- tions at Rome:— rebellion against Pope Leo III.

741—987 from which he had been rescued by Charlemagne.

There is scarcely any period during the middle ages wherein the aspirations of Rienzi do not appear. Temporal sovereignty in the modern sense, the Pope of Rome, hedged in by imperial authority and popular rights, did not possess, even fully admitting the grants of Saint Peter's patrimony; but he had the greatest pre-eminence in the Republic: not more than properly belonged to his functions and station, yet exciting recalcitrations and jealousies. Some of the conspirators were condemned to death. The Romans invoked the protection of the proclaimed Emperor, so also the Pontiff: it was natural that he should seek to be helped by the son of his ancient patron Charlemagne.

815. 816.
Transac-
tions at
Rome.—
Death of
Leo III.
Accession
of Stephen
IV.

The intervention of Louis-le-débonnaire, practically effected by King Bernard, restored tranquillity. Leo died in the course of the year—a very diligent, useful, and magnificent Pontiff. He employed the bountiful gifts received from Charlemagne in rebuilding and adorning many Churches: he surrounded the Sanctuary of St. Peter's with a balustrade of solid silver, and decorated the windows with variously-coloured glass, the first notice of this adornment, probably derived from Arabian art.

Leo was succeeded by Stephen the Fourth. Like his predecessor, Stephen had been educated from his earliest youth in the Lateran palace:

trained, in a manner, for the Popedom : and Leo ^{741—987}
 had designated him as most worthy of the ^{814—819}
 dignity. The Clergy, Nobles and Citizens of
 Rome accepted the recommendation of the de-
 parted Pontiff, and unanimously elected Stephen.
 Though well supported by their suffrages, he
 earnestly sought the friendship of Louis; and
 soon after his consecration, he induced the
 Roman people to acknowledge Louis as Emperor
 and render due allegiance. Legates appeared at
 the Frankish Court, the distant Aix-la-Chapelle,
 bearing a grateful message: the Pontiff would
 undertake a journey such as but one Pope had
 hitherto performed—he would cross the Alps,
 and invest the son of Charlemagne with the Im-
 perial Crown.

816.
 Pope Ste-
 phen
 crosses the
 Alps:—
 Louis and
 Hermen-
 garda
 crowned by
 him at
 Rheims.

At Rheims, where Clovis had been baptized,
 the highest dignity of Western Christendom was
 to be bestowed upon the representative of the
 lineage which had devoured the Merovingians.
 Stephen came accompanied by a large train of the
 Roman Clergy. The ceremony was performed in
 the great Basilica of Saint Remigius, before the
 Shrine now encircled by the Statues of the Doze-
 peers, the memorials of Charlemagne's legendary
 grandeur.

Stephen placed the imperial Crown on the
 head of Louis: this ratification of the inchoate
 dignity had been promised; but the affectionate
 pride of the husband received an unexpected

741—987 gratification. Hermengarda, kneeling before the
 Pontiff, was also invested with the diadem: no
 814—819 such honour had ever been bestowed upon a consort of Charlemagne. They were hailed as Augustus and Augusta;—Stephen gave his benediction and departed; and Louis hastened to the forests of Compiègne. The fame of his coronation spread.

Louis-le-débonnaire receives Embassies from the Caliph, the Eastern Empire, the Slavi:—Danes seek his aid.

Ambassadors from the East, swarthy representatives of the Caliph Abdelrahman, renewing the friendly intercourse begun by Haroun Alraschid, vied with the nations of the West in testifying that they acknowledged him as worthily succeeding to his father's honours. The Court removed to the Pfaltz, the Palace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Encreasing splendour environs the Emperor:—a splendid embassy from Constantinople,—Nicephorus compliments his Imperial brother:—the Dalmatian Slavi crave his aid:—still more significant of his reputation, the very Danes, whose vessels had threatened the Empire, entreat his assistance and alliance.—The sons of the Godfrey who contended against Charlemagne had expelled Harold the King of Jutland: both the competitors invoked the Imperial authority, and the exile Harold—of whom we shall soon hear more,—was supported by Louis-le-débonnaire.

Further anxieties of Louis:—Church-affairs:—settlement of the succession.

§ 26. In the conduct pursued by Louis against Adelhard and Wala we obtain an indication of the developement which his character was

sustaining, exemplified affectingly and mournfully throughout the subsequent course of his history: a conflict between an awakened conscience and the duties and temptations of station, a mind energetic in action, weak in deliberation, fully appreciating the dignity and sanctity of authority, but not always able to sustain that dignity, thwarted, misled and betrayed by those who surrounded him. Pure in morals, Louis was unable to correct his licentious Court and disorderly household. When he banished his sisters and their lovers from the Palace, a domestic insurrection ensued. Count Lambert, probably the Lambert who afterwards became Count of the Armorican Marches, was wounded; the paramours were driven away: one lost his eyes; but the punishment of the individuals did not ameliorate society.

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Ecclesiastical affairs were in great disorder. As King, as Emperor, Louis-le-débonnaire was fully bound to co-operate in their amendment; for what Finance is in our days, Church-principles were then—the mainspring in the general policy of Christendom. Three hundred and more years had elapsed since the institution of monachism in the Western Church by Saint Benedict. The Order had spread widely during this long period: their political importance and riches had wonderfully increased: the restraints were slipping away, and they were degenerating ra-

Ecclesiastical affairs.

741—987

814—819

Need at
this period
of Monastic
reforms.

The Me-
diæval
Church, a
reforming
Church.

pidly from their primitive earnestness and simplicity. Destined to do great things, to preserve uncorrupted much of the salt of the earth, to promote the welfare of man and the glory of God, their decline was stayed, and amidst and through many trials, a season of revival at length ensued, distinguished by true wisdom and holy energy.

The general healthiness of the mediæval Church is evinced by her unremitting endeavours to extirpate abuses. Every Council was a rebuke to the irregularities, laxities, vices and crimes of clergy and laity. It was essentially the character of the Latin or Western Church to be a reforming Church, never, during the middle ages, content to settle upon the lees. Not always acting wisely, not always temperately, not always consistently—sometimes slack, sometimes over-rigid; never preventing backsliding;—yet renewing her strength, and persevering in zeal and faithfulness;—for even as it is with individuals, that the just man may fall seven times and rise again, so is it with Churches.

Though his power be not susceptible of any exact definition, Charlemagne virtually acted as the head or governor of the Gallican and German Churches; his good sense and talent contributed to diminish the evils resulting from the confusion of temporal and spiritual power. He was the directing spirit of ecclesiastical legislation. Louis-le-débonnaire followed his example, and con-

sidered that in every way he was bound to take as much upon himself as his father had done. A rigid reformer had arisen, earnest and devout— Saint Benedict of Aniana. Louis sought to obtain his co-operation in the restoration of monastic discipline. Many of the monks were assimilating themselves to regular Canons, multiplying themselves into Congregations or Colleges, in which, claiming the immunities of the regular Clergy, they might indulge in pleasures and good cheer, fare better in the Refectory, sport more freely in the field. Louis was very intent upon rectifying these secularities; neither could he abide to see his Bishops riding up and down with rich gold belts and gem-decked daggers, splendid mantles flowing from their shoulders, and long gilt spurs protruding from their heels.

There was another abuse, which may be considered either as social or ecclesiastical, against which Louis strove. It was truly the pride of the Christian Church to repudiate any distinction of rank or blood—all walls of separation broken down,—all men, whatever might be their race or descent, their rank or condition, bond or free, equally eligible to her ministry, equally susceptible of a Priesthood, not inheritable in families, but accessible to all mankind.

But when clerical privileges were recognized and established by the State, it became needful that in certain cases the State should inter-

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Equality,
the privi-
lege of the
Church.
The Priest-
hood open
to all.

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 814—819

fere to prevent their perversion. A Clerk was exempted from all secular jurisdiction. Hence, according to the Imperial Constitutions, the magistrates of towns, the *Curiales*, could not, unless permitted to resign their office, take Holy Orders, because by so doing, they were released from the onerous obligations which their station imposed. —A *Miles*, for the like reason, could not receive Holy Orders, and thus discharge himself from the army:—a Crown debtor was under the like incapacity, until his debt was cleared, for as a member of the Hierarchy, he was no longer obnoxious to process:—neither could a serf, still less a slave, without the consent of the lord or master, because the services of the one and the person of the other belonged to that lord or master.

This was the legal theory; but in practice it was very much modified by the national conscience: Church and State co-operated in mitigating the harshness of such exclusions, and particularly with respect to servile Clerks. Sometimes the law provided that if a Serf was admitted into a monastery, his lord might be compensated by having two Serfs given him in the stead of the one who had been liberated by the tonsure. So also, if a Serf was shorn or entered a Monastery, the lord was barred by a year's non-claim; and the prevailing opinion set so strongly against these restrictions that they were little regarded. Holy orders conferred

upon a serf were only voidable, not void. The serf-clerk continued a clerk till degraded by canonical proceedings, and that upon a competent complaint preferred, within a limited period. Charlemagne expressly encouraged the ordination of the servile classes, and very large numbers were received into the ranks of the hierarchy.—In this lies the great fact of the disputes technically called the disputes between the two swords, that the French hierarchy had become, in the main, a *roturier* hierarchy.

The Franks, whatever might be their Church-principles generally, entertained a haughty aristocratic aversion to the plebeian races, and the better born Clergy cherished a great jealousy against Clergy of servile origin. A priest or monk of pure Frankish blood was often inclined to look very scornfully upon the clerk whose peasant parents were to be sought amongst the Gaulish villainage. He approximated closely in sentiment to a Philadelphia minister of any religious denomination, who talks beautifully about the love he bears towards his sable brother, his fellow-labourer in the vineyard, but who will not allow the coloured preacher so much as standing room in his church, chapel or tabernacle. Louis-le-débonnaire was grieved at this prejudice: he testified constantly against it. He did all in his power to encourage the "*wicked custom*," the "*pessima consuetudo*," of disregarding the stain of servitude. A signal

741—987

814—819

Jealousy
entertained
against
Clerks of
servile
origin.

Louis
strives a-
gainst this
jealousy.

741—987
 814—819 example of his earnestness was presented in the case of his foster-brother Ebbo, who, being a thorough bred villein, *ex originalium servorum stirpe*, was through his influence promoted to the highest ecclesiastical dignity in the Gauls, the Archbishoprick of Rheims.

The appointment was most unexceptionable.—When Gislemar, who had been elected by the people of Rheims as their Archbishop, came to his book before the examining Bishops, he could scarcely read a line,—he was therefore rejected. Louis then proposed Ebbo, a man distinguished, notwithstanding his low birth, by his noble aspect and fine and well cultivated talent, and he was chosen upon this recommendation, without which it is probable that his merit would not have influenced the electors. In this instance the Sovereign did not exceed the powers which, as a member of the Church, he might fairly claim: his assistance turned the scale.

Cosmical
 phenomena fre-
 quent dur-
 ing the dark
 ages, &c.

§ 27. The paucity and inaccuracy of observers, and still more the loss of observations, should teach us caution in our reasonings concerning the natural appearances of antiquity; nevertheless, taking into consideration those very circumstances by which our evidence is rendered so defective and scanty, it is indisputable that the cosmical phenomena occurring in the period commencing with the Fall of the Roman Empire and terminating about the period of the Crusades, were singularly remarkable and abundant.

Great atmospheric and terrestrial commotions prevailed during the reign of Louis-le-débonnaire, accompanied by famines and epidemic diseases. Showers of aerolithes, comets and upheavings of the soil, perplexed and astounded the nations. The thermal springs of Aix-la-Chapelle which we behold steaming, boiling, bursting through the strata, indicate the volcanic energies below.—These agencies were then more lively.—Earthquakes were frequent in that district.—The whole country adjoining was afflicted, and during this generation the city of Aix-la-Chapelle was repeatedly disturbed and endangered by the concussions: so violent that the Palace was partly ruined, and the golden globes adorning the Byzantine cupolas cast down, whilst the loud and prolonged groanings which resounded from the depths, increased the terror. Louis-le-débonnaire was not appalled by omens: he considered the servile or gentile dread of comet or star as forbidden by Holy Writ—nevertheless he was encouraged by Holy Writ to ponder upon such signs and tokens as messages of wrath or warning. They depressed his spirit, and they continued many a year.

The Imperial Coronation at Rheims, the splendid pageantry, the obedience, apparently so willing and spontaneous, rendered to his Imperial authority, had failed to restore comfort. Louis-le-débonnaire continued to be harassed by trou-

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814—819

Anxieties
concerning
the succe-
sion.

741—987

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bles; his family, his nobles, his people were all dissatisfied, and their grudges and anxieties reflected back upon him. The governments assigned to Lothair and Pepin looked precarious. Hermengarda might doubt whether any certain provision had been made for her sons: no lot was assigned by Louis to his namesake, his youngest boy, his *æquivocus*, as he called him. An irksome desire prevailed in the Imperial Court, not openly acknowledged, but certainly felt, to regain Italy. The Imperial succession still continued undetermined, and though Louis was under forty years of age, a universal apprehension prevailed, lest he might be cut off by sudden death.

§ 28. Louis preferred keeping Lent at Aix-la-Chapelle. The site of the Pfaltz is still indicated by one picturesque fragment: a lofty wall, decorated at the summit by a graceful range of Gothic arcades, containing Statues of Emperors and Kings.

The approach to this palace from the Cathedral led through a long timber-gallery, such as we often see in ancient continental Castles, though rarely in England. It was on Good-Friday when Louis and his train, returning from the offices of the solemn day, were passing along this corridor, that it gave way. The beams, it is said, were decayed; but this can hardly have been the case, for the building had been erected by Charlemagne, and it is most probable that the

817.
April 10:

Louis-le-débonnaire
in danger
of losing
his life by
the fall of
the palace
gallery.

collapse resulted from some previous disturbance of the unstable soil. Many of the courtiers who accompanied Louis were killed : all hurt, Louis less grievously than others, yet very seriously. Leech and surgeon took him in hand. Months elapsed before his soundness was regained, and though his corporeal recovery ensued, the shock had deeply affected his mind. The accident rendered the probability of death palpably sensible ; and he determined to settle the affairs of his family and Empire on such a basis as might ensure peace and tranquillity.

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The Diet, the great Council of the Empire, the Convention of Bishops and Abbots, Counts and Nobles, the Senate of the Franks, Clergy and Laity, assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle in sunny July. Solemn and joyous, these meetings, which partook equally of the nature of Parliaments and Councils, were usually summoned at Whitsuntide, so as to leave the summer vacation untouched for such sports as the pleasant season afforded, lake or river, garden or green-wood shade. The Session therefore at this unusual period shows the length of time which had elapsed before the health of Louis was sufficiently restored. In this Council various important Capitulars were enacted, some purely concerning ecclesiastical affairs, others mixed : amongst them a complete and very stringent code for the government, discipline and correction of the canonical order.

817.
July.The Great
Council at
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

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817.

Second partition of the Empire made by Louis-le-débonnaire. Motion made in the Assembly for the settlement of the succession.

Lothair declared Emperor.

Portion of the realm assigned to Pepin.

However much the need of removing all uncertainties concerning the succession might press upon the mind of Louis, he shrunk from a decision, until the Council suddenly, and to him unexpectedly, demanded that he should follow the example of his progenitors, and provide for the succession of the realm. Louis, startled and disturbed, required time for deliberation; three days were employed in almsgiving and prayer. That the proposition so brought forward originated amongst the earnest partisans of the young princes, is as unquestionable, as it is impossible to ascertain which or who were the leaders in the movement.—By the unanimous voice and election of the Senate, Louis assenting, Lothair was declared his father's consort and successor in the Empire. Louis placed the Imperial Crown upon the head of his Son—“*Vivat Imperator Lotharius*,” shouted the joyous multitude, whilst Pepin and Louis, the first hitherto called king by courtesy, both received the Royal title by a decree of the assembly.

PEPIN continued to hold Aquitaine; but the realm sustained various alterations in boundary: only a portion of Septimania, which had hitherto been conjoined with Aquitaine, was retained by him, namely the county of Carcassonne. On the north, the frontier was also somewhat contracted, but the loss was compensated by a dismemberment of Cisjurane Burgundy, three counties—

Autun, towering in Roman magnificence : smiling
 Nevers, and dreary Avalon, where every stone
 appears stamped with vestiges of once animated
 nature.

741—987
 814—819

LOUIS the younger obtained “Baioaria,” taken
 from Lothair, and all her dependencies, annexed
 by alliance or conquest:—the fertile valleys of
 the Ems, the wide margraviates, the marches,
 lands and kingdoms overspread by Sclavonian
 tribes, Wilzians, Carinthians, Bohemians, and
 Avars, were all subjected to his Crown. Such
 was the compact and powerful Kingdom given
 to Louis, whom the French historians usually
 style *Louis-le-Germanique*, and whom we shall
 so designate hereafter. His Kingdom, however,
 may be best identified if we consider it as nearly
 corresponding to the whole existing Austrian
 Empire north of the Alps; together with modern
 Bavaria, the Grisons, and a large portion of the
 pristine Burgundian territories which now com-
 pose the Helvetic confederacy, and, pre-eminent
 therein, that nursery of dynasties, the County of
 Altorf.

817.
 Portions
 assigned to
 Louis-le-
 Germa-
 nique.

LOTHAIR, the firstborn, the Emperor, had not
 any portion distinctly assigned to him. What his
 brothers did not hold, would become his in
 domain; but there is a special and stringent
 direction that the Kingdom of Italy, Bernard’s
 Kingdom, was in all things to be obedient to him.

The
 younger
 brothers to
 be depend-
 ent on
 the senior.

Pepin and Louis once in each year were to

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appear before the throne of their elder brother, lovingly and fraternally, bearing the gifts, the acknowledgments of his superiority; but he, Lothair, is on his part exhorted to treat them with brotherly regard. The Kings were not to declare war or conclude peace otherwise than with the *senior's* assent. No further subdivision of the Empire was to ensue. In case of the death of any brother, such one of his sons alone was to succeed as the people should elect; should he die without issue, the Kingdom was to revert to the Empire. Thus the provisions asserted the great principle of Imperial unity, and implied that the Imperial diadem was to be hereditary in Lothair's line; three Kingdoms, Bavaria, Aquitaine, and Italy, being appendant to the Imperial dignity.

The *Charta Divisionis* was sealed by Louis to the foregoing effect,—his second partition of the Empire—a legislative as well as constitutional act, binding the parent and the children, and rendering the State the guardian equally of the rights of succession, and of the conditions upon which these rights were to be enjoyed.

817.

The *Charta divisionis*:—its ambiguities.

§ 29. This Charter, however, is neither clear nor complete. Some provisions are obscure: some important cases are not provided for, whether by accident or intent is uncertain—whilst the most important features, the extent, nature, and

transmission of Lothair's supremacy, seem faintly sketched by a trembling hand. Read such clauses as the following:—"Pepinum et Hludowicum æquivocum nostrum, communi consilio placuit regiis insignire nominibus, et loca inferius denominata constituere, in quibus post decessum nostrum sub *seniore* fratre regali potestate potiantur. —Volumus ut semel in anno, tempore opportuno, de his quæ necessaria sunt, mutuo fraterno amore tractandi gratiâ, ad *seniorem fratrem* cum donis suis veniant.—Item volumus ut nec pacem nec bellum contra exteras nationes, absque consilio et consensu *senioris fratris* ullatenus suscipere præsumant.—Si absque legitimis liberis aliquis eorum decesserit, potestas illius ad *seniorem fratrem* revertatur,"—the word *senior* being employed in other chapters as absolutely designating the lord of a Vassal, without any reference to kindred or age.

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Even in private life, if much importance be assigned to such precedencies or pre-eminences, an ill-defined headship in a family is singularly productive of ill-will and rancour. How much more fraught with evil in an Empire.—It is hardly possible, or rather it is impossible, in the passages above quoted from the charter, to distinguish between the relative duties resulting from *seniority* in the natural sense, and *seignory* in the legal sense. According to the fashion of writing then in use, the scribe could not help

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out the construction of "*senior*" by the initial difference of a minuscule or a capital. Archicapellanus Hilduin and the Clerks of the Chapel might plausibly argue for either import, "*senior*" noun, or *senior* adjective, as they chose. This indistinct apprehension of the rights of blood and the rights of dominion, perplexed and confounded the Carolingian Empire until its extinction.

General
dissatisfac-
tion :
Pepin
and Louis-
le-Germa-
nique jea-
lous of
Lothair.

The new scheme of government dissatisfied all parties. It purported to postpone the authority granted to the sons until their father's demise; but the reversion was immediately reduced by them into a litigious possession. Lothair could not understand how he was to be called his father's partner and sharer in the Empire, and yet continue subordinate to his father. When two are conjoined, one must take the lead, and Lothair determined that his father should become subject to him. Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique both bitterly envied Lothair's supremacy, whether as *Senior* or *Seigneur*. A King of the Obotrites, or of the Sorabians or the Avars, could not, despite of the smooth phrases, appear in a more humble capacity before the Imperial Throne.

§ 30. Bernard, King of Italy, was most offended of all: he, the representative of the elder line: he, who claimed Rome, the seat of the Empire. Bernard's submission to Charlemagne and to Louis was a personal duty; Charle-

magne he obeyed as his grandsire, Louis was certainly Bernard's *senior*, the older man; but he would in no wise concede that eldership to Lothair, the young son of the son. A powerful movement ensued in Bernard's favour. The long-bearded Germans had become thoroughly Romanized; and, to a great extent, the revolution which now broke out was an insurrection of the Lombard-Italians against the Franks. Many of the highest Clergy joined therein: Anselm Archbishop of Milan, and Wulfphald, Bishop of Cremona; on our side of the Alps, Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans. This friend of Charlemagne and of Alcuin had been long settled in Gaul, but he could not forget fair Italy. In Lombardy, the feeling was enthusiastic: the municipal communities, always very powerful, were unanimous on behalf of Bernard, and swore to support his cause. King he was already: therefore this renewed declaration was probably intended to prepare the way for his assumption of the Imperial dignity. The Passes, the Alpine *Chiuse*, were occupied by King Bernard's troops, and the Empire of Louis threatened with imminent peril.

Louis received the intelligence when hunting in the sport-abounding Vosges: a diplomatic intrigue ensued, of which we only know the fatal results. Generally speaking, the Franks hated King Bernard. His faithful counsellors, Wala and Adelhard, had been taken from him, captives,

741—987

814—819

817—818.

The revolt
of Bernard
King of
Italy.

741—987 convicts, lingering in the cell of Corbey and the island of Hermoustiers. Hermengarda employed her wily emissaries: Bernard was inveigled out of Italy: the Frankish nobles, who brought the proposition which induced him to abandon the country where he was defended by his people and protected by the Alps, pledged themselves upon their oaths for his safety. He proceeded to seek a compromise with his uncle. A conference was held as far up as possible in the Gauls, and where the old Franks were strongest, at Châlons on the Saône. Bernard was appalled by his danger: he threw himself at the feet of Louis and implored forgiveness; but the inveterate Franks would not allow of mercy.

814—819
817—818
King Bernard inveigled out of Italy:—meets Louis at Chalons.

The subsequent transactions are related contradictorily and confusedly. None of the historians on this side the Alps liked to expatiate upon the subject; they were all imbued with the Frankish feeling. Hermengarda's share in the transactions would have been concealed from posterity but for the Chronicle of one Andrew, a Milanese. Bernard and his adherents were brought to trial before the great Council at Aix-la-Chapelle. The safe-conduct went for nothing. The chief rebels, with the exception of the three Bishops, were condemned to death. Louis hesitated to confirm the sentence. A commutation of punishment was insidiously suggested. A confidential adviser,—was it not Hermengarda?—spoke or hinted to the following effect—"Let Bernard and

818.
March,
April.
Bernard and his adherents tried and condemned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

his three counsellors, Egidius, Reinhard, and Rainier the son of that traitor Hardrath of Austrasia, who rebelled again and again against your father, be blinded."—If Louis did not give a decided refusal, he did not prohibit: nay, his reply was interpreted into a direct assent. Perhaps he hardly understood the proposal. To an undecided and irresolute mind, the plainest words convey a sound of uncertainty.

Three days afterwards King Bernard was dead. According to one version of the tragical story, Bernard resisted desperately against the five executioners sent to tear out his eyes, and he was killed in the conflict. Some say that he and the other prisoners, after they had sustained the dreadful punishment, committed suicide in despair. The dungeon secrets were never distinctly disclosed; but, that the prisoners expired miserably, was certain. The corpse of King Bernard was conveyed to Milan: they buried him in Sant' Ambrogio, where his body lies. The epitaph tells nothing of his mode of death. One son he left, bearing the ancestral name of Pepin, who remained obscurely in the power of Louis-le-débonnaire. The three Bishops were kept in custody, Theodulph at Angiers. The lives of the other parties implicated in Bernard's revolt were spared, but all their property was confiscated to the Crown. It was assumed in like manner that the infant Pepin had, through his father's delinquencies, forfeited all right to

741—987

814—819

Bernard's
miserable
death.

741—987

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Italy. No advocate or friend spoke on his behalf, and the kingdom was united in domain to the Imperial Crown.

Louis compels his brothers Drogo, Hugh, and Thierry to become monks.

§ 31. Hitherto the three young brothers of Louis-le-débonnaire, Drogo, Hugh, and Thierry, continuing in the palace, had experienced his cordial affection. At his father's behest, he swore to be their guardian: no jealousy, no ill-will appeared, and the oath had been conscientiously fulfilled. Threatening suspicions were now excited that some discontented party might raise up the Princes as his competitors. Apparently these apprehensions were causeless, but once excited and indulged, Louis could not dispel the dread. He determined to rid himself of his brothers. Monks they must be, a monastery their prison. He compelled them to be shorn against their will:—the foreboding anticipations of Charlemagne were realized. Louis-*le-débonnaire*, Ludovicus *Pius*, committed the harsh and unrighteous deed which his dying father forbade. The reluctant youths took the irrevocable vows against which their souls revolted, vows scarcely possible to be truly kept by them, and yet not to be violated without sin.

818.
July 3.
Death of Hermengarda.

§ 32. If Hermengarda instigated the cruel punishment and consequent death of Bernard, as is the prevailing opinion, she did not live to enjoy her success; she did not live to see Lothair, her favourite son, the crowned King of Italy—her own death speedily ensued. This loss fell

heavily upon Louis-le-débonnaire. He and Hermengarda had grown up together, and he loved her tenderly. About this time he had been engaged in active and fortunate military operations: he conducted a very successful expedition against the Armoricans, the Celts were reduced to submission; Benevento submitted without a struggle; the Gascons were defeated, Lope Centulla, their Duke, accepted the boon of banishment; the Sclavonians yielded implicit obedience, and the authority of Louis seemed to pervade the whole Empire.

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814—819

But the triumphant Emperor rejoiced not in his prosperity. His mind was saddened: men excused him, but his conscience smote him. Bernard's ghastly spectre haunted him; he could not conceal from himself that his splendid Empire was insecure. Soon would his sons either quarrel with him or amongst themselves. Harassed, depressed, self-reproached, he talked of abdication: he would retire into a monastery—a half wish, which the speaker could scarcely have realized. Louis, warmly and fondly affectionate, was entirely unfitted for solitude: he could not bear to sever himself from earthly ties; moreover, he always felt that he ought not to abandon the duties of government which had been committed to him. Those about him, his counselors, urged him to contract a second marriage. Faithful to Hermengarda, Louis had not looked on

Mental
depression
and sorrow
of Louis.

741—987 any other woman with eyes of desire; nor would
 he court by proxy, or take a wife upon report.
 814—819 So they actually assembled at the palace the
 819. daughters of his counts and nobles; and from
 Louis mar- the maidens presented to the Widower's choice,
 ries his second wife Judith. he, before the year of mourning had expired,
 selected a blooming, beautiful, brilliant, high-
 spirited, accomplished and witty Princess, who,
 besides her personal and mental gifts, had the
 recommendation of appertaining to one of the
 most powerful houses of the realm.

Guelph
 Count of
 Altorf,
 (died 820,)
 and his de-
 scendants.

§ 33. GUELPH the Agilolphing was her father:
 Wilhelm Tell and the *Eidgenossenschaft* have
 so dimmed the earlier eras of Swiss history, that
 we rarely advert to the importance of Trans-
 jurane and Alpine Helvetia as constituting the
 very core of Burgundy: the Dynasts who ruled
 beneath Burgundian or Imperial Supremacy
 are almost equally forgotten. Amongst a thou-
 sand travellers on the Lake of Lucerne, has one
 of these tourists any reminiscence of Guelph
 Count of Altorf, so illustrious by his descent, but
 more illustrious through his progeny? JUDITH,
 the damsel selected by Louis-le-débonnaire, was
 Guelph's eldest child.

Ethico,
 founder of
 the histo-
 rical Guel-
 phic family,
 (died 830).

ETHICO, Conrad and Rodolph, his sons, are
 each in their degree historically conspicuous.
 Most particularly Ethico the eldest, the ancestor
 of Cunegunda or Cuniza, wife of Azzo Marquis
 of Este, founder of our Guelphic family. From

Azzo came the Guelphic dukes of Bavaria and of Saxony, and subsequently of Brunswick and of Lunenburg, thus rendering Ethico the historical stem of our own Imperial line.

CONRAD, the second son of Guelph of Altorf, stands at the head of another lineage of great consequence: he married a daughter of Louis-le-débonnaire, and therefore the step-daughter of his sister Judith, who is called "Adelaide," which denomination may be either a proper name or an epithet. Conrad was Abbot of Saint Germain of Auxerre, not to be confounded with Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, and he bears the title of Abbot, Count and Duke of Auxerre, accordingly; the Abbey of Auxerre narrowly escaped being completely converted into an hereditary principality. Conrad was probably also Count of Paris. This Conrad, distinguished dynastically as "Conrad the first," had three children, Guelph, Conrad "the younger," and Hugh, two of whom succeeded somewhat irregularly to his dignities.

RODOLPH, the third son of Guelph of Altorf, held a high situation in the Court of France, but deeply suffering in the revolutions of the times: he attained no higher station than the Comital honour.

GUELPH, grandson of Guelph of Altorf, and eldest son of Conrad, according to the Carlovin-gian usage and his family pretensions, obtained his provision entirely from the Church. Abbot

741—987

814—819

Conrad I.
Abbot,
Count, and
Duke of
Auxerre,
(died 862).

... his chil-
dren.

Count Ro-
dolph (died
866).

Guelph, the
grandson,
Abbot of
Auxerre,
&c. (died
881).

741—987

819—830

Character
of the Em-
press Ju-
dith.

other. Louis-le-débonnaire seems now almost unconsciously to have felt a prescient confidence in the German people, inclining his mind more to them than during the earlier years of his life. Judith, cheerful, affectionate, noble, belonged to a purely German and very distinguished House. Like the other ladies of her era, she would have been held unfit for her station had she not been well versed in the Grammar-latin tongue, therefore her mere knowledge of the language implies no extraordinary proficiency. But it was Judith's encomium that she diligently cultivated her varied talents; and the learned men who inscribed or dedicated their works to her, felt that in this homage there was no unseemly flattery.

Court fa-
vourites,—

§ 35. Even if Louis-le-débonnaire, the widowed father of three tall sons, had not really reckoned somewhat above forty years of age, and might have been reckoned above fifty, the prudence of his choice, would nevertheless have been dubious. Under existing circumstances the position of a young and attractive Queen in such a depraved coterie as the Court of Louis-le-débonnaire was a domestic and national misfortune. Louis grieved at the evil, but he could not destroy the contagion. The leprosy was in the walls. The least reproachful designation appropriate to the Pfaltz was to call it a breeding nest of political cabal and unprincipled treachery; the main fomenters being the Monarch's sons. The

Abbot Hil-
duin the
Archicapel-

second marriage of Louis-le-débonnaire had been urged on by a party, as a party measure: it is impracticable to follow out these machinations in their details; we can only guess at them from the consequences. Thus guessing, we can just discern that the party who after Hermengarda's death dissuaded Louis-le-débonnaire from continuing a widower, was in opposition to the party of the sons.

741—987

819—830

lanus, Bernard, son of William of Orange.

Hilduin, the Archicapellanus, was now the leading minister, a signal pluralist, holding three Abbots Hilduin. Abbies distinguished amongst the most venerated Sanctuaries in the Gauls, Saint Denis "in France," Saint Germain des Prés, and Saint Médard at Soissons; the three yielding in rank to none save Saint Martin of Tours, all most opulent, and Saint Médard, strong as any fortress in the realm: not content with this accumulation, he desired more. A new and powerful favourite however had begun his slippery career: a new object of homage and enmity, Bernard, son of William of Orange, and godchild of Louis-le-débonnaire.

§ 36. Count Bernard's rise is connected with a catastrophe, the mystery whereof is not dispelled by the minuteness with which the event is narrated. Bera, Count of Barcelona, the Emperor's intimate friend, was appealed of treason by the Count Sanila; a case for battle-ordeal, to be fought, if according to the Frankish tra-

820.

Bera, Count of Barcelona, appealed of treason by the Count Sanila.

741—987
 819—890
 ditions, nearly after the manner directed by our ancient English common law, justly compared to a rustic conflict—no sharp weapons allowed: appellor and appellee dismounted, wielding club and staff.

Bera and Sanila, however, were both Visigoths: to combat on horseback, with sword and spear, was their ancestral right: that right they claimed, and the claim was allowed. In all things and above all things, the Mediæval Church dreaded the awful responsibility of venturing to impose limitations upon the power of Faith. National customs were inveterate; hence the Church had not yet been able to arrive at any clear and consistent decision concerning ordeals, or, as they were termed, “the judgments of God.” These proceedings were not only excused, but even sanctioned by the clergy and laity; though occasionally individual judgment dissented, and some began to enquire whether the judicial combat and the trials by fire or water might not be rash temptations of Providence. According to its pristine application, the battle-trial was the ordeal least chargeable with presumptuous temerity, being simply a return to the law of nature. In some of the barbaric kingdoms, good policy diminished the inconveniences of these duels. Nevertheless the battle-trial was exceedingly perverted within the ambit of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, where it was traditionally called the *Lex-Gundo-*

baldi, or *Loi-Gombette*, having received great extension from a constitution which King Gundobald had made. 741—987
819—830

Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, a very learned Prelate, the strenuous opposer of image-worship, and possessing much influence, who had been often called to witness and deplore the mischief resulting from judicial combats, addressed a very earnest and well-reasoned letter to Louis-le-débonnaire, exhorting him to repress this objectionable usage. The letter affords a spirited and interesting portraiture of society, and particularly displays the perplexities resulting from the diversified laws subsisting in the Frankish Empire. Gundobald was an Arian, and Agobard considers his heresy as affording a strong presumption against his legislation. But the main tenor of the argument is sound; and Agobard, as a theologian, argues that battle-trials were no longer warranted by the Scriptural examples usually adduced in their support. Proceeding from Agobard, this testimony was the more irrecusable, inasmuch as his disposition was intolerant and fiery; and the prohibition of the water-ordeal by an Imperial Constitution promulgated in the Council of Worms, may be traced to Agobard's admonitions. Battle-trial
condemned
by Ago-
bard,
Archbi-
shop of
Lyons.

829
Water-
ordeal
prohibited.

Louis-le-débonnaire could hardly avoid agreeing with Agobard: moreover he was persuaded that Sanila was a malicious accuser.—Therefore

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819—830

820

Single
combat at
Toulouse
between
Bera and
Sanila: the
former
defeated.

he exerted himself to prevent the duel, acting sincerely but feebly. His mediation was ineffectual. Bera and Sanila galloped into the lists at Toulouse, their shields slung, their weapons in their hands, and the funeral bier stood before them ready in the field, prepared for the vanquished man; living or dead he must deck the gallows-tree. Face to face, Bera and Sanila reined in their coursers, awaiting the signal from the Emperor. Louis might have withheld the signal: he ought to have done so, but the people went with Count Sanila, and he dared not. The Count of Barcelona yielded to his enemy's skill, strength, or fortune, was bound in chains, cast upon the bier, and carried away from the scene of conflict, a disgraced and hooted traitor. Louis would not permit the sentence of death to be executed; he absolved Bera from guilt, and he therefore sent the defeated combatant to Rouen, where he remained at liberty. Though Louis-le-débonnaire grieved at the misfortune of the innocent, he could not resolve to act up to his own convictions, or perhaps was restrained by his advisers. Popular opinion branded Bera as a traitor: his honours and dignities were forfeited: the County of Barcelona was granted to Bernard of Orange—a suspicious transaction—and the County or Duchy of Septimania was added thereto.

820.

Bera's
county of
Barcelona
given to
Bernard,
together
with Sep-
timania.

Louis then bestowed upon Bernard in marriage a Princess who was either his sister or his half

sister, the excellent Doduana, who calls the Emperor her brother, and they were married in the Pfaltz of Aix-la-Chapelle.—The manual of devotion still extant in the original Latin, and composed by Doduana for the use of her sons, from whom she was separated by Bernard's profligacy and harshness, is a most pleasant and touching memorial of her maternal affection, acquirements, scriptural knowledge and piety. It is in this work that she notices her relationship to Louis-le-débonnaire.—As for Bernard, he insinuated himself more and more into favour, was appointed Chamberlain, and became the Sovereign's most intimate confidant, to the extreme detriment of the realm.

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}

819—830

The
Princess
Doduana
married
to Count
Bernard.

§ 37. Louis-le-Germanique was born to Louis-le-débonnaire when King of Aquitaine, six years before his accession to the Empire. After him, no more babes had been brought to the Font. It is very certain that so soon as the three sons, Lothair, Pepin, and Louis were old enough to speculate concerning the future enjoyment of their father's dominions,—and at how early an age were not such speculations entertained?—they would scarcely have rejoiced very heartily had they been summoned by the gossips into their mother's darkened chamber, to welcome a fourth brother.—Had such a brother been born subsequently to the promulgation of the *Charta Divisionis*, when their three portions were definitively

The sons
of Louis-
le-débon-
naire :
their en-
mity a-
gainst Ju-
dith.

^{741—987}

^{819—890} assigned, they would unquestionably have considered that fourth brother as an odious intruder. Their sordid feelings, however, were unawakened during Hermengarda's life-time, for she had ceased from child-bearing: but when the tender, blooming and luxuriant Judith became their father's wife, the contingency—whether near or remote—of an addition to the Imperial family rendered the second marriage doubly distasteful. Judith's merits only set her step-sons more against her. Her talent incensed them, her cheerfulness provoked them. She was immediately the object, as she afterwards became the persecuted victim, of their mean and unmanly hatred. They and all their numerous and encreasing partizans regarded the winning Beauty with unmitigated enmity and scorn. These sentiments became manifest; and whilst encircled by magnificence and outward prosperity, Louis sank into deeper melancholy. Reminiscences and forebodings, the absent and the present, the past and the future, the living and the dead, all troubled and grieved his soul.

Discontents pervaded large and influential classes. Notwithstanding his good intentions, the Clergy generally distrusted him. His sons, though divided by mutual grudges and envyings, united in jealousy against the Empress Judith: they pressed hard upon their father; and how were they to be conciliated? One year and another year had passed—the young Judith was still

childless ; no chance, the world surmised, of her ever being otherwise, unless by violating her marriage-vows : rumours were rife—we have hints concerning them. Louis yearned for peace: and in order to remove all uncertainty concerning the succession of Lothair, Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique, so that even were Judith to bear him a fourth son, their wealth, their state, their honours should remain undiminished, Louis-le-débonnaire determined, by making further concessions, to ensure content and harmony. A vain project ; for, as the first step in his new scheme of conciliation, he encreased the pre-eminence of Lothair.

741—987

819—830

821.

Louis determines to make further concessions to his sons.

To this eldest Son, the Emperor designate, he promised Italy in domain, negociated a marriage for him with Hementruda, daughter of Hugh Count of Alsace, called the Poltroon, but whose cowardice was rather a species of monomania than timidity in the proper sense, for he was very able and very powerful. Then ensued the merry Mayday of Nimeguen : the great Council of the Empire assembled in Charlemagne's Burg. Ecclesiastical buildings being the usual places of convention, we may suppose that they sat in the circular sanctuary—now the only vestige of the sumptuous palace—whose form, like Charlemagne's own Basilica at Aix-la-Chapelle, retraces the Churches of Helena at Jerusalem. Here the nobles, prelates, and proceres

821.

May 1,

Great Council at Nimeguen : confirmation of the Charta Divisoria.

741—987

819—830

821—822.

Louis-le-
débon-
naire's
encreasing
melan-
choly...

of the Empire appeared—the *Charta Divisionis* was read before them, paragraph by paragraph. Confirmed again by the oaths of the assembly, the establishment of the Imperial dignity in the person of Lothair, and the partitions of the realms and territories between Lothair, Pepin and Louis, became the organic Law of the Empire, the definitive settlement by which all parties were bound.

§ 38. A restoration of tranquillity was seemingly effected, yet no relief ensued for the desponding Louis-le-débonnaire. Hitherto there was one recreation which always aided his bodily health and refreshed his anxious spirit, the chase; but hound and horn, and the darting of the Moorish javelin in the wilds of the Frankish Vosges, ceased to give him pleasure. All the enjoyments of life sunk amidst his melancholy broodings upon the wrongs he had perpetrated or permitted. He had profaned Holy Orders: he had broken the solemn promise given to his father: through his command were his nearest of blood placed in a captivity painful to their bodies and perilous to their souls, tempting them to apostasy or despair: husbands separated from their wives: the innocent branded with contumely or pining in banishment and poverty: writhing in the grasp of the executioner: dying in agonizing misery:—all through him. His past actions rose before him with scathing vividness, and after struggling, he suddenly determined to



make compensation for the wrongs. He began by reparation and restitution. The prisoners were released. Bernarius returned from Lerins: Adelhard was summoned from Hermoustier, and, invited to the Palace, took charge of the royal household: Wala came forth from his unwilling seclusion at Corbey, and was received by the people in triumph.—All the nobles banished for their participation in King Bernard's insurrection heard their sentence revoked by the Emperor's free pardon, and repaired joyfully to their homes and lands.

741—987

819—830

recalls
Wala, &c.,
from banishment...

Hugh, Drogo, and Thierry beheld their brother a suppliant at their feet, beseeching forgiveness. The reconciliation was cordial and enduring. Hugh was installed in three Abbeys, Saint Bertin, Saint Quentin and Noailly, and appointed to the office of Archicapellanus or Chancellor. He is sometimes styled Count Hugh, and it is supposed that some Burgundian district constituted his County; but, as we have before observed, there were several Counts bearing the name of Hugh in Burgundy, and it is extremely difficult to distinguish amongst them. Hugh was honest, brave, and true, but he lived quite as a layman: mention is made of his son Stephen: we may or may not infer that he was married; for it is a rather whimsical subterfuge of Père Anselm the genealogist, to assume that Stephen was called the son of Hugh, as being a monk in some one of his three Abbeys. However, be this as it may, Hugh

821—822.

... seeks to
be reconciled to his
brothers.

Hugh,
Abbot of
three Ab-
beys, died
844.

741—887 the Abbot was killed in battle, with many other
 Abbots of the same class as he.

813—880
 Drogo, Bi-
 shop of
 Metz, died
 855.

Drogo obtained a Canonry in the Cathedral of Metz, where he lived royally and merrily: nevertheless he was a sound and useful Churchman. Elected to the See of Metz, he proved a good Bishop, a comfort and support to his brother Louis-le-débonnaire. — Thierry appears to have been contented to continue as a Monk in his monastery.

Louis dis-
 turbed in
 conscience.

§ 39. Were these outward acts of equity and kindness a sufficient spiritual atonement for injustice, culpable negligence, or crime?—Louis had not silenced his conscience, and he therefore determined to ease his mind by appearing as a public penitent. Even as his sins had been committed before the world, so did he seek that his repentance should be shewn forth in the face of day. History presented to him one example of a Christian monarch who rose from his humiliation to greater honour. Before the gates of that Basilica where the murdered Bernard was entombed, had Theodosius cast himself at the feet of Saint Ambrose, submitting to reproof, entreating forgiveness, and accepting the conditions which the Church imposed. In the annals of the Empire was there any Cæsar whose authority had been more cheerfully obeyed than the triumphant, the glorious Theodosius, who united the grandeur of the old Roman to the virtues of the Christian hero? A great Council was convened at Attigny—Attigny

822.
 Council of
 Attigny.



on the Aisne, not far from Soissons, an ancient palace of the Merovingian kings, where the noble Witikind had performed homage before Charlemagne, by whom so many thousands of his countrymen had been slaughtered.

741—987

819—830

Here sat the prelates and princes of the Empire, the people thronging in as witnesses of their Sovereign's contrition. The uncrowned Louis came forth in penitential garb, and made before the assembled multitude a full and earnest acknowledgment: how he had sinned against Drogo, and against Hugh, and against Thierry, and against Adelhard, and against Wala, and against Bernarius, and against Bera, and against all whom he had persecuted and despoiled, banished and put to death; but chiefly against his murdered nephew King Bernard; and many other sins did Louis confess, of which no one had dared to accuse him. And he had thought over and rehearsed all he could recollect of his forefathers' sins and cruelties, and more particularly Charlemagne's, and the trespasses which Charlemagne had committed against the Church; and for all he asked pardon. The prelates heard his confession, and declared the penances, according to the principles then prevailing, the tokens of sincerity and means of grace, alms, prayers, bodily chastisement, stripes, vigils, abstinence, such as were imposed upon Edgar and sought by Plantagenet, the only monarchs who, after Louis, are recorded to have

822.

Confession
made by
Louis be-
fore the
Council:
submits to
penance.

741—987
 819—830
 openly testified their contrition for their sins; and, the burthen removed, he rebounded into activity, resuming the duties and trials of royalty with renewed vigour and energy.

817—829.
 Era of
 Louis-le-
 débon-
 naire's
 outward
 prosperity.

§ 40. Upon the accession of Louis-le-débonnaire, we have seen how cordially the authority of Charlemagne's son had been accepted. The nations rejoiced in his Empire. His marriage with Judith gave a new impulse to his apparent prosperity. Even when the penitent of Attigny had been most sorrowful, the Empire presented an aspect of cheerful dignity:—whilst the Master of the Feast knows the bitterness of his own heart, the world does not care to be disturbed in the banquet's enjoyment by knowing the sorrow; and an era of six or seven years ensued, characterized by activity, excitement, success and splendour.

Splendour
 of the Im-
 perial Di-
 ets—Cos-
 tume of the
 Counts.

Louis now principally resorted to the towering palaces in the Rhine-land, monuments of paternal magnificence. Ingelheim and Frankfort, when the Diets were assembled there, exhibited the temporal Head of the Western Commonwealth,—*Ludovicus divinâ propitiante clementiâ, Imperator Augustus*,—surrounded by every attribute of majesty and honour. Prelates, nobles and people all convened—Austrasia and Neustria, Alemannia, Suabia, Bavaria, Burgundy, represented by their Bishops and their Abbots, the Dukes and the Counts wearing their golden

coronals and clad in the Roman chlamys, which modern fashion only prevents us from discerning in the Parliamentary robes of our Peers. In this gorgeous senate Louis sat enthroned, Judith by his side. Had Charlemagne ever thus presented a Consort with such imperial honour?

741—987
819—830

In the year subsequent to the Council of At-tigny, an event ensued at which the people marvelled and discussed; imparting the utmost joy to Louis, and filling Lothair, Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique, with spite and vexation—an unexpected event—Judith presented her husband with his fourth son. The infant was named Charles, after his Grandsire; and as he became older, his fine lofty forehead exaggerating the absence of the flowing locks which usually adorned the Frankish noble, caused him to receive the name of Charles-le-Chauve, by which he is universally designated in French history.

823.
July 15.
Birth of
Charles-le-
Chauve.

The Borderers had given most trouble to Charlemagne: his apprehension of the resulting dangers instigated him to take more efficient measures for restraining these semi-domestic enemies. Louis continued the same policy with extraordinary success, obtaining great influence all around his varied empire. The Wends and other Slavonian tribes, so obstinately contending against Teutonic ascendancy,—that stubborn battle of twelve centuries, still undecided,—accepted the protection which the imperial Crown

819—825
Slavonians
submit to
Louis-le-
debon-
naire;

741—987 bestowed. Their mutual hostilities induced them
 to claim the intervention of Louis-le-débonnaire ;
 819—830 —Sorabians, Obotrites, Bohemians, Wilzians, Moravians, Avars, obeyed his behests, and submitted to his decisions. Meligast and Celeadragus, rival brethren, sons of Liubi, implored his arbitration upon their claims—Ceadragus, the son of Thrasco, humbly testified his repentance for his insubordination, if not rebellion.

Then appeared a legation from a Barbarian Chieftain, whose very name had hitherto been unknown—never hitherto subjected to the Carolovingian Crown—Omortag, King of the Bulgarians, imploring the friendship of Charlemagne's son. The Bulgarians were a people crushed between Greek and Teuton, and they therefore courted the guarantee of the Frankish Empire.

also the
Bulgarians.

Complimentary
embassy
from the
Emperor
Michael
the Stam-
merer.

Michael, the treacherous friend and successor of Leo the Armenian, that Leo who, like Charlemagne, might glory in the epithet "Iconoclast," was fain to acknowledge a brother Emperor. A stately and solemn embassy appeared from the Blachernæ, the Ambassadors bearing with them as a grateful gift the works ascribed to the Athenian convert who believed upon the preaching of Saint Paul. Louis caused the manuscripts to be deposited in the Abbey of Saint Denis, where they were accepted as an inestimable treasure. Some years afterwards, Hilduin, imploring the pardon of Louis-le-débonnaire for his ingra-

titude, received from him the command to compose the life of the Saint. An opinion had prevailed that Dionysius the Areopagite, probably Dionysius the first Bishop of Athens, and Dionysius, or Denis, certainly the first Bishop of Paris, were not to be distinguished from each other; and the affectionate though uncritical labours of Hilduin, confounding hagiology and apocryphal fable, completed the delusion.

From Rome Louis-le-débonnaire received due homage. Upon the death of Pope Stephen, Pascal, called to the Papal throne by the Roman clergy and people, had sought the confirmation of his election from the Emperor.—So also Pascal's successor Eugenius; and the Diets of the Empire were repeatedly graced by Pontifical Legates—Benedict the Archdeacon, Quirinus the Primicerius and Theophylact the Nomenclator; Leo, the Magister Militum, and Sergius the Bibliothecary, reverently performing their obeisance, acknowledged, on behalf of the Pontiff, the temporal supremacy possessed by the representative of the Cæsars.

The Abbot of Mount Olivet comes from the Holy Land, attracted by the munificence and kindness of Charlemagne's son.

The Republic of Venice, cautiously steering between Byzantium and Rome, permits her acute representative, George the Presbyter, to follow as an attendant in the train of the Count of

741—987

819—830

817—824

Submission
of the Pa-
pal See to
Louis-le-
débon-
naire.

The Abbot
of Mount
Olivet.

George the
Venetian
becomes a
retainer of
the Court.

741—987

819—830

Friuli. The individual in question was curiously distinguished by his skill. Equally versed in music and mechanics, he was able to construct "that delightful instrument called the Organ, producing the sound," as the Monk of Saint Gall carefully explains, "by the wind blown through pipes of brass." This George was employed to build the first Organ which ever pealed along the vaulting of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Occasional exertions of military power were needed to sustain this Imperial dignity. The ineffectual revolts of the distant March-lands gave Louis the gratification of success; just enough peril to dispel the monotony of opulent and pleasurable prosperity: thus the Slavonians made a show of resistance, but were put down.

Other campaigns added still more to his reputation. Charlemagne himself had only reduced the Bretons into an impatient subjection. Morvan, the Celtic chieftain, refused his tribute: Louis-le-débonnaire advanced into the country. Morvan was slain, and his head brought to the Emperor. He was succeeded by Judicael, a Prince or *Mactiern*, also known—his name barbarised or corrupted by the Franks—as *Uide-maculus* or *Wiomarch*. Louis-le-débonnaire determined to break the strength of the Celts. Associating to himself his sons Pepin and Louis, he led his Imperial host into Armorica: Rennes

818—822.

Military
expeditions
conducted
by Louis-
le-débon-
naire
against the
Bretons.

yielded, and Louis receiving the hostages given by the Bretons, returned in triumph to Rouen.

§ 41. Far more important in their relations to the future fortunes of France, of England, of the World, were his transactions with Rollo's precursors: he gave the precedent which settled the conquering Northman on Neustrian ground. About the time when Louis-le-débonnaire was engaged against the Slavonians, the keen-eyed Scandinavian and Cimbric pirates, always observant of opportunities and knowing how to seize them, renewed their inroads upon the Belgic shores. Louis, however, was fully prepared: he had continued the precautions suggested by Charlemagne's forethought. He knew the cities and monasteries most likely to attract, and the estuaries most open to receive them. From Seine to Flanders the Frankish troops watched the coasts. The Northmen effected a landing: they were repelled by the Imperial forces, took to their ships, sailed down the Channel and round into the Atlantic, and compensated themselves by plundering Aquitaine. But notwithstanding the daring of these greedy marauders, the Dansker-men, as a nation, confessed the Imperial power; and an important Leader was bought off to be a friend.

At the commencement of the reign of Louis-le-débonnaire we noticed his interference between two competitors, or rather parties, then con-

741—987

819—830

820.

Transac-
tions with
the Danes:
they attack
the coasts,
but are un-
able to
enter the
interior.

741—987
 819—830
 826.
 Harold
 King of
 Jutland
 baptized at
 Mayence.

testing the superiority of Denmark—the sons of Godfrey King of Lethra, and Harold King of Jutland. Both belong to English history: from the lineage of Godfrey came “Eric of the bloody-axe,” “King of the Pagans” in Northumbria, whilst Harold was grandfather to *Gorm-hin-rige*, Gorm the mighty, the Gormund, Codrinus, Guthrun or Guthrun-Athelstan, of our English historians, who in King Alfred’s time conquered East Anglia, and settled the Danelaghe. Harold, when he first sought the assistance of Louis-le-débonnaire, did homage to the Frankish crown; and the imperial forces, Franks and Sclavonians, crossing the Eyder, replaced him in a portion of his dominions.

Again expelled, again Harold resorted to his Suzerain; and so revered was the imperial authority, that the Dane determined to protect himself by becoming to all intents and purposes a member of the Western Empire. The worshipper of Thor and Odin could not decently claim admission into the Latin Commonwealth: this impediment was now removed. Harold, his wife, and his son Godfrey, were baptized in the vast Dom of Mayence. Louis stood as sponsor for King Harold; Judith undertook the like office for his Consort; Lothair accepted the same duty for Godfrey their son, a future though transient feudatory on the borders of the Seine. Louis invested Harold with the purple robe of estate, girt him with his own

826.
 Investiture
 of Harold,

sword, dropped the golden coronal on his head. Harold, kneeling before the Emperor, repeated his homage, placing his hands between the hands of the Emperor, and received from him a three-fold grant;—a County or Graffschaft between Rhine and Moselle, jocosely said to have been selected for the purpose of supplying the jovial Danes with a store of good wine;—another, and more important Fief or Benefice, Rustringia, a rich and extensive Gau or Pagus, included in the ancient Frisick territory, and subsequently erected into the Duchy of Oldenburg, to which was also added the flourishing emporium of Doerstadt, now almost obliterated from the map, nay even from historical memory;—lastly, the kingdom of Denmark, which Harold acknowledged he would hold of the Imperial Crown.

741—987

819—830

the hom-
ager of
Louis for a
county in
the Rhein-
land, the
Duchy of
Olden-
burgh, and
the king-
dom of
Denmark.

Mox, manibus junctis, Regi se tradidit ultro,

Et secum regnum, quod sibi jure fuit.

Suscipe, Cæsar, ait, me, necnon regna subacta :

Sponte tuis memet confero servitiis.

Cæsar at ipse manus manibus suscepit honestis :

Junguntur Francis Danica regna piis.

Louis-le-débonnaire might boast that he had accomplished greater things than his father could have hoped for. No longer was that fierce Dane a dreaded enemy, but a feudatory and ally, whose interest was united to the prosperity of his Sovereign : Harold was now lord of a rich and attractive domain, his own, though surrounded by the Frankish territory—a Markgrave, whose private

741—987
 819—830

interest would excite him to protect the Empire from invasion—and, through the bounty of Charlemagne's son, an accepted member of that same Empire, participating in its honours and glories. In subsequent times, when the Heralds came forth from the Frankfort Roemer Saal, and proclaimed the style of the successor of the Cæsars, the epithet of *Mehrer des Reichs*, "Encreaser of the Empire," called forth the loudest responding shouts of the people—could not Louis-le-débonnaire most truly assert the title as his own?

Fatality of
 misfortune
 attending
 Louis-le-
 débon-
 naire.

§ 42. In all these transactions there ought to have been every element of stability: renown abroad, good government, so far as the supreme authority extended, at home, wise laws made, the imperial judges dispatched upon their circuits to administer justice, the frontiers diligently protected, enemies subdued, merit encouraged, and a very earnest and sincere desire on the part of the Monarch to do his duty—yet all in vain: never were the boundaries of the Carlovingian Empire so widely extended as at the juncture immediately preceding that Empire's fall.

Nothing peculiar can be discerned in the failings of Louis-le-débonnaire, or in the disappointments of his exertions. We observe him constantly striving after more than he could effect; never realizing his high aspirations, and counteracting by transient weaknesses the permanent good which the excellence of his character

was calculated to bestow. All this is according to the ordinary course of human nature : the specialty in the history of Louis-le-débonnaire was the destiny by which his inconsistencies have been brought more into evidence than the analogous failings of any other mediæval or modern monarch endued with equal piety and sincerity, and his errors rendered more [fatally destructive. Sovereigns far less strenuous have resisted adverse fortune and successfully opposed their enemies ; but Louis was called to reign over an Empire containing within itself the elements of disintegration and ruin : his most bitter and implacable enemies were his own sons.

His tenderness, his sweetness, his affection, kept him halting between two opinions : whether rigid or lax, stern or merciful, his conduct turned against him. He began a comprehensive ecclesiastical reform ; but the cunning "clerks of the chapel," his ministry, continued to profit by the abuses which he had promised to restrain ; and in these abuses he himself concurred, expecting by his good temper and compliance to promote peace and good-will. Could there be a stronger testimony brought against Louis by the advocates of sound ecclesiastical discipline than the example of his own brother Hugh, the stout warrior, holding the three Abbeys of Saint Quentin, Saint Bertin, and Noailly ? Such compromises of principle, exaggerated by faction and discontent, destroyed the confidence placed in his conscien-

741—987
819—822

Inconsistencies of Louis-le-débonnaire, so severely visited upon him.

741—987
 819—822
 tiousness: the Court grew worse and worse. The compensations he had made to the injured were imperfect. Bera was pining in degraded poverty at Rouen, whilst the fawning dissolute Count Bernard plumed himself as Count of Barcelona.

But the most grievous portion of his conduct related to Italy. Deeply had Louis deplored his culpable injustice against King Bernard, and on behalf of Bernard's adherents he had acted mercifully: they were recalled, and restored to their honours and lands. The restitution therefore of the Lombard kingdom to Bernard's son Pepin ought to have ensued as a necessary consequence; but the most subtle amongst the deceits by which the root of all evil tempts the righteous, the deceit imparting to selfishness the flavour of self-denial, and to covetousness the colour of liberality, the desire of family aggrandisement, the deceit which became the ruling passion of Louis, and from whence his most grievous punishments arose, the desire of encreasing his substance for his children, prevailed. Louis-le-débonnaire kept the rapine, and confirmed Lothair in the inheritance.

822—823.

Lothair
 sent to take
 possession
 of Lom-
 bardy, ac-
 companied
 by Wala.

Immediately after bewailing the death of King Bernard in the Council of Attigny, Louis despatched Lothair to take possession of Italy, selecting for him, as his minister and adviser, the very man whom he, Louis, had so terribly agrieved. Yielding in the first instance to a panic suspicion, proceeding without law, punishing the untried Wala as a traitor, he now trusted Wala,

equally untried, as the most faithful of subjects and friends, placing him exactly in the position where he would be most forcibly instigated to revenge, and most able to do harm.

741—987
819—822

Lothair had been declared his father's consort and successor in the Imperial dignity; but this title was only inchoate: the benediction of the Roman Pontiff had not been bestowed, the concurrence of the Roman people had not been asked, nor was Lothair clearly acknowledged as having a legal right to any practical share in the Imperial Government. A burst of authority, a *coup d'état*, might render him a pageant, not an Emperor, or when confronted by his father, an Emperor possessing less direct power than his brethren, the kings of Bavaria and Aquitaine. They had substantive domains, he had none. But Italy was now given to him, a powerful and virtually independent kingdom: a fortress-kingdom; and there Louis-le-débonnaire installed him, as if he had sought to lend his selfish, deceitful son the means of edging him off the throne.

822—823

Wala supported Lothair with the utmost strenuousness, aided him by his astute counsel, joined him in every thought, plan or scheme which could weaken the authority of his father. Against Louis, the stern, inflexible Wala entertained a mingled feeling of anger and contempt: they crossed the Alps, and the way rapidly opened for further enterprize.

741—987

822—823

817

The decree
by which
Louis-le-
débonnaire
enlarges
Saint
Peter's
patrimony,
and con-
firms the
elective
franchise of
the Roman
people.

§ 43. Upon the partition of the Empire decreed at Aix-la-Chapelle, Louis, with the consent of his three sons, had resettled the affairs of Rome. The Imperial rescript, which Canonists and Legists were used to quote by its initial words, *Ego Ludovicus*, gave a new foundation to the Papal authority. The document exists in the form of a grant addressed to Pope Pascal, who had succeeded to the Apostolic Chair upon the death of Pope Stephen. Romanists and Protestants have agreed in endeavouring to eliminate this Charter as far as possible from ecclesiastical history, though constituting one of the most important passages in the mediæval annals of the Papal See till we reach the Hildebrandine age. Four copies are kept in the archives of the Vatican.—In addition to the various donations made by the Patrician Pepin and the Emperor Charlemagne, Louis, their successor, confirms to Saint Peter the city and duchy of Rome, Corsica and Sardinia, and very many other territories in Campania, Calabria, Apulia and elsewhere, of which the greater part are still comprized in the Pontifical States, or have been claimed by the Papal See.

The right of the Roman Clergy and people, and the Roman people alone, unmingled and uncontrolled, to elect the Pope, is acknowledged, renewed, and defended by the Cæsar. Without the confirmation of the Pontiff, the title of that Cæsar was incomplete ; and yet Louis inserts an

express and stringent reservation of the Imperial Supremacy over the dominions which he cedes—
 a most complicated combination of authorities, being nevertheless perfectly intelligible when we examine the principles, concurrent though antagonistic, by which the keys of Saint Peter and the diadem of Augustus, the chair of the Pontiff and the wolf of the Republic, the Church and the Fourth Monarchy, were severally sustained.

741—987
 822—825

Lothair advanced to Rome. Pope Pascal and the Romans came forth to meet him. On Easter-day he received the Imperial crown before the altar of Saint Peter, was hailed as Cæsar and Augustus, and the Pope declared that henceforward he was to possess all the rights of the pristine Emperors. Lothair assumed the government vigorously. His name was associated with that of his father in public acts, *Ludovicus et Lotharius, divini providentiâ Imperatores Augusti*. The Roman people shortly afterwards, Eugenius being Pontiff, took the oaths of allegiance to Louis and Lothair jointly; and thus was effected a third and complete partition of the Empire in this miserable reign—a partition under the disguise of an union—Louis-le-débonnaire, the father, holding his splendid Court at Frankfort or Aix-la-Chapelle, Lothair, the rival son, at Pavia, having half and wanting all, preparing to deprive his father of whatever remained to him of majesty or power.

April 5,
 823.
 Lothair
 crowned as
 Emperor
 at Rome
 by Pope
 Pascal.
 His name
 associated
 to that of
 his father
 in public
 acts.
 825.
 Roman
 people
 take the
 oath of
 fealty
 to him.

CHAPTER II.

LOUIS-LE-DEBONNAIRE AND HIS SUCCESSORS, TO THE FINAL
DETHRONEMENT OF THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.

824—987.

French history, how studied, employed by the French for political advocacy. Thierry's views upon this tendency.

§ 1. VERY diligently have the French studied their own History with reference to political discussion, and still more for the excitement, the extenuation or the advocacy of political action. They began even before the revival of literature. One of their most distinguished Historians has recently brought forward this tendency as a species of accusation against his fellow-countrymen: the spirit of their historical system, he complains, is only a reflection of the spirit of party.—If there be any guilt in such a party-course, no culprit is more brilliant and successful than he.

From Gregory of Tours downwards, French history has been treated as a vast repository of texts—materials presented for improvement by the political enquirer. Contradictory as the assertion may appear, France, that land of Revolutions, has been fed by historical traditions. Close and clear reasoners are the French people, reasoners who endeavour to guide themselves by inductions from facts and realities, unlike the Germans, so prone to become absorbed in the

vastness of abstract speculation, mind brooding upon mind. All ranks and orders, noblesse and bourgeoisie, hierarchy and parliament, rochet and longrobe, cloth of gold and cloth of frieze, have laboured to establish the justice of their claims by appeals to History. Speculative History has been combined with the practical conflicts of the State, and the evidences of History, supporting or supposed to support each adverse pretension, have been grouped into argumentative or systematic order. 824—987

Surely we need not quarrel with those who have thus been incited to historical disquisition: in such impulse there is no ground for blame. The past instructs the present by the positive application of historical facts, bestowing upon them their highest value. If unused, where is their worth?—hoarded coins, kept out of circulation, an armoury in which the weapons embrowned by rust are hanging against the damp, green wall. We do not say that an historian must necessarily be a politician, or that he cannot be intelligently laborious except as the expounder of a doctrine or a creed, or interesting without speaking as the organ of a particular party; but it is a great help to him if he be so. These feelings from within give him a motive the more. No writer can narrate impressively unless he feels forcibly; and there is no influence which will impel any one who

824—987 really deserves the name of an Historian so energetically, as the earnest desire of propagating
 824—829 opinions which he believes it to be his duty to teach or proclaim.

Points of resemblance between the revolutions of the reign of Louis-le-débonnaire and the proceedings of the leaguers and the revolutionists of the revolution.

The Duchesse de Joyeuse sent her scissors to Henri de Valois—a symbolical gift, a token, a hieroglyphic,—to warn him how well he deserved the enforced seclusion of the long-haired Kings. It was a chance that Henri was not shut up in the Abbey at Soissons. The Revolution of the ninth Century offers many analogies to the troubles of the League, they breathe the same spirit; but with respect to the results occasioned by personal character, this Carolingian revolution approaches closer to the Tricolor. Louis-le-débonnaire was the *Louis-Seize*, Judith the *Marie-Antoinette* of the Carolingian era: the most effective manœuvres of the party headed by Wala and Lothair consisted in the able, pertinacious, and virulent attacks directed against the reputation and honour of the Empress. The corruption of the Court was inveterate—Louis had utterly failed in his endeavours to begin well at home. He had always feared to probe the wound or apply the cautery. The profligacy of the Palace passed from intrigue and gallantry to assassination and murder—depravities and crimes so often shading into one another, garlands of roses round the drugged bowl. The resplendent beauty of Judith, her wit, her spirit,

her free and open manners, were all so many snares to her, exposing her to censures and accusations, encouraging and embittering her malignant and unsparing enemies. Slanders and rumours soon settled into a definite accusation. Count Bernard of Septimania, the godson, the intimate friend and counsellor of Louis-le-débonnaire was universally reported to be the seducer of the Empress: she and her paramour were seeking to compass her husband's death: he, a degraded and passive wittol, and that young child, Charles, on whom he doated, the offspring of adultery.

§ 2. Open a mediæval *geste* at a venture: the chance is, that the plot turns upon a Queen's incontinence:—the bonhomme of a husband hears, shudders, and believes the denunciations received from the profligate courtier whose advances she has repelled, or the spiteful dwarf whipped for his insolence, or the wanton serving-wench seeking to win the easy Sovereign's heart, that his dear spouse, with whom he has lived years in peace and comfort and worshipped as a model of conjugal fidelity, is an adulteress. Without any further examination she is abandoned to the waves in a leaky boat, or driven into the desert to be devoured by lions, or chained to the stake amidst the pile of faggots where she is to be burned alive. Upon the same agreeable theme many pleasant variations are grounded. The

824—867

824—839

824—828

Approach
of the Re-
volutionary
period.

824—887 } gentle Troubadour sought to vitiate woman's
 824—828 } chastity by his harmonious verse. The clever,
 sarcastic, scurvy Trouveur delighted in woman's
 degradation. The Minstrel represents the probability of female frailty as outweighing all moral or physical improbabilities. The Queen-consort is taken in labour; and the malignant hag, the Queen-dowager, reports to her dutiful son that her daughter-in-law has been delivered of a log of wood, or a puppy dog, or seven puppy dogs, as the case may be. The King translates these preternatural births into portentous evidence of his wife's crime, and condemnation then ensues as before, the innocent Lady being however always ultimately rescued.

False accusations
 against female
 chastity
 a staple
 theme in
 mediæval
 romances.

The prototypes of these tales are unfortunately not rare in authentic mediæval history. Very slight proofs, mere surmises, or incredible accusations were accepted or employed by the mediæval sovereigns for the purpose of ridding themselves of their consorts. They constitute the basis of the proceedings in the regal-divorce causes, at all times the scandals and perils of the throne. France and Germany in particular offer instances of such calumnies carried to an atrocious extent. The most magnanimous and disinterested exertions of Pontifical power consist in the checks or corrections by which the Church defended female innocence and restrained the wild lasciviousness of kings. Such was the

protection given by Innocent the Third to the friendless and desolate Ingeburga of Denmark. 824—987
 Lothair, the second son of the Emperor Lothair, 824—828
 second in birth, second in name, but the first king of the kingdom of Lotharingia or Lorraine, the persecutor of Theutberga, was a worthy precursor of Philip-Augustus. Philip-Augustus was a worthy follower of Lothair. Each example, however, offers peculiar features. Unquestionably many a royal-divorce suit which excites pain or surprize was prosecuted groundlessly, yet in good faith, by a corrupt husband, whose accusing conscience led him to an easy belief of the misconduct imputed to his wife: he judged her by his own standard.

With Louis-le-débonnaire, the same process of moral induction, often applied so fallaciously, whether as the source of approbation or censure, praise or blame, produced exactly the opposite results. He, wavering in his opinions, and constitutionally prone to timid credulity, wholly put aside all the calumnies by which Judith was assailed. Not a single suspicion, from first to last, ever disturbed the honest heart of Louis-le-débonnaire: his fond delight in Judith continued unbounded. Indeed, from what we gather concerning her, she very fully deserved his tenderness and love. To their young son, Charles, Louis clung with yearning affection. The boy was constantly with his parents, and the Emperor and the Empress brought him forward as a Crown-

Increasing
affection of
Louis-le-
débonnaire
for Judith
and
Charles.

824—887 Prince in the Diets of the Empire. During that
 { magnificent ceremonial, when Harold the Dane
 824—828 performed homage, Charles is described by an
 eye-witness as joyfully coursing along the marble
 pavement before them:—

*Ante patrem pulcher Carolus inclitus auro
 Lætus abit, plantis marmora pulsat ovans.
 Judith interea regali munere fulta
 Proccedit.*—

The unshaken confidence of Louis-le-débonnaire in Count Bernard we have already noticed. He was brought higher into trust, treated as the most intimate friend of the imperial family; and the Count of Septimania was intruded as an imperial vicar into the dominions of Louis-le-Germanique, certainly trenching upon the privileges of that son.

Anxieties
 of Louis-le-
 débonnaire
 for the
 establish-
 ment and
 safety of
 Charles.

§ 3. The paternal fondness of Louis-le-débonnaire for his young Charles was now darkening into the great trouble of his reign and life. The tripartite division of the Empire between Lothair, Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique was intended to be final and conclusive. Advisedly promulgating the grant upon the request of the States of the Empire, Louis had placed his sons in possession. Again, in the Placitum at Nimeguen, the Prelates and Nobles confirmed the compact, equally appertaining to the Sovereigns and the people. Consistently with this ratification, this act of settlement, what provision could be made for the young Charles? Louis-le-

débonnaire had scarcely anything left to him ^{824—827}
 worth acceptance which he could bestow: an ^{824—828}
 abbey, when one should become vacant, was the
 only valuable appanage he could grant: the best
 of these preferments were appropriated and the
 Court filled with greedy expectants for the first
 which should open to competition. But all doubts
 and uncertainties must have merged in a more
 fearful anticipative inquiry: how was Louis to
 protect the freedom, the life of his child? How
 would the Emperor Lothair, King Pepin and King
 Louis act towards the son of the suspected, de-
 famed and hated step-mother—a half-brother, ex-
 cluded by the legislative entail? They, however,
 did not allow him even this claim to consanguinity.
 The sons of Hermengarda, or their partizans, as-
 serted that “Charlot” was an adulterine bastard,
 a *mamzer*, no brother at all. Perhaps, according
 to family custom, they would cause him to be
 degraded, or shorn in a monastery, like Hugh
 and Drogo and Thierry, or condemn him to
 death upon suspicion, and then pardoning him
 like King Bernard, as a great mercy put out his
 eyes.

In this strait, Judith unquestionably co-^{828.}
 operating, the hopes and plans of Louis turned
 wholly to the one object of securing a Kingdom
 for Charles: a desire which could not be effected
 without a radical unsettlement of the Empire,
 revoking the act declared to be irrevocable. He

Louis-le-
 débonnaire
 treats with
 Lothair to
 assent to
 the endow-
 ment of
 Charles at
 the expense
 of Louis-le-
 German-
 ique.

824—987 might be encouraged in this dangerous attempt
 by the discontents which the *Charta divisionis*
 824—829 and the Treaty of Nimeguen had already occasioned amongst the benefitted parties. A political schism had arisen between the three crowned brothers: Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique groaned at their *senior's* supremacy, and the *senior* because his *seniority* north of the Alps was imperfectly defined. Lothair, the Emperor, might not have any objection to sanction a further subdivision of his brothers' portions in Germany and the Gauls, by which process their powers would be diminished.

Louis therefore treated with Lothair secretly, and obtained his assent to the promotion and endowment of Charles-le-Chauve. Louis-le-débonnaire proposed that the endowment should be effected at the expence of Louis-le-Germanique, a fourth partition of the Empire. Louis-le-débonnaire planned that this new kingdom should be composed of the territories of which Duke Bernard had assumed the government,—“Alemannia, Rhætia and Transjurane Burgundy,” a territory wholly of the German tongue. A

829.
 Council at
 Worms,
fourth partition of the
 Empire:
 Alemannia,
 &c. taken
 from Louis-
 le-Germanique, and
 given to
 Charles-le-
 Chauve.

Diet was convened at Worms, to which all the sons were summoned. Pepin kept away. Lothair retracted his dishonest consent, united himself to Louis-le-Germanique: both were affronted and offended in the highest degree, and testified against the dismemberment. But Louis-

le-débonnaire persevered: the before-mentioned dominions were given to Charles; and the young Prince, placed under Bernard's care, was sent to take possession of the newly erected realm. This was the *fourth* partition of the empire. The education of Charles was entrusted to Bernard, and, notwithstanding the troubles of the times, pursued steadily.

824—987

829—830

Charles-le-Chauve became as well imbued with literature as his father and his grandsire. Important chronicles by which we now profit, owe their origin to the liberal obedience which his suggestions commanded. His court was the resort of the learned, whom he encouraged by munificence, but more efficiently by example and generous rivalry.

Literary
cultivation
and talent
of Charles-
le-Chauve.

An acute metaphysical theologian, he delighted in epistolary discussions, exercising the ability of opponent and respondent. Charlemagne gave to the Western Church the sublime hymn *Veni Creator*: his grandson, instructed by the example, cultivated the same noble talent, and his compositions were adopted in the Gallican liturgies.—An expressive token of his classical taste may be discerned in the name *Carlopolis*, by which he sought to honour his favourite palace—Compiègne, and the city he there designed to found.

§ 4. Louis-le-débonnaire, aware of the machinations forming against him and Judith,

829—830.
Progress
of the re-

824—987 trusted the more implicitly to Count Bernard,
 accumulating upon this minion every token of
 confidence. The attacks directed against the
 favourite were construed into evidences of his
 loyalty. This conduct accelerated the progress
 of the revolution. The rays of general discontent
 acquire their fiercest heat when concentrated
 upon the one hated head. No political change
 is so strenuously prosecuted, as when the propelling
 agents are vivified by their antipathy to the one
 man singled out for the sacrifice: the abstract
 sentiment concentered by individual feeling,
 national grievances exaggerated by particular
 jealousy. Or it may be asked whether any
 popular movement ever takes place until
 circumstances render some one man the visible
 and tangible mark of rancour, rightly or wrongly
 entertained. Laud swung down the monarchy
 in the person of Charles Stuart: Judge Jefferies
 determined the Revolution. Count Bernard was
 hated by the Emperor Lothair, by King Pepin and
 by King Louis-le-Germanique, as the efficient
 supporter of their detested pseudo-brother Charles.
 Equally so by Archbishop Agobard, possibly on
 account of his immorality; but worst of all was
 Bernard hated by his own brother-in-law Wala,
 his loudest, most inveterate, most cogent and
 dogged accuser. It is a strange moral insanity
 that kindred can rarely see the absurdity of
 befouling their own nest. The close connexion

829—830
 volution :
 active
 part taken
 by Wala.

Bernard
 the object
 of peculiar
 enmity.

between Wala and Bernard increased the acerbity of the feud. Wala encouraged in every way the odium cast upon guiltless Judith's supposed paramour. Every effort was made throughout the now-commencing revolution to irritate and excite the public mind.

§ 5. A libel and pamphlet literature arose, the crest of the foaming waves, a nationally characteristic literature, re-appearing in the subsequently corresponding crises of the ancient monarchy. The *pièces justificatives* of the *Mémoires de Louis-le-débonnaire* should be bound up with the *Mémoires de la Ligue*; the *Mémoires de la Ligue* introduce the *Mémoires de la Fronde*, and all should be numbered consecutively and made into one set, as introductory to the *Mémoires de la Révolution Française*.

824—987

829—890

Libel literature of the ninth century.

In such a collection we should find Archbishop Agobard's addresses to the people, and also the reply to Agobard's addresses—the *Conquestio Domini Ludovici Imperatoris*,—the pathetic lament in which the dethroned Louis, like another Charles Stuart, narrates the indignities he sustained. The collection would also include a very curious political Biography of Wala, the source supplying the materials for our narrative of his youthful adventures. This work consists of a series of conversations, in which the several individuals concerned are designated by fictitious

824—987 names—a plan instigated equally by the desire
 of concealment and the lurid drollery often ac-
 829—830 companying the most fatal intrigues, the morbid
 merriment elicited by intense anxiety. The in-
 terlocutors apply the most vituperative language
 in disparagement of Count Bernard. They call
 him *Naso*, a name ludicrously contrasting with
 the personal epithet characterising the Count
 of Orange his father, *Guillaume-au-court-nez*.
 Louis-le-débonnaire and Judith are scorned under
 the appellations of Justinian and Justina: Pepin
 is Melanius: Lothair, Honorius; and Louis, Gra-
 tian;—but the hero is Wala, under the more
 euphonic denomination of Arsenius.

The *Epi-
 taphium
 Arsenii* a
 vindication
 of Wala.

Indeed the *Epitaphium Arsenii*, a title given
 to the biography in consequence of the addition
 of a second and concluding part, made after Wala's
 death, is completely devoted to the justification
 of his public and private conduct throughout
 the Revolution. But Paschasius Radbertus the
 apologist, his disciple at Corbey and afterwards
 Abbot, has performed an unlucky service to his
 friend's memory. His vindication displays the
 extreme bitterness of Wala's character. We learn
 the extent of Wala's hostility against Louis-le-
 débonnaire by the attempted extenuation.—
 Antiquaries would have been sorely puzzled by
 this extraordinary composition, had not the Her-
 cules of archæologists, Dom Mabillon, who un-
 earthed the single existing manuscript, also in-

geniously discovered the key which decyphered the mystery.

824—887

829—830

It may be remarked, that the literary fancy of employing fictitious names, which amused an Alcuin and a Charlemagne, was common during the Middle Ages. Belonging to this particular era, we have a threnody upon the death of Abbot Adelhard, also due to Paschasius, an eclogue in which the *Vieille Corbey*, the mother monastery in Picardy, and young Corbey the daughter on the Weser, alternate their lamentations as Phyllis and Galatea.

The Councils, considered as ecclesiastical, often oscillated in character between synods and secular parliaments. The Bishops were virtually or actually the elected representatives of their diocesan cities; and matters, in our estimation purely secular, were therein treated and discussed. This commixture of spiritual and temporal affairs resulted from the pervading authority of the Church exercised through the Hierarchy—an authority, the blessing of the mediæval era, notwithstanding its inevitably concomitant human defects, aberrations and abuses. Wala led the opposition, his loud harangues declaring that the decline of the Empire was occasioned by the incompetence of Louis-le-débonnaire. All the mischiefs ensuing from the parricidal ambition of his sons, the selfish partizanship of the nobles, the people's faithlessness, were attributed to the Sovereign, the sufferer; and his participation in the govern-

Wala takes the lead in the Councils—at-tacking Louis-le-débonnaire.

824—887
 829—830

ment of the Church, such as had been excused or applauded in Charlemagne, was imputed to him as an unjustifiable usurpation. Wala was a lover of truth and a lover of justice; but exaggerated virtues may prove more deceitful and mischievous than acknowledged vices. Wala's dramatic biography affords some conception of his ungovernable impetuosity, and enables us to form a vague hypothesis concerning the motives which instigated him.—Did not Judith tease him by her clever and sarcastic tongue?—Against Count Bernard, vain and profligate, Wala was spurred by contempt, family bickerings and political jealousy; and, exulting in his own firm and iron character, he despised the pliability and indecision of Louis-le-débonnaire.

830.
 Feb. 8.
 Expedition
 against the
 Bretons.

§ 6. At this juncture, Louis-le-débonnaire undertook another raid-royal against Armorica, now governed by Nominoé, a prince literally taken from the plough, and who had been confirmed in his dominion by the Carolingian crown. Lambert commanded at Nantes as Count of the Breton Marches, where the Romanised Franks settled in considerable numbers. Louis-le-débonnaire set his army in motion during Lent, that holy time when, according to the precepts of the Church, the truce of God ought to have been most strictly observed,—so urgent was the supposed exigency, the alleged revolt of the Celtic King,—an unfounded allegation, say the Breton Historians, who maintain that Nominoé con-

tinued faithful to Louis-le-débonnaire, but that Bernard and Count Lambert the traitor suggested the inroad to forward some scheme of their own.

824—887

829—830

Anyhow, the expedition was most unfortunate. Such was the general state of affairs, that every shrewd and clearsighted waiter upon opportunities began to plan how he could profit by the revolution, which all, save the Sovereign, knew was impending. Louis might have had a sufficient token of his own debility when he marshalled, or rather endeavoured to marshal, his army against the Bretons. A starved array:—the larger number of the nobles and troops who ought to have obeyed his summons, refused. Some, as we infer from subsequent proceedings, professed scruples about the Lenten season: nevertheless no scruples of any kind prevented their mustering with determined hostility against Louis-le-débonnaire in that city, which, after centuries of obscurity, rarely varied by any important event, was now destined to become the *primum mobile* of France, may be of the civilized world.

The Military Summons of Louis disobeyed.

§ 7. French writers, French historians, French ecclesiastics, all Frenchmen, whatever may be their principles or views, are unanimous in asserting that the royal decree of the Merovingian Clovis rendered Paris the capital of France. This is an article of national faith;—but rarely has there been a more signal example of faith yielding to authority, without evidence and against probability. When Pope

Paris not the actual capital of the French monarchy till the accession of the Capets.

1622.

824—987

829—830

Paris not
an archi-
episcopal
See until
the reign
of Louis
Treize.

Gregory the Fifteenth, at the request of Louis son of Henri-quatre, erected the See of Paris into an Archbishoprick, he assigns the antient preeminence of Paris as a reason for the promotion in the Gallican hierarchy given to her Prelate, then Jean-François de Gondy, brother of the Cardinal de Retz, whom he succeeded. If the validity of the concession depended upon the truth of the recital, the Papal Bull would be void; for nothing is more certain than that Paris never became the capital of France until after the accession of the third dynasty.—Paris made the Capets, the Capets made Paris.—A mere archæological question thus acquires the greatest value in French history.

Paris, a city
of inferior
order under
the Ro-
mans, Me-
rovingians
and Carlo-
vingians.

Julian's affection for Lutetia was kindled by the rustic plainness and simplicity gracing the island and its pleasant vicinity. Lutetia, under the Roman domination, continued unhonoured by those privileges and institutions which distinguished the great cities of the Gauls, enabling Toulouse and Tournay and Nîmes, and so many others, to deduce their municipal genealogy in uninterrupted line from the Republic or the Roman Empire. The vigorous defence which the inhabitants had maintained against Cæsar earned the displeasure of the conquerors, and Paris is placed in the lowest rank, amongst the Vectigales of the Empire. Compared with the cities distinguished by their traditionary reputation or as seats of government, Rheims, where Clovis was baptized,

Soissons, where he was installed in royalty, Orleans the erudite, Metz, proud of her immemorial antiquity,—the *bonne ville de Paris*, however proud she might be in after times, dwindles into a provincial town.

824—887

829—830

Clovis, it is true, occasionally held his Court in the Imperial Palace of the Cæsars, which, though at some distance from the shores of the island-city, was connected therewith. Some of his immediate successors, Clodomir, Childebert and Chilperic, also dwelt there, but they were frequently attracted away by halls and towers affording the enjoyment of wood and wold. The palace of a Merovingian or Carlovingian Sovereign was worth nothing without a hunting-ground. Paris was neglected more and more during the concluding periods of the first dynasty; and Charlemagne, excepting perhaps when Paris might be on his road, never resided there at all.

But though destitute of royal favour, Paris had within her from the first foundation of the Frankish monarchy, aye, and long before the foundation of the Frankish monarchy, the elements of that importance which she afterwards acquired.

Importance
of the Isle
of Paris
derived
from the
command
of the river
Seine :

As a Christian city, though her Bishop was only a suffragan of Sens, yet great veneration was rendered to the memory of her first prelate Dionysius, enhanced by the legendary traditions of the Areopagite, whilst the great Monastery of which Saint Denis was the patron, and the other

824—987 powerful and opulent foundations, Saint Germain
 des Près, Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, Sainte Ge-
 829—830 neviève, and Saint Laurent, rendered the vicinity
 one of the most interesting ecclesiastical districts
 in the kingdom.

But the influential cause which elevated mediæval Paris into a metropolis of permanently national pre-eminence, whatever other claims she might possess upon moral feeling, will be best understood if we consult the map and consider the position of the island-city,—look upon her armorial bearing, the Bark and expound her symbolical heraldry.—Down to Mantes the Seine, then much broader than at present, was called “the Water of Paris;” and, from the Gaulish times, Paris was held by the Navicularii or Bargemen, who, subsequently incorporated as a Collegium according to the Roman law, became, by virtue of royal ordinances, the municipality of the Hôtel de Ville. The Prevôt des Marchands rose to the station of her chief magistrate: her political influence sprung out of her mercantile activity and opulence. Whoever held Paris commanded the Seine; and Paris, hitherto almost unobserved in the Carlovingian Empire, now bursts into notice. The City of Revolutions begins her real history by the first French Revolution. Paris, where the influence, whether personal or constitutional of the Sovereign was then at its minimum, which owed nothing to his favour or his bounty, where he was neither respected nor

Paris occupied by the revolutionary party.



feared, and where the shadows of the Merovingian kings interred at Sainte Geneviève might seem to threaten the usurping lineage, was appointed as the place of muster for the Revolutionists. There the whole hostile party, the clergy, the troops, the nobles, assembled.

824—887
830

§ 8. Pepin of Aquitaine came forward as the Leader of the insurrection. As soon as the banner was raised, Lothair and Louis-le-Germanique joined the king of Aquitaine. Noble objects, according to their proclamation, incited the insurgent sons—love for their parent, love for their King, love for their country. Louis was held in thralldom by an adulterous consort and her insidious paramour: they sought to deliver the Emperor from the domestic conspiracy which threatened his throne and life. Louis-le-débonnaire was completely without support: Count Bernard fled, Judith took refuge in Laon, the hill-fortress of the Frankish kings.

830.
March—
May.
Outbreak
of the re-
volution.
The Royal
Family
taken pri-
soners.

Louis repaired to Compiègne, was seized by his sons, and subjected to shameful violence, not a priest or soldier, councillor or comforter, stood by him. Judith they pursued to the rock of Laon. Dragged out of Saint Mary's Monastery, no sanctuary, no manly feeling, protected the helpless Empress. They reviled her, ill-treated her, threatened her with death: they held out that she had no hope of mercy unless she could induce her husband to become a monk, and vacate the throne—the last Merovingian

Louis sub-
jected to
personal
violence.

824—837 had done so. Louis had once sought to be a
 monk: he was already a monk in heart—why
 829—830 not become one in habit, and be happy in a
 monastery? But Louis resisted. Called to perform
 the duties of a Sovereign, he would not abandon
 these duties. The menaces against Judith became
 fiercer. In order that she might save her life,
 Louis advised her to put on the veil. As for
 himself, he required time for consideration. Con-
 rad and Rodolph, the brothers of the Empress,
 were seized, shorn, and placed in custody in
 separate monasteries. Count Bernard escaped
 his enemies: not so his brother Herbert, who was
 caught and blinded. The sons harassed their
 father by lacerating his feelings. Judith was
 hurried from monastery to monastery, and at
 last imprisoned at Poitiers, in the monastery
 of Saint Radegund, of which the desecrated
 Church still exists, unroofed, but otherwise a
 perfect Carlovingian monument.

Judith,
 cruelly
 treated by
 her step-
 sons.

830—831.
 Counter-
 revolution
 begins.

§ 9. Louis-le-débonnaire, however, was still
 supported by a powerful party. He, his friends
 and adherents had been taken by surprise: had
 he fallen back at once upon the great independent
 cities towards the Rhine, they would have enabled
 him to withstand the power of Paris. He was
 loved and pitied, nor would the sound Germanic
 portions of the Empire easily renounce their
 Sovereign. The jailer-sons were compelled to
 relax in the custody of their prisoner, venerable
 through his sorrows. He promised to reform the

abuses of government, principally in relation to Church-affairs, and the counter-revolution was now rapidly maturing. Lothair nevertheless assumed the supreme authority, treating his father as a dethroned monarch and his brothers Pepin and Louis as his vassals, to their great indignation. They suspected that they had been overreached:—had they not been playing Lothair's game?

824—987

830—831

Disunion
between
Lothair
and his
brothers.

The confidants of Louis-le-débonnaire craftily suggested to him that he might detach Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique from their elder brother, and employ the faithless against the disobedient: an item of degrading policy added to the family account and encreasing the sum total of wrong. Gundobald, a monk, ambitious and unconscientious (afterwards Archbishop of Rouen) was the negotiator. A *fifth* partition of the Empire was proposed.—Lothair to be restricted to Italy, the kingdoms of Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique to be encreased and a competent endowment given to Charles-le-Chauve. The revulsion of feeling in favour of Louis, became impetuous amongst the northern and eastern populations of the Empire. It was agreed that a general Placitum should be summoned for the purpose of a pacification. Lothair proposed that the Assembly should be held somewhere in Romanized Gaul; but Louis, knowing where his own strength was to be found, convened the Placitum at Nime-

Schemes
employed
by Louis
for the
purpose of
promoting
fresh dis-
union—a
fifth parti-
tion of the
empire
proposed.

The cause
of the
restoration
prospera.

824—887

830—831.

Louis-le-débonnaire replaced in his authority.

Submission of Lothair and his brothers.

Judith clears herself of the charges brought against her by wager of law, and Bernard by wager of battle.

guen, amongst or nigh his peculiar adherents. The Germans generally felt deeply for the humiliation which the son of Charlemagne had sustained, and rose enthusiastically in his favour. Lothair was urged by his partizans to give battle to his father, but he dared not. Louis-le-débonnaire was replaced upon the Imperial throne, and, reinaugurated, he reassumed the exercise of his power. The leaders of the revolt were tried, and found guilty of high treason; Louis-le-débonnaire's mercy remitted the sentence of capital punishment. Wala was ordered to return to his monastery at Corbey and live according to rule, but he would not acknowledge that he had been in the wrong; and his obstinacy was punished by imprisonment in a cavern near the lake of Geneva.

Judith, restored to her husband, the vows she had taken upon compulsion were pronounced to be null. Proclamation was made that any one who could prefer any charge against the Empress, still stigmatized by report as an adulteress, should come forward. No witness appeared: nevertheless, according to the antient usages of the Franks, she cleared herself by compurgation or wager of law—she declared her innocence upon oath, and the compurgators swore that they believed in the truth of her asseveration. The compurgatory process, common under various modifications to all the antient nations, could never be otherwise than an uncertain mode of trial, yet wisely



adapted to the imperfection of human judgment and the exigencies of human society. The legist will find it impracticable to suggest any more eligible mode for repelling a grave accusation positively preferred, though grounded only upon common fame—*troth* undistinguishable from *truth*,—affirmative evidence unattainable, and negative evidence unavailable.—Bernard vindicated himself against the imputation by wager of battle. He challenged his accusers, but no accuser dared to meet him in the lists. Lothair was deprived of the Imperial authority, and returned to Italy, Pepin to Aquitaine, and Louis-le-Germanique to his diminished kingdom, Alemannia being administered on behalf of Charles-le-Chauve; and Louis-le-débonnaire hastened to Remiremont in the Vosges, resorting again to the scenes which had delighted him in his bright youthful days, the streams swarming with fish and the forests stocked with game and deer.

§ 10. It must be accepted as an incontrovertible axiom, that a restoration never places a monarch exactly in the situation which he held before: he comes in by a new title. Louis can scarcely be said to have been restored: the violence which ejected him was transient, his case was not the resumption of an authority which had ceased, but rather the triumph of a party over a faction. Louis had defeated Lothair: the North-German interest had prevailed over Ro-

824—987

832—833

Reanima-
tion of the
revolution-
ary party.

824—987
 832—833

manized France. Much as Louis deserved the love of his subjects, he failed to retain their confidence. The Lothairians, as we may call them, Agobard being their chief intellectual leader, maintained that the conduct of Louis was wholly illegal:—by disturbing the settlement of the kingdom, violating the compact upon which the primary partition of the Empire was founded and the *Charta divisionis* confirmed by oath, he was an instigator of perjury, a delinquent against the state.—All these motives are expressed in Agobard's manifesto. *Audite omnes gentes*, are the words by which Agobard begins his address: sternly and solemnly energetic, he fulminates his political anathema, and the sentiments were universally adopted by the Revolutionists.

832.
 The sons
 revolt
 again.

A period of distracting anxiety ensued. Louis, mistrustful of his sons, yet not daring to shew his suspicions: the sons only waiting an opportunity for commencing hostilities. Louis soon gave them that opportunity. Pepin behaved discourteously and ungraciously, refused to attend a general Placitum, and disturbed the Christmas festivities by an abrupt departure from the Court. Louis construed this conduct into a revolt, and prepared to act accordingly. Louis-le-Germanique, from whom so large a portion of his dominion had been wrested for the benefit of Charles, made a general levy of all his subjects, Germans and Sclavonians,

bond and free, and prepared to recover Alemania, the old Suabian land. Yet Louis-le-débonnaire, undismayed and uninstructed by adversity, and never abandoning his ruling idea, only sought to turn all the circumstances to the advantage of his darling Charles, and proposed a *sixth* division of his empire. He adjudicated that Aquitaine was forfeited by Pepin: this kingdom he would give to Charles, and Lothair should receive the remaining portions of the Empire.

824—987

833.

Louis attempts to gain Lothair, by sacrificing Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique. He proposes a *sixth* partition of the Empire.

The proceeding was equally harsh and unconstitutional: the Aquitanians claimed to have a voice in the election of their sovereign: no one knew the right better than Louis-le-débonnaire, but his doting fondness for Charles blinded him.

If the Aquitanians made a show of assent to the transfer, their consent was extorted; and amongst the many errors of Louis-le-débonnaire, none was more conducive to calamity. All the enemies of Louis recovered their transiently depressed energy. Wala was delivered from his cavern. The alliance between Lothair, Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique was renewed, and they declared open war against their father. Hostilities were recommenced by them, considerably and vindictively. Lothair marched from Italy accompanied by Pope Gregory the Fourth, who had succeeded to the Pontificate, a Roman by birth, and to whom Rome owed many monuments of magnificence. The Pontiff had been

838.

Pope Gregory IV. consecrated.

824—987 persuaded to sanction by his presence the par-
 ricidal invasion.

833.
 833—June.
 The
 Luegen-
 feld or
 Field of
 Falsehood.

Louis be-
 trayed into
 the power
 of his sons.

§ 11. Near Colmar, in the heart of that noble undulating plain of fertile Alsace, between the Rhine and the lengthening ranges of the Vosges, the region so cherished by Louis-le-débonnaire, is a hill then known and revered as the *Siegberg*, the “mountain of victory;” the champagne country below being denominated the “bloody field,” the *Roth-feld*,—names transmitted by oral tradition, and bearing record of some desperate conflict, which, fought there in the pristine ages of the Teutons, had left no other trace upon human memory. Here the armies encamped, host against host, tents ranged opposite to tents, the sons against the father. A neutral ground separated the camps: on either side the blow was delayed. Faint and lingering feelings of decency and duty restrained the unnatural children: earnest affection induced the father to proffer peace and forgiveness. Pope Gregory had associated himself to Lothair, ostensibly as a mediator. Louis treated and parleyed, but ineffectually: thus whilst the old Emperor wasted the valuable time, his cunning sons improved the delay, and they now warred by seduction and treachery. An unrestrained communication and intercourse subsisted between the two camps, troops and chieftains mixed and mingled as friends: this Bishop or that Count was bribed to retreat from

the failing cause, others were flattered away or warned against the folly of adhering to a crazy old man, and thus incurring the vengeance of the young Sovereigns.

A cruel defection ensued: Counts, Bishops, Abbots, Commanders, all deserted Louis: hardly any one even tried to resist the contagious treason. The two armies became one army, the combined army of the allied brethren. A very few hesitated, as if they thought of continuing faithful, but Louis would not allow his friends to share in his misfortunes.—“Do not abide with me,”—said he; “do not peril life or limb for my sake: go over to my sons.” When the abandonment was completed, when priests, nobles, soldiers, servants, even to the meanest, had departed from him, Louis-le-débonnaire came forth from his tent, accompanied by the Empress Judith, holding their boy Charles by the hand, and the old man, the matron and the child became captives in the power of the foe.

The victorious sons seemed somewhat moved: greeting their father they embraced him; yet this token of affection or respect was a mockery, for they treated their parent as a degraded and contemptible enemy. They had promised Louis that Judith should not be separated from him, but they immediately violated that promise, and subjected her to rigid detention. Louis and the young Charles continued under arrest in Lothair's tent

824—987

838.

Louis deserted by his followers, &c.

Louis, Judith, and Charles made prisoners.

824—987 till they were removed to their respective places
 of confinement.

833.

Thus ended the present conflict. The glorious visions of the primeval heroes, hitherto hovering over hill and plain, were henceforward dispelled by the hard reality of modern felony. So shameful was the falsity displayed, that from this time forth the *Roth-feld* lost its ancient name. No longer the *Roth-feld*, the encrimsoned field of ancestral victory, but the *Luegen-feld*, the "Field of Lies:" the honest German soil was perennially branded by the treachery. On the *Luegen-feld* the trust and the faith and the power and the spirit of the Frankish race passed for ever away.

Persecutions inflicted upon the Imperial Family.

Louis-le-débonnaire imprisoned in the Abbey of Saint Médard.

§ 12. Lothair, Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique immediately began to consider the partition of the Empire; but first they had to dispose of their prisoners. Judith was sent across the Alps to Tortona. At Pruhm, now an established State-prison, a cell was prepared for Charlot. Louis-le-débonnaire, who had been kept in close custody by Lothair, was transferred to Soissons. Humiliated, despised, a willing penitent and yet an indignant monarch, they incarcerated him in that tower, which, together with the sepulchral crypt of Chlothaire and Sigebert, alone remains to mark the site of the magnificent Abbey. Abbot Hilduin was well contented to turn the key upon his benefactor and master. All parties during this revolution appealed to the passions of the

people—the sons of Louis, to justify their wrongs against their father, the father, to obtain compassion, if not vengeance, for his wrongs.—“They placed me here,” says Louis himself in the *Conquestio*, the Complaint in which he details his misfortunes, “striving to drive me to an abdication, being well aware how I honour the sanctuary and how I venerate the memory of Saint Médard and Saint Sebastian. They continually perplexed me by false intelligence: sometimes they told me that my wife had become a nun; sometimes that she was dead; sometimes that my innocent Charles, whom they knew I loved above all things, was shorn as a monk; and inasmuch as I, deprived of my kingdom, my wife, my child, could not bear these griefs, I passed my days and nights in tears and sorrow.”—

834—867
833.

Extract
from the
Complaint
of Louis-le-
débonnaire.

Louis still steadily refused the surrender of his Crown, but his enemies persevered in assailing him with ingenious and inexorable consistency. They worked upon his truly tender conscience. He knew his own sins: he appeared again as a penitent before the altar, clad in sackcloth and deprived of his sword.

And now ensued the catastrophe to which all the preceding transactions had been tending, the deposition of Louis-le-débonnaire—not the first example in the middle ages, yet nevertheless most memorable in the series of lessons afforded equally to people and to kings, those lessons

833.
Deposition
of Louis-le-
débonnaire.

824—887 which all must take, though they may refuse to
 833—834 profit by them. The power of deposing kings
 is inevitably deduced from the Divine right of
 kings. Their high office is vicarial and dele-
 gated. The dominion given to Sovereigns by
 the King of kings is not inherent or indefeasible,
 but conditional on their governing according to
 law and justice.

The doc-
 trine of
 royal re-
 sponsibility
 as laid
 down in
 Hooker's
 Ecclesiasti-
 cal Polity.

Solemnly and truly has an enlightened con-
 science pronounced that "on earth there should
 "not be any alive altogether without standing in
 "awe of some by whom they are to be con-
 "trolled and bridled." "The good estate of a
 "commonwealth within itself is thought on no
 "thing to depend more than upon these two
 "special affections, fear and love: fear in the
 "highest governor himself, and love in the sub-
 "jects which live under him. The subjects' love
 "for the most part continueth, as long as the
 "righteousness of kings doth last; in whom
 "virtue decayeth not, as long as they fear to do
 "that which may alienate the loving hearts of
 "their subjects from them." "In the mighty
 "upon earth, (which are not always so virtuous
 "and holy that their own good minds will bridle
 "them), what may we look for, considering the
 "frailty of man's nature, if the world do once
 "hold it for a maxim that kings ought to live in
 "no subjection: that how grievous disorders
 "soever they fall into, none may have coercive

“power over them?”—The eternal law of God, 824—867
 irrespective of any humanly devised policy or 833—834
 legislation, creates the original compact between
 King and people: and the dethronement of
 the Sovereign who violates the bond is the de-
 served penalty. The Divine displeasure chas-
 tises the monarch through His appointed mi-
 nisters of righteousness or wrath, even though
 those ministers may be His enemies.

But in this particular case the violent and The pro-
ceedings by
which
Louis-le-
débonnaire
was de-
posed, irre-
gular.
 irregular proceedings which professed to deprive
 Louis-le-débonnaire of his regal authority, are
 not to be vindicated by the general doctrines
 which authorize the exercise of this transcen-
 dently exceptional power. The tribunal was
 altogether incompetent: an irregular convention
 of certain Bishops of the Gauls, assembled with-
 out proper sanction, and destitute of any juris-
 diction over the Head of the Empire: a conven-
 ticle, a conciliabulum, good for nothing. The
 charges to which we have before alluded were
 futile, the arguments irrelevant, and the cere-
 monies and doctrines of the Church prostituted
 and perverted for the purpose of forwarding the
 parricidal projects entertained by Lothair and his
 brethren.—The pretended judgment was the
 worst of all social crimes, an act of force cloaked
 in the garb of justice, and therefore bringing
 justice into disrepute, and casting obloquy upon
 the very principles by which justice is sustained.

824—887

835—836

The second
counter-re-
volution.
Louis-le-
débonnaire
again
restored.

§ 13. But the phases of this Revolution succeeded each other with national rapidity. A very large and influential party continued faithful to the monarch, though they had neglectfully surrendered him to his fate. The shame of the *Luegen-feld* was upon them: they were appalled by the disclosure of their own corruptions. The more unmixed portions of the Franks, as well as the purely Teutonic dominions, rose in arms to deliver the Emperor. The three brothers quarrelled. Lothair was now the reigning Emperor, Cæsar and Augustus, without a partner in his dignity: Louis and Pepin found that they had worked to give him an undivided supremacy. Louis-le-Germanique began to testify an apparent sense of duty towards his father: Pepin, open hostility to both his brothers. Lothair astutely evaded the contest. The old Emperor and the young Charles were severally released and brought to Paris.

Conferences ensued between Lothair on the one part, and a powerful deputation proceeding from the German realms on the other part. The threatening aspect of the Germans aided their arguments. They demanded the liberation of their old Emperor: Pepin was advancing with his army; Lothair retreated. Louis-le-débonnaire entered the Abbey of Saint-Denis: the Bishops absolved him. Girt again with his sword, the symbol of power, his re-accession was announced

by the people's cheerful acclaim. Wife and child were restored to him. No disobedience, no rebellion could harden the heart of Louis: the guilty sons were too happy to avail themselves of his facile tenderness; and after some incidental movements of partial and receding hostility, we behold him re-established on his throne.

824—827

835—836

Lothair was ultimately settled in Lombardy, holding his court at Pavia. With him resided Wala; and it was an effective conducement to the present transient respite, that he, the old man, once the fomenter of the revolution, the cause of such bitter dissension between father and son, was now most desirous to promote peace;—the best component qualities of his energetic character were revived during the brief space of life which remained to him.

There was great reason indeed that the Empire should be united: the Danes, the Northmen, had been re-appearing in great strength, emboldened to more incessant depredations than at any previous period, circling round and round the Gauls, but particularly directing their attacks to the Belgic coasts. The great commercial city of Doerstadt was again ravaged. In this city alone they burnt and destroyed fifty-four churches, and they settled in Walcheren, then a portion of the Delta of the Scheldt, subsequently broken by the raging floods into the five *Zee-land* islands. They were also evidently directing themselves

835—836.

Renewed
Incursions
of the
Northmen.

824—987 towards the estuary of the Seine. Could they
 gain possession of the islands embraced by the
 meandering river, each would be a Danish fortress in Gaul.

835.

Louis-le-débonnaire was fully attentive to the defence of the realm; but the realm was not so dear to him as his child, Charles; and he and Judith were more and more wrapt up in that son. They were both dissatisfied with the portion assigned to Charles; and although Louis had suffered so bitterly from his previous endeavours on behalf of the boy, he actually planned a *seventh* partition of the empire.

835.—June
 A *seventh*
 partition
 of the Em-
 pire pro-
 posed, in
 the Placi-
 tum at Cré-
 mieu.

He accordingly summoned a great diet at Crémieux, on the Rhone, near Lyons, where he proposed his scheme. No inconveniences, no obstacles, no dangers, restrained him from the attempt. Italy, all the territory south of the Alps, should continue to be ruled by Lothair. Aquitaine, the kingdom of Pepin, received a considerable extension—the whole territory between Seine and Loire, and thence also beyond the Seine up to the confines of the Belgic tongue. Louis was to lose Alemannia, but large cessions were made to him on the north—the whole tract between Scheldt and Rhine—by which he would gain Aix-la-Chapelle as his capital; and Charles, in addition to Alemannia, taken from Louis, was to rule Provence, the greater part of Burgundy, the dioceses of Rheims, Laon and

Treves, and other adjoining or interspersed dominions. 824—867

The proposition, a complete dislocation of the Empire, was however, for the present, abandoned. Louis-le-Germanique, who would on no account part with any territory of the German tongue, rejected the overture with great indignation. Lothair also was grievously dissatisfied: he would never surrender Aix-la-Chapelle, so consecrated by the remembrances of Charlemagne—Charlemagne's palace, Charlemagne's tomb. 836.

Old Wala undertook the laborious journey from Bobbio, for the purpose of negotiating some pacific settlement. Louis and Judith received Wala with entire heartiness and goodwill, in which he fully participated. All mutual wrongs and grudges were forgiven, and expectations raised that Lothair and Louis-le-Germanique would yield. It was agreed that a Diet should be convened at Worms, where Lothair would attend, and conform to his father's injunctions. The appointed time arrived: no Lothair at the Diet. Contagious fevers were prevailing in Italy: Wala died at Bobbio. His sincerity as well as his influence over Lothair now became manifest; for Lothair, no longer tempered by Wala's advice, evaded the meeting at Worms, and again began to machinate against his father. Whether the pestilence in Italy extended to France, or whether, like trees coevally planted in an avenue, they were all

836.
Pestilence,
and general
depression
of the
Country.

284—967

837.

wearing out concurrently, it so happened that the greater number of the individuals who had distinguished themselves most in the Revolution died about this time. Many of them had been the enemies, the bitter enemies of Louis, but they were men of renown: he had been reconciled to them, he mourned their loss as losses to the State, and he also received the fate of his contemporaries as a warning to himself. Whilst a general depression prevailed throughout the realm, the Franks lamented their declining fortunes, and laid all the blame upon their governors.—Foolish people, smitten people: their own faithlessness, their own cowardice aggravated the evils they sustained.

Further
ravages of
the North-
men.

Louis meditated a pilgrimage to Rome, partly for political reasons, partly for devotional purposes; but he was arrested in his progress. The Northmen were again plundering and ravaging the Belgic shores. A comet glaring in the sky, a globe of fire as it is described, added to the contagious dismay. Louis summoned his host to meet at Nimeguen, where Charlemagne's Burg, as yet unassailed by the Scandinavian, still maintained the pristine imperial splendour. He had determined to take the command in person, and to conduct his army against the enemy, but the Northmen did not wait his approach: they returned to their ships unscathed, laden with booty. Years before the death of Charlemagne provision

had been made for the guarding of the coast. ^{824—987}
 The loss and disgrace were bitterly felt, but the ^{837.}
 success of the inroad was entirely owing to the
 pusillanimity and treachery of the Franks, who
 neglected the directions which had been given
 for watching the shores.

§ 14. During these calamities Judith con- ^{837.}
 tinued her misguided endeavours to procure a ^{Placitum at}
 more ample establishment for the young Charles. ^{Aix.}
 Amidst all the dangers of the times she urged ^{Eighth}
 Louis-le-débonnaire to the determination of try- ^{division of}
 ing an *eighth* partition of the Empire. A Diet ^{the Empire}
 was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, where so many ^{in favour of}
 reminiscences of sorrow, trouble and disappoint- ^{Charles-le-}
 ment were accumulating; and in this assembly ^{Chauve.}
 he bestowed upon Charles the largest, finest, and
 most commanding portion of his northern do-
 minions. In the description which the Chron-
 iclers afford of these territories, we encounter
 the usual uncertainties arising from a vague
 enumeration; but the boundaries are stated with
 sufficient clearness to shew that the cessions
 extended from the Saxon lands to the Atlantic,
 and as far South as the borders of Aquitaine.

Charles-le-Chauve was solemnly inaugurated. ^{Inaugura-}
 In the presence of Louis-le-débonnaire, the pre- ^{tion of}
 lates and nobles of the newly-erected Kingdom ^{Charles-le-}
 were required to take the oaths to the Sovereign ^{Chauve.}
 and to become his vassals. All who held royal
 Benefices or Feuds commended themselves to the

824—987

}

888.

young King at the behest of the Emperor, and became his men.—The ceremony was distinguished by a significant novelty. When the clergy advanced to the throne for the purpose of performing their fealty, Hilduin, Abbot of Saint-Denis, appeared as premier Prelate, the Archbishop of Rheims being set aside; and the first amongst the laity was Gerard, the first recorded Count of Paris. The recent transactions had manifested the importance of the island-city, and the station assigned to Count Gerard, answering as the premier peer of the new kingdom, denotes the pre-eminence Paris began to assume.

Discontent
of the
three elder
brothers.

This great political transaction was a desperate venture, which again brought the whole Empire to the verge of ruin. The three sons of Hermengarda were wholly opposed to this magnificent endowment of Judith's intruding son. For the benefit of Charles-le-Chauve, and without any other reason, the best parts of western and southern Germany had been swept into his net—an outrageous confiscation. But Louis-le-Germanique, true to his name and supported by his people, was determined not to part with a single *Gau* which spake the German tongue; and he prepared for resistance. The usual vacillation of Louis-le-débonnaire was provoked into firm determination: acting as a soldier, he determined to regain a once deserved reputation, to shew that he, Charlemagne's son, had fought under

the standard of the Great Emperor of the West. 824—987
 He summoned his Host to meet at Mayence. 839—840

Lothair avoided any conflict, and Louis-le-
 débonnaire proceeded in prosecuting the estab-
 lishment of Charles upon the throne. A Diet was
 held at Cérisy, or Kiersey, on the Oise. The more
 he had given to Charles the more he sought to
 give; and, with doting infatuation, a further par-
 titition was now tried by the old Emperor for
 the *ninth* time. He decreed that Louis-le-Ger-
 manique had forfeited all his dominions except
 Baioaria—Alsace, Saxony, Thuringia, Austrasia,
 Alemannia, all taken away. Charles-le-Chauve,
 now fifteen years of age, was solemnly pronounced
 to be out of wardship, and his father girt him
 with the sword of manhood. Hitherto Charles
 had been too young to rule in the Kingdoms
 assigned to him: henceforward he was to reign.
 For the purpose of effacing the still subsisting re-
 collections of his reputedly-dubious origin by the
prestige of historical traditions, he was crowned
 “King of Neustria,” like his illustrious namesake
 and grandsire.

§ 15. At this juncture, Pepin, the most
 affectionate of Hermengarda’s sons, (and yet he
 had rebelled three or four times against his
 father) died, leaving two children, Pepin the
 second of that name in Aquitaine, and Charles.
 The Aquitanians determined to have the boy
 Pepin as their King. Emeno, Count of Poitiers,

838.
 September.
 Council of
 Kiersey on
 the Oise.—
 Further
 partition of
 the empire
 (being the
 ninth) pro-
 posed in
 favour of
 Charles-le-
 Chauve.

839—840.
 Mutations
 in Aqi-
 taine.—
 Death of
 Pepin.

824-987

839.
The Aquitanians proclaim the younger Pepin, but his grandfather excludes him from the succession.

and Bernard his brother, were the leaders of the national insurrection. From this family descended *Guillaume tête d'étaupe*, or Shaggy-poll, Count of Poitiers, Count of Auvergne, and Duke of Aquitaine, who married the Adela or Princess Gerloc, also called Heloisa, daughter of Rollo. It is always very interesting to observe such lineages clearing themselves out of the darkness.

The election of the younger Pepin was not however carried unanimously. Certain nobles and others declared that the Aquitanians were bound to wait for the sanction of his grandfather the Emperor. Louis-le-débonnaire refused his assent, and gave his reasons.—The young Pepin was wild, boisterous, and required good training. He would remove his grandson from Aquitaine, and educate him in his own palace, for the Aquitanians would ruin him—a most ungracious declaration from Louis-le-débonnaire, born in Aquitaine, educated in Aquitaine, and thoroughly assimilated to Aquitaine from his earliest youth.

Pepin, as he grew up, became equally distinguished by his beauty and his turbulence: head-strong, bold, irascible, debauched, fearless, the very prototype of a ballad-hero. The national privileges of the Aquitanians enabled them to share in the selection of their sovereigns: the spirit, if not the letter of the *Charta divisionis*, promised to the younger Pepin his father's kingdom. It is very possible that the boy Pepin, already



manifested some of the faults which marred his talent and energy after he had been rendered reckless by injustice and misfortune; and an easy self-delusion convinced Louis-le-débonnaire that the wayward grandson he wished to disinherit was absolutely irreclaimable. Young Pepin's pretensions or rights must yield to the welfare of the Empire—another and more eligible successor must be found. Louis revived the sentence of forfeiture which he had pronounced against Pepin the father. Lothair had an ample provision: the undutiful Louis-le-Germanique was unworthy of favour. Who then ought to rule Aquitaine? Who so deserving as Charles King of Neustria?—upon him accordingly was the realm bestowed.

824—987
 839

§ 16. And yet there were those about Louis-le-débonnaire who lauded him for his prudence and kindness.—This wonderful infatuation put an end to all hesitation on the part of Louis-le-Germanique. Levying all his forces, Germans and Slavonians, he invaded Alemannia and recovered the territories which had been usurped from him. The Aquitanians rose in revolt on behalf of the boy Pepin. Earth and heaven appeared in confusion. Another comet became visible in the sign of Aries, pendant over the nether world with threatening fire. Streams of asteroids were again seen, and the Northmen renewed their dreadful ravages. Nevertheless, striving against errors and calamities, Louis-le-débonnaire, though

Renewal
 of the civil
 wars—attacks of the
 Northmen.

824—987
 839
 suffering from infirmities which had brought on a premature old age, was stirred to greater vigour. Even Lothair found it expedient to temporize, and he repaired to his father at Worms.

Proceed-
 ings at
 Worms be-
 tween
 Louis-le-
 débonnaire
 and Lo-
 thair.

Tenth par-
 titio of
 the empire
 made by
 Louis.

A great Placitum was held nigh the Garden of Roses, and Lothair, kneeling before his father, entreated pardon for his repeated acts of ingratitude and disobedience. But this apparent contrition was directed to a cunning scheme of aggrandizement: Lothair complained that he, the Emperor, the firstborn, was still deprived of a fair and equitable proportion of the great Carolingian inheritance: so many of the arching circles had been broken away from the Imperial crown, that the mutilated diadem was a crown of dishonour. True to his ruling desire, the advantage of Charles-le-Chauve, the basis of the treaty was easily settled by Louis-le-débonnaire.—The younger Pepin to be wholly excluded, Louis-le-Germanique restricted to Baoiaria proper, without any appurtenances or appendages—nothing but Baioaria. Grandson and son, brother and nephew, thus excluded and despoiled, Louis-le-débonnaire concluded the *tenth*, the last proposed partition of the Empire, offering to Lothair—either that he (Lothair) should plan out the division and leave the choice to Charles,—or that he (Louis) should make the division. Lothair accepted the latter suggestion. To him, as Em-

peror, were assigned the Eastern territories (Bavaria excepted)—all the lands beyond Meuse and Rhine—various Burgundian districts, chiefly in modern Switzerland—modern Provence and all beyond to Italy.—The residue was given to Charles-le-Chauve, who, by anticipation, we may call king of France, though as yet the name of “Francia” appertained only to a particular portion of his territory on the western side of the Rhine.

But this partition required to be enforced by the sword. The young Pepin, the boy Pepin, was still in Aquitaine. Emeno and the national party, by a sudden and successful movement, had gained possession of the country, and caused the boy to be crowned as their king. Louis-le-débonnaire was immediately in action: with Judith to comfort him, and the young Charles to delight him, he crossed the Loire. His promptitude produced delusive obedience.—Convened at Clermont, the magnates of Aquitaine performed homage to Charles-le-Chauve: provoked to unusual sternness, Louis-le-débonnaire testified a vindictive sense of justice depriving Emeno of the County of Poitiers, and condemning to death numerous offenders; who, as it is said, conjoined the offences of rapine and rebellion.

§ 17. Compelled to be satisfied with Aquitaine’s uneasy and enforced submission, Louis-

834—987

839—840

839—840.
Aquitanian
insurrec-
tion—the
insurgents
reduced by
Louis-le-
débon-
naire.

824—987

}

840

March—
April.Revolt of
Louis-le-
German-
ique—he
is defeated
by his
father.

le-débonnaire was speedily called away to renew his unhappy warfare. Louis-le-Germanique bursting out from Bavaria, and heartily supported by his people, had reoccupied Alemannia. Louis-le-débonnaire buckled on his burnished hawberk,—and leaving Judith and Charles at Poitiers, marched against his contumacious son. So energetic was the old father's rally, that Louis-le-Germanique was compelled to retreat into Bavaria; and Louis-le-débonnaire, victor in this deplorable conflict, summoned a Diet of the Empire to be held at Worms on the Feast of Saint Rumbold, the first day of July then next ensuing.—Lothair was commanded to attend for the purpose of advising on very important affairs, probably the complete subjugation of his German brother.

But the end was nigh—Louis-le-débonnaire never saw any of his children again. At Frankfurt on the Maine he stayed his progress: it was springtime, past Whitsuntide.—The season had been rendered awful: on the eve of the Ascension the sun was totally eclipsed, and the stars shone with nocturnal brightness. His stomach refused nourishment, weakness and languor gained upon him. Uneasy and seeking rest, the sick man fancied that he would pass the approaching summer upon the island which, dividing the heavily gushing Rhine, is now covered by the picturesque towers of the Pfaltz; and

840.

May.

Eve of the
Ascension.
Great
eclipse.

he desired that a thatched lodge or leafy hut should be there prepared, such as had served for him when hunting in the forest or as a soldier in the field—lying on his couch, he longed for the soothing music of the gurgling waters, and the freshness of the waving wind. Thither was he conveyed, his bark floating down from stream to stream. Many of the clergy were in attendance—amongst others, his brother, Archbishop Drogo, who at this time held the office of Archicapellanus: and Drogo received the last injunctions which the son of Charlemagne had to impart.

His imperial crown and sword he sent to Lothair, with the earnest request that he would be kind and true to Judith the widowed empress, and keep his word and promise to his brother Charles. Dying of inanition, the bed of the humble and contrite sinner was surrounded by the priests who continued in prayer with him and for him till he expired. He died on the third Sunday in June; and his corpse was removed to Metz, and buried in the Basilica of Saint Arnolph, without the walls of the city.

840.
June 20.
Death of
Louis-le-
débon-
naire.

Imperii fulmen, Francorum nobile culmen,
Erutus à seculo conditur hoc tumulo.
Rex Hludovicus pietatis tantus amicus;
Quod pius a populo, dicitur et titulo.

§ 18. EMPIRE, tomb, epitaph, basilica, have all disappeared: all are nullities.—A dislocated

840, 841
Confusion
occasioned

824—987

840—841

by the
death of
Louis-le-
débon-
naire.

arch is sometimes held together by a single shrivelled tendril of withered ivy: when the decayed stalk breaks, the stones separate, and the fabric falls.—So long as Louis-le-débonnaire lived, the presence of the old man, his name, his title, the habitual respect he still commanded, imparted to the Carolingian Empire an aspect of constitutional unity; but with his death terminated the slight coherence which until then the dominion had retained.

The political relations and affairs of the Empire had become so complicated and involved by the repeated partitions and by the transactions attendant upon the partitions—promises accepted and promises rescinded, charters granted and charters annulled—that Lothair, Louis-le-Germanique, Charles-le-Chauve and Pepin, had each a quarrel against one or the other or others of them. Humanly speaking, no one could be decidedly blamed, no one clearly justified: every one amongst them could urge some *grief* which was more or less well founded.—None were absolutely in the right, none absolutely in the wrong, and yet each had some plausible reason to offer in support of his own claim, or against the claim of his adversary. Lothair designated as Emperor by the Charter, accepted as Emperor by the Mag-nates, crowned as Emperor by the Pontiff, hailed as Emperor by the Roman people, asserted a paramount sovereignty. Monarch of monarchs,

Seigneur as well as *Senior*, his vassal brothers were not to reign otherwise than in subordination to the Imperial diadem. Louis-le-Germanique had been deprived of the largest portion of his dominions in favour of Lothair and Charles-le-Chauve, and Lothair and Charles-le-Chauve would not restore them. Louis-le-Germanique insisted that the stipulations in the *Charta divisionis* were in his favour: Lothair, the like: Charles-le-Chauve was no party to a compact executed before he was born. Pepin, deprived of Aquitaine, struggled for his very existence. Though scarcely more than sixteen years of age, this young Prince—one of the many who have missed celebrity for want of a minstrel—obtained singular importance through his spirit, his indomitability, and his hold upon the uncertain loyalty of the people, whether during the brief seasons when he ruled as King, or when he wandered as a pretender. Pepin, the embodied personification of Gascon pugnacity and versatility, became a principal personage in the conflict which ensued and a plague to Charles-le-Chauve, until being finally secured by his uncle, he expired in dreary captivity.

824—887

840—841

There were large classes and influential individuals who yearned for peace. However unfortunately some of the higher clergy had been involved in the political dissensions, still the main body had been diligently working in the

Impracticability of maintaining peace.

824—987
 }
 840—841

obscurity which best ensures a conscientious discharge of duty: whilst the sounder members of the hierarchy and laity, keenly sensible of the Empire's misfortune, deplored the national sins. But the bitter passions between the brethren opposed any pacification. Each was surrounded by advisers who expected to profit by dissension. Neither could the Sovereigns or their advisers resist the encreasingly energetic sense of nationality, the fresh life arising amongst the races, which in the first instance severed the nations of the German tongue from the nations of the Roman tongue, and subsequently aided in producing the other States and Powers composing the Latin or European Commonwealth.

Lothair
 claims the
 paramount
 imperial
 sovereignty.

None of the sons had followed their father's body to the grave. None mourned or made a show of mourning: the trumpet was the Emperor's dirge, and the shout of armies his requiem. Lothair upon receiving the tidings of his father's death, immediately caused his own accession to be proclaimed throughout the Empire, declaring the extent of the authority he assumed. He threatened the infliction of capital punishment upon all who might refuse to take the oaths of fealty: at the same time he promised not only to confirm, but to encrease the grants made by his father. A sufficient degree of uncertainty attended the tenure of a *Benefice* or a *Lehn* (I avoid using the term *Feud* as long as I can), to

occasion some degree of expectation and anxiety upon the accession of a new Sovereign. He might refuse a renewal, or ask an exorbitant price for the concession; and the conduct adopted by Lothair would work upon the nobles both by interest and by fear.

824—887

840

§ 19. Three brothers, and a nephew the son of a brother, four bitter and inveterate enemies, stung and stimulated by long-continued contests, successes and defeats, hopes inspired and hopes destroyed, wrongs inflicted and wrongs sustained—it was obvious that some two or some three must coalesce, and equally was it obvious that the contest could not terminate unless or until some one or more of them should be completely put down. Lothair, crossing the Alps, attacked Louis without even a challenge or declaration of hostilities: none was needed. The Bavarian king opposed a stout resistance. Lothair therefore desisted from his operations in the East of the Empire and attacked Charles-le-Chauve. The young king of Neustria was in considerable perplexity,—his realm was in a state of insurrection. Armorica threw off his supremacy: the Aquitainians had risen for the support of Pepin. Lothair advanced far into France, modern France; and the two greatest personages in that part of the kingdom, Hilduin Abbot of Saint-Denis and Gerard Count of Paris, the first who had sworn allegiance to Charles, were the first to break

Lothair
commences
hostility.He gains
upon
Charles-le-
Chauve.

824—987 their oaths, and transfer their worthless faith to
 Lothair.

840

Lothair
proposes
terms to
Charles-le-
Chauve.

All the territory north of the Loire was in a manner lost to Charles, and all south on the point of being so; therefore he solicited peace. Lothair was willing to treat; for Louis-le-Germanique, cordially aided by his Germans, was pressing hard against him on the Eastern side of the Empire. Lothair sought to gain time, and suggested terms. A conference was appointed to be held at Attigny, the scene of their father's penitence, and a new partition of the Empire was proposed. Lothair was quite ready to sacrifice his nephew, consequently he offered Charles the dominions of Pepin,—Aquitaine, together with Septimania, Provence and ten counties between Seine and Loire. The latter proposal, obscure to us, was perhaps intended to convey all Neustria except Armorica.

Charles demurred, but requested Lothair to spare their brother, Louis-le-Germanique, who now was in distress. Whilst he was uniting the Germans under his banner, the Slavonians were rising against him, and the Northmen, hovering round the coasts, and filling the channel with their vessels, encreased the dread and confusion.

841.
Charles-le-
Chauve
increases
in influ-
ence.

But Charles was young, conciliating, accomplished, gentle, and yet possessing great firmness. He had prospered under his adversities, he gained over the affections of many of the nobility and

chieftains, was successful in conciliating the fickle Aquitanians, withdrawing a portion of the wavering chieftains from Pepin, and compelling the submission of the worthless Bernard, Count of Septimania, who had latterly revolted from his old patron and master Louis-le-débonnaire, and supported the adverse party.—Not long afterwards this faithless and depraved man, who had caused so much evil to his country, being involved in some further treason, was put to death by Charles-le-Chauve.

824—867

840

§ 20. Louis-le-Germanique now desired to ally himself to his brother Charles: the latter had gained and inspired confidence. Having well considered his plan of campaign, he prepared to cross the Seine, and establish his authority in Paris, a position of which the importance was now fully appreciated by all parties. The passage of the river was disputed by Lothair's adherents amongst the nobles, but the Merchants, the Corporation, as we should say, of Paris, assisted Charles. By their advice he marched to Rouen, and took possession of a fleet of vessels lying off the city in the ample Seine, and probably intended to co-operate with the coast-guard of the estuary below. He then occupied Paris and the adjoining country, lodged himself in the Palais des Thermes, and celebrated the Paschal feast before the altars of Saint-Germain and Saint-Denis.

841.

Successful
campaign
of Charles.
He occu-
pies Paris.Charles-le-
Chauve at
Paris.

824—987



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The
regalia
brought to
him from
Aquitaine.

Splendour, show and finery distinguished the Franks, priests, warriors or kings. In after life no monarch delighted himself more in magnificence than Charles-le-Chauve; but he was now unwillingly reduced to a state of squalid simplicity. So hasty had been the march of Charles and his troop, that the young General-King had brought nothing with him on his horse save his armour, and the single suit of clothes all dusty and sordid which he wore. Beggarly apparel ill befitted *Pâque-fleurie*, the joyous vernal festival; but there was no wardrobe, and thus on Easter Eve, having risen from the bath—for these delicate and luxurious Roman customs prevailed, and long continued to prevail in the Gauls,—he could only prepare to put on again the soiled and faded clothing he had put off, when at the very moment there came up, unbidden and unexpectedly, a small detachment, a *manipulus* from Aquitaine, bearing crown, sceptre, mantle; and the noble young king appeared before the Parisians and the Army in the full paraphernalia of royalty.

Such an unexpected change in outward circumstances excited equal wonder and delight. A reassumption of royal state, contrived and premeditated, would not have had much moral effect; but the unforeseen accident, accepted as a happy omen, gave new courage to the adherents of the young King.

This incident is minutely related by one who was present, Charlemagne's grandson, the historian Count Nithard; and inasmuch as he deemed the matter of great importance, it becomes so to us; we must accept the wares at the market-price of the day. That the regalia should have been conveyed so speedily and safely to Paris from such a "vast distance" *per tot terrarum spatia*—they probably had been deposited at Toulouse—excites Nithard's peculiar thankfulness and astonishment, and not without reason. The transit was really very difficult. They had to traverse central France, over and amongst the crags and lava-streams and mounds of fresh scoria, intersecting mountainous Vivarais and Auvergne, ejected during the tremendous eruptions which, in the fifth century, had encreased the terrors of the Gothic invasions. Even in the reign of Louis-Quatorze so imperfect were the means of communication, that during a season of scarcity north of the Loire, it was found impracticable to supply Paris from the harvests of the fertile Limagne.

§ 21. Lothair's policy was always peculiarly tortuous.—Availing himself of the paltry passions and inclinations of men, he was fully bent on the destruction of his brother Louis, so earnestly and determinately, that he, whilome a parricide in intent, was now in heart a fratricide. Adalbert Count of Metz bore a deadly hatred against

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Lothair's
hatred
against
Louis.

824—987
 841 Louis-le-Germanique. Much favoured by Lothair, Adalbert had been recently incapacitated by illness, but he unexpectedly recovered, so as to promise the means of assisting Lothair's fell designs. Lothair having promoted Adalbert to the royal Dukedom of Austrasia, secretly treated with the troops of Louis: they abandoned their Sovereign, and, utterly destitute of support, he retreated to faithful Baioaria, his own land.

The frustration of any coalition, moral, political, or military, between Charles and Louis, was in Lothair's mind, at this juncture, the most important object he could attain, and he stationed a large body of troops under Duke Adalbert's command in Rhætia, for the purpose of preventing the union of the allies. But communications had been opened between Charles and Louis; and Charles moving westward, Louis in concert with him advanced consentaneously from Baioaria, and encountered the imperial troops. They were thoroughly routed and with great loss, and Adalbert was slain, to the extreme gratification of Louis. The junction so dreaded by Lothair ensued at Châlons: the triumph which the two brothers had gained over the third brother and their fellow-countrymen excited the greatest rejoicings.

May 13,
 841.
 Louis de-
 feats the
 troops of
 Lothair.

Triumph-
 ant junc-
 tion of
 Louis and
 Charles at
 Châlons.

In the encampment of the combined armies there was an universal jubilee; but there were others rejoicing more deeply—those who had

watched every movement of the inveterate brethren, who had entered as heartily as themselves into the interest excited by the suicidal conflict.—

824—987

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Whilst Franks and Germans, Austrasians and Neustrians are exterminating each other, the Northmen have begun to gather the rich harvest which, for them, Charlemagne's son and Charlemagne's grandsons have so diligently prepared.

§ 22. England was at this period pestered by the Danish marauders. Ethelwolf, King Alfred's father, whose reign is concurrent with the conclusion of the reign of Louis-le-débonnaire and the first seventeen years of the reign of Charles, was just able to keep the Danes in check; nevertheless the Heathens became bolder and bolder; never daunted, never dispirited. London, Canterbury, Rochester, were stormed and pillaged, and our southern coasts and ports seem to have been constantly annoyed or occupied by them.

The great
Danish in-
vasion of
Neustria.

The unity which pervaded the achievements of the pirate-warriors sustained them in all their enterprizes until their mission was fulfilled. Whatever may have been their internal dissensions and enmities, they conducted their enterprizes as one people,—one nation actuated by one spirit, having one object in which they all concurred; and, encouraged by their success in Britain, they now pursued their enterprises more fiercely in the Gauls.

Unity ex-
hibited by
the general
conception
of the
Danish or
Scandina-
vian inva-
sions.

824—967

}

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Henceforward, and until their conflagrations were extinguished, the Gauls and the British islands, the North Sea, the Channel and the Atlantic coasts, nay, even the Mediterranean, may be considered as included in one vast scheme of predatory yet consistent invasion; and their systematic assaults, descents, and expeditions, whether consecutive or simultaneous, accelerated or delayed, almost indicate a grand design of rendering Latin Europe their Empire.

Their plan
of invasion.

The Northern fleets and vessels, however dispersed in action, were always in communication with each other, so that the several Hosts and Bands might assist in their mutual exigencies, or best profit by their mutual good fortunes. In the British islands as well as on the Continent their operations were uniform. Fleet after fleet, squadron after squadron, vessel after vessel, they sought to crush the country between river and river or between river and sea, a *battue* encircling the prey.

Alterations
in the le-
vels, &c. of
the coasts,
&c.

The *littoral* has sustained many alterations, —cliff and beach, length and level, height and depth, have changed and interchanged. Estimated according to a general average, we may assert that, bordering on the North sea and the Channel, and as far as the Scheldt, the land has gained and the sea has lost: beyond the Scheldt, the land has lost and the sea has gained. The bays on the coasts of France and England were

generally much deeper than they are at present, and the rivers more abundant in water, whether flowing in the stream, spreading in the sheeted broad, or stagnating in the marsh. It is very important to notice these facts: such physical mutations, rarely recollected by historians, have been almost universally neglected in historical geography, a branch of science yet imperfectly pursued. We have (for example) never seen a single map of Roman Britain whose delineator has not joined the isle of Thanet to the Kentish land. On the Gaulish coasts, the tides, particularly in the Seine, rose much higher up than at present; and many of the existing peninsulas which cause the river's sinuous course, encroaching the landscape's beauty, were then not *presqu'isles*, but completely eyots and islands.—The French academicians, who have investigated these questions with the most conscientious diligence, leave us in doubt whether the isle d'Oisselle, a very important and celebrated military post during the northern invasions, has not been obliterated by alluvion.

The facilities thus afforded for penetrating into the country encouraged the Northmen's desperate pertinacity—the seas, the blue billows, the *bolgen-blaa* of the Danish ballads, were their home. Beaten off from the Belgic or Neustrian coast, they would ply the oar and hoist the black sail for Essex or Kent, East Anglia or Northumbria.

824—987
 841 Discomfited on the northern shores, they darted southwards in search of refuge or of spoil. If they lost their booty in England, Italy offered more: if the field were covered with the dead, Jutland, Denmark, Norway, would send off their berserkers to replace the slain; and the slain were quaffing mead in Valhalla.

841.
 May 12.
 The Danish
 fleet, com-
 manded by
 Jarl Osker,
 enters the
 Seine.

Hitherto, however much the Northmen had troubled the Frankish Empire, their depredations were confined to the coasts. The precautions adopted by Louis-le-débonnaire, ill-served and neglected as he had been by the Franks, were not fully adequate to repel the Pirates; but he had sufficiently protected the inland territory. Never yet had the Pirate vessels floated on the fresh waters: never had their crews seen the land on either side.

But immediately after Charles had withdrawn the Frankish squadron from Rouen, the acute and active Northmen, who had been watching their opportunity, occupied the estuary of the Seine.

Osker, hitherto undistinguishable amongst the Danish captains of the Channel fleet, conducted the expedition: an unusually high tide facilitated the invasion.—On the eve preceding the very day when Louis cut up and dispersed the Frankish army under the Duke of Austrasia's command, did Osker's fleet enter the brimful river. The Seine flood-tides were then accompanied by a

sudden head or rise of waters, the sea conflicting with the river, similar to the *Eager* or *eau-guerre*, so remarkable in the mouth of the Severn: the roar could be heard five leagues off. As their vessels rowed upwards, and the crews contemplated the unfolding of the winding shores, how the prospect must have delighted the Northmen during this their first navigation of the Seine: the fruitful fields, thick orchards, the bright, cheerful, and healthy cliffs, and the succession of villas, burghs and monasteries, basking securely in the enjoyment of undisturbed opulence. Generations had elapsed since the country had been visited by any calamity, the Northmen had been kept off, and commerce and agriculture equally contributed to the people's prosperity. But the Danish fleet never slackened oar or sail, the crews never touched the land: they had a great object in view, they would not halt to plunder now,—lose the tide, not they!

Osker was seeking to secure the booty of Rouen by a *coup-de-main*.—Gallo-roman Rothomagus, and the various suburbs and villages included in its modern municipal *octroi*, constituted a congeries of islands, another Venice upon Seine. The ground-plot of the present flourishing city was either partly occupied or much intersected by the ramifying channels of the river, as well as by various rivulets, the Renelle, the Aubette and the Robec, the *Roth-bach*, or *red-*

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Position of
ancient
Rouen.

824—887 *beck*, the red stream—a name of which the etymology perplexes the ethnographist, uncertain whether the Teutonic roots should be claimed for the Gaulish indwellers, or the Scandinavian invader.—The bed of the Seine came very nigh the Cathedral; the Church of *Saint Martin de la Roquette* was so called in consequence of its being built upon a small rock in the middle of the waters, and the parishes of Saint-Clement, Saint-Eloi, and Saint-Etienne were insular likewise. The city was fired and plundered. Defence was wholly impracticable, and great slaughter ensued: it was reported that the archbishop was killed. This, however, was not the case: Gundobald, the Prelate, escaped like the monks of Saint Ouen, who fled, bearing with them the relics of the Saint; but the Monastery, then standing beyond the city precinct, was sacked, and the buildings exceedingly damaged. It is thought, however, by some architectural antiquaries that the *Tour des Clercs*, the Romanesque fragment now incorporated with the exquisitely delicate Flamboyant structure, is a portion of the apse belonging to the original Basilica. Of the Cathedral, hardly one stone remained upon another; nor were the injuries which the sacred structures of Rouen received during this invasion effectually repaired, until the piety of Rollo and the Normans restored the fabrics their forefathers had destroyed.

14—16
May.

Rouen
burned and
plundered.



Osker's three days' occupation of Rouen was remuneratingly successful. Their vessels loaded with spoil and captives, gentle and simple, clerks, merchants, citizens, soldiers, peasants, nuns, dames, damsels, the Danes dropped down the Seine, to complete their devastation on the shores. They had struck the first blow at the Provincial capital, and were now comparatively at leisure.

Dagobert and Clothaire's foundation, Jumièges, preeminent for sanctity, was surrounded by a large and populous bourgade, which had grown up under the fostering protection of the Abbey. The monks dispersed themselves, after burying a portion of their treasure. So complete was the scatteraway, that one of the brethren never stopped till he reached Saint-Gâll. This incident furnishes an anecdote for the history of melody. The fugitive bore with him an antiphonarium, containing various *sequences*, a rhythmical and cadenced Church-song, then much in use in the Northern Gauls. Now, at Saint-Gâll, there was a young monk named Notker, possessing a singular talent for music: this science he studied deeply; and the Neustrian sequences, a style of composition hitherto unknown there, suggested to him the composition of others, which produced a great effect upon the liturgical chant prevailing during the middle ages.

Below Jumièges the Danish fleet came opposite to another monastery dedicated to the

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24, 25 May.
The Danes
at Jumièges and
Fontenelle.

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founder, Saint Wandregisilius, whose harsh and uncouth name has been supplanted by the pleasanter sounding denomination derived from the adjoining fountain. Fontenelle was then as flourishing as Jumièges: there were seven churches clustering together, the monastery was environed by vineyards and gardens; and the monks, who had cleared away the woods, were diligent in every branch of their calling: their library was amongst the richest in Neustria. Warned by the example of Jumièges, the community offered money to the Danes, and the accepted gift purchased for them a perilous respite.—We become acquainted with the devastations inflicted upon the monasteries, because they possessed historians to commemorate them; but every locality on the shores of the Seine as well as the adjoining country, suffered equally from the Danish fury. Most probably it was during this invasion that Juliabona, the modern Lillebonne, proud in her temples and amphitheatre, her marble and gilded statues, was destroyed, and ruins covered the remains of magnificence, now brought to light again by antiquarian zeal. The Danes then quitted the Seine, having formed their plans for renewing the encouraging enterprize,—another time they would do more.—Normandy dates from Osker's three days' occupation of Rouen.

Charles and
Louis

§ 23. This terrible and terrifying visitation, though we trace its influence upon the conduct

of the contending brothers, could not check their hostilities. Whether the Pagus Rothomagensis and the other dioceses and provinces ravaged by Osker, belonged at this juncture to Charles or to Lothair, neither could give any help or spare any force for the defence of the country against the invaders. Charles, however, felt the calamity keenly. Rouen he claimed, as included in his own Neustrian realm: compared also with Lothair, he was conscientiously desirous of effecting a restoration of peace, and entertained a more lively appreciation of the transgression which these unnatural dissensions involved. His youth, instead of being a disadvantage, encreased his influence; and however subsequently depressed by vicissitudes, lapses and misfortunes, he often retraced some of the noble characteristics which had adorned his grandsire.

Louis allowed his brother to take the lead in the transactions which ensued. Charles and Lothair were contending less for territory than for sovereignty, and negotiations were commenced, prosecuted in good faith by Charles, but astutely by Lothair: the younger brothers seeking to obtain a speedy and satisfactory pacification, the elder, by procrastination, to encrease his forces and profit by the pressure Charles was sustaining. Louis and Charles humbled themselves before Lothair, but he interpreted their offers into symptoms of artifice or terror. Each succeeding

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Proposal
made them
to avert
hostilities.

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proposal they made was rejected or evaded. Would Lothair accept all they had in their camp? money, gold, jewels, tents, equipments, stores, all except their horses and arms?—or, as we should say, allow them to retreat with the honours of war? Would he be satisfied with a large encrease of territory, to be ceded by Louis and Charles, extending from the Ardennes to the Rhine? If this was unsatisfactory, let the whole of “France” be divided, and he should choose his share.—Any reasonable concession to obtain quiet for Church and State, and prevent the shedding of Christian blood.

Hostile
movements
continued
by both
parties.

841.
21—23
June.

Position of
the armies
in the vi-
cinity of
Auxerre.

§ 24. Lothair had been concentrating his forces. The Burgundians from Jura to Rhone supported him cordially. He relied much upon the Aquitanians, and the boy Pepin was rapidly advancing at their head to aid his Emperor-uncle: Charles had been equally active. Towards the end of June the armies both took their positions in the vicinity of Auxerre: Charles and Louis at Tauriac, Lothair about Fontenay, and anxiously, for though Pepin and his contingent were momentarily expected, they had not come up. Lothair pitched his imperial tent upon a rising ground, “*la montagne des alouettes*.” Marshes, copses, and the valley of a small river, then called the rivulet of the Burgundians, separated the armies. Hostilities were suspended by the negotiations, which continued during three

days. On the third, the mystic eve of Saint John ⁸²⁴⁻⁸⁸⁷ the Baptist, Charles and Louis renewed their ⁸⁴⁸ offers. Lothair required a delay till the morrow: ^{23 June.} for no other reason, as he asserted, than that he ^{The parley.} might be able to form such a determination as should be for the common profit and blessing of them all. This asseveration was solemnly confirmed by oath—oaths cost him nothing,—all Lothair wanted was to gain a day. Pepin, he knew, was advancing rapidly, and in the course of a few hours the tramp of the Aquitanian cavalry was heard, and the forces joined.

On the Feast of Saint John the Baptist Pepin ^{24 June.} appeared in the camp at Tauriac, but he had no ^{The chal-} answer to give on the part of Lothair; and the ^{lenge.} brothers then, seeing that there was no hope of determining the great controversy otherwise than by force of arms, solemnly summoned Lothair to abide by the judgment of God. They and their Host would meet him and his Host in the valley on the following day, at two hours after midnight, when the dark twilight contends with the dawn:—they defied him.

Lothair received the message with insolent contempt, but gladly accepted the challenge; and on the morrow of Saint John the Baptist, the long ^{25 June.} bright merry summer-day, ensued the direful ^{The great battle of} battle-strife, kings, nobles, kinsmen, each smiting ^{Fontenay—} against kings, nobles, and kinsmen, with infu- ^{defeat of} riated antipathy. Louis-le-Germanique directed ^{the Empe-} ^{ror Lo-} ^{thair.}

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 841 the onslaught against Lothair: a second division was commanded by Charles-le-Chauve; the third by Count Adelhard. Count Nithardus, the historian who relates the tale we tell, fought in this division, and he speaks with soldier-like pride of the service which his sword then rendered, whilst Angelbert, Count Nithard's brother, was ranged under the standard of Lothair.

Never since that tremendous battle in the Catalaunian fields, when Hun and Ostrogoth contended for the mastery, had the Gauls witnessed equal slaughter. What the Roncesvalles "dolorous rout" appears in romance, Fontenay becomes in authentic history.

The traditions of the slaughter of Fontenay.

National traditions deplored the loss of an hundred thousand combatants. Moreover, the custom of Champagne was ever afterwards appealed to, like the gavel-kind custom of Kent, as the living record of a boon obtained, though from a very different cause, the concession made to affliction, not the reward of steadfastness and bravery. Champagne possessed a peculiar privilege derogating from the otherwise universal maxim of the French law, the doctrine which forbade the derivation of nobility from the distaff, whereas in Champagne, nobility was transmitted by maternal descent, irrespective of the father's blood; and this privilege was supposed to have been bestowed for the purpose of preventing the otherwise imminent extinction of the aristocracy.

The loss was proportionally severe in both ⁸²⁴⁻⁸⁶⁷armies: in both the ranks were equally mown ⁸⁴¹down by the mutual energy of destruction. Lothair's army was, however, thoroughly routed: the Emperor and his troops fled in confusion, and the corpse-encumbered greensward was left in the power of the Neustrian and German kings.

Listen to the wail which rises from the field of Fontenay—the rude and barbarous rhythm of the warrior, who, fighting to the death against his brethren, encreased the carnage which he escaped and deplored. The lament of Angelbert, the brother of Count Nithard.

Bella clamant hinc et inde,
Pugna gravis oritur:
Frater fratri mortem parat,
Nepoti avunculus;
Filius nec patri suo
Exhibet quod meruit.

Laude pugna non est digna
Nec canatur melode:
Oriens, meridianus
Occidens vel aquilo
Plangent illos qui fuerunt
Illo casu mortui.

Gramen illud ros et imber
Nec humectet pluvia:
In quo fortes ceciderunt
Prælio doctissimi:
Plangent illos qui fuerunt
Illo casu mortui.

Maledicta dies illa
Nec in anni circulis
Numeretur, sed radatur
Ab omni memoria:
Jubar solis illi desit,
Aurora crepusculo.

Hoc autem scelus peractum,
Quod descripsi rhythmicè,
Angelbertus ego vidi
Pugnansque cum aliis,
Solus de multis remansi
Prima frontis acie.

Noxque illa, nox amara,
Noxque dura nimium,
In qua fortes ceciderunt
Prælio doctissimi,
Pater, mater, soror, frater,
Quos amici fleverant.

§ 25. Success, even when most joyful, the attainment of any hope however lawful, is always

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26 June,
841.The
mournful
morrow of
the victory.

followed by heaviness, frequently by sadness; but this was a victory without success, a day altogether of horror and of mourning. Charles and Louis and the chieftains who had survived, assembled themselves in deliberation. Some of the commanders, hot and embittered, clamoured for revenge, urging the Kings to chase the retreating foe, and end the feud by condign vengeance. Piety and pity prevailed; and it was agreed that they should sheathe their swords and await the better thoughts which the following day, the Lord's day, might suggest. They employed themselves in comforting and tending the wounded;—and after Mass had been sung they gave burial to the dead, the last of the seven works of mercy.

Kings and people now sought the instruction of their Pastors. War, the vengeance of God upon nations, is an essential condition in the present captivity of the Church, for war and bloodshed cannot cease upon earth until the Church is triumphant—Her duty is to abide in patience and faith whilst the Vials of wrath are pouring out, until the time of times, when all the kingdoms of the World shall come to an end and the kingdom of God prevail, when the great and dreadful Advent shall ensue, and the bow be broken, and the spear snapped in sunder. So long as the lusts of man call down the chastisement of wars and fightings, so long must that

chastisement be humbly endured. In the present case, the Bishops, conforming to the prevailing theology, considered that an appeal having been made to the Lord of Hosts, though none of the combatants might be guiltless, yet much extenuation could be found for those who had sincerely waged the war in defence of right and justice. Each man was therefore to examine his own conscience, and repent if he had been in any wise actuated by vain glory, covetousness or revenge.—Three days of humiliation, fasting and prayer were enjoined; and the injunction thus given was devoutly obeyed.

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Three days
of fasting
and pen-
itence after
the battle.

The decree of retribution against the descendants of Charles Martel was now manifest—Henceforward the existence of the Carlovingian Empire was but a continued agony. The glory of the Franks was lost, their strength taken from them, their power consumed. They became the jest and scorn of their enemies, and, more bitter, of themselves. Nevertheless there was left amongst them the seed of national regeneration: they were gifted with the most rare of all national virtues—nay, that virtue without which no other national virtue can avail, national self-knowledge, leading to national repentance—they neither flattered themselves nor deceived themselves: they never sought to conceal the extent of their misfortunes, nor tried to excuse or palliate their national transgressions and sins, but acknow-

824—987 ledged that, low as they had been brought, they
deserved their humiliation.

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Lothair's
cause de-
clining, he
renews ne-
gociations
with
Charles.

§ 26. The Northmen recommenced their attacks with aggravated fury. That the Royal brothers should unite against the common enemy had become an impossible idea. All the endeavours of the contending parties continued absorbed in the one main object of mutual harm and destruction; and, however weakened by the slaughter of Fontenay, their forces continued for the present nearly as equally balanced as before. Charles concentrated his troops about Paris: Lothair began to treat. Political ambition was mingled in him with perverseness, and the most uncharitable dislike of his second brother. Lothair had been strenuously assisted by his nephew Pepin, but he was quite willing to sacrifice the young Prince and to abandon him to Charles, provided Charles would equally abandon Louis. —All France, excepting Provence and Septimania, should belong to Charles.

842.

Feb. 14.

Treaty and
oath of
Strasburgh
(see p. 66.)

The offer was rejected. Charles strengthened his alliance with Louis, and the compact of Strasburgh, that memorable testimony of the formation of language and the separation of races, confirmed the bond. The cause of Lothair on the whole, was declining:—none of the brethren had been guiltless towards their father, and he, the most guilty, prospered the least. The contest had become well defined, Lothair

seeking a full and entire supremacy over the Empire, his brothers striving to confirm themselves as independent Sovereigns. Lothair had by his own acts irreparably damaged the very authority he now sought—he was snared in his own devices. Constantly opposing his imperial father, he had taught the lesson of a more stubborn resistance against himself. Why should Charles and Louis-le-Germanique render more obedience to the Emperor Lothair than Lothair had done to Louis-le-débonnaire?

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The greater portion of the German nations, those in whom the Teutonic sentiment was most vivid, identified themselves with Louis. Powerful forces, Bavarians, Suabians, poured in to join him, mustering at Mayence. Lothair was in the Pfaltz of Aix-la-Chapelle, still rich with the treasures of Charlemagne, precious metals and jewels and wonders of Byzantine and Syrian and Arabian art. Harold the Dane the Count of Ruringia, Count Hatto and Otgar Archbishop of Mayence, were stationed near the Moselle, for the purpose of defending the passage of the river; but the combined armies of Louis and Charles advanced rapidly and powerfully both by land and by water. On their approach, the Archbishop and his fellow-commanders fled; and when Lothair heard that the enemy had penetrated as far as Sintzig, he, seized with terror, abandoned Aix-la-Chapelle, clearing the Palace of all its

March,—
April, 842.
Louis and
Charles
advance
against
Lothair.

Flight of
Lothair.

834—837 treasures; and, for the purpose of satisfying his
 soldiery, breaking in pieces even the wonderful
 842—843 planisphere, the memorial of Charlemagne's opulence and science.

§ 27. Louis and Charles took possession of the pillaged and deserted Pfaltz. Bishops and Clergy were convened in Council at Aix-la-Chapelle. The Kings moved the hierarchy to deliver their judgment.—All the offences which Lothair had committed were adduced against him. The Prelates declared that his disobedience, his perjuries, his implacable hostility, the evils he had brought upon the people, rendered him unworthy of authority.—He had agreed to abide the Battle-ordeal, and was condemned: he had ratified the condemnation by his flight, his throne was vacant; how could order be best taken for the welfare of Church and State?

842.
 Council at
 Aix-la-
 Chapelle,
 Lothair's
 flight con-
 sidered as
 an act of
 abdication.

Their decision was uncompromising, the Bishops unanimously determined that Lothair's royal authority having ceased, his French and German dominions should be shared between his two brothers. Louis and Charles respectively chose twelve arbitrators: Count Nithardus was one of them, and here unfortunately occurs an hiatus in Nithard's manuscript. His most interesting memoir suggested by Charles-le-Chauve, when they were on their journey to Châlons, as after mentioned, is left unfinished. He composed the history at intervals, waiting to complete the work

for leisure, which never came. The fourth and concluding book is fragmentary, and the particulars of the proposed partition are lost; but subsequent proceedings sufficiently denote, that, generally speaking, the Rhine and Meuse indicated the boundaries—from Rhine and Meuse to the West, the kingdom of Charles, from Rhine and Meuse to the East, the kingdom of Louis.—With the countries on the other side of the Alps, the Synod did not deal: Italy was beyond their jurisdiction, that Kingdom appertained to the Emperor. The Carlovingian Empire was beginning to be disentangled from the Roman Empire, and the Prelates at Aix dared not venture to assume any authority over the Crown which the Pontiff and the Roman people had bestowed.—“Lothair has lost his rights over us, but we do not touch Augustus Cæsar.”

§ 28. The Aix-la-Chapelle decree, however, though a very powerful demonstration, was, for the present, only an abortive project: Septimania and Burgundy did not concur: Rome and Italy ignored the transaction altogether. Lothair re-assembled his troops, and stationed himself with an imposing degree of force towards the Rhone. Negotiations were opened at Châlons—fancy King Charles and Nithard riding thither side by side, talking over the classical composition of the Count's history—A new partition was proposed by Lothair: Italy, Bavaria and Aquitaine were

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Partition
between
Louis and
Charles-
le-Chauve
proposed
by the Aix-
la-Chapelle
decree.

842—843.

Transac-
tions and
events until
the con-
clusion of
the treaty
of Verdun.

842.

Negotia-
tions
opened
at Châlons.

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respectively to be treated as indivisible kingdoms : he, Lothair, to have Italy—Louis, Baioaria, and Charles, Aquitaine : Pepin's rights were completely abandoned—the residue of the Empire to be divided between the brothers. With caution however and courteous discretion, Lothair suggested that the honour of his Imperial Crown might entitle him to the largest portion of territory ; whilst, somewhat less explicitly, he intimated that he was not unwilling to acknowledge the independence of his brothers' realms.

Wearisome delays ensued. National troubles, affecting all parties, encreased.—The approach (as men believed) of Attila's resuscitated Horde, the Hungarians, the Mogers, two hundred and sixteen thousand monsters who ate human flesh and drank human blood, and who were hungry and thirsty for their cannibal feast and food, might perhaps be heard as a far distant roar.—Flanders, Armorica, and Aquitaine were terribly ravaged by the Scandinavians, and domestic treachery aided the pirates. Bordeaux, Xaintes and Nantes were pillaged, the latter city desolated, the inhabitants dispersed or massacred, and the surrounding country rendered waste unto the borders of Anjou. These expeditions profited so well to the Vikings that they henceforward afflicted the Loire as much as the Seine.

Invasions
of Saracens
and North-
men.

The Moslem forces occupied Benevento, Bari, great part of the Kingdom of Naples, and ultimately profaned Saint Peter's shrine and sacked

and plundered Imperial Rome. Other turbaned hosts from the opposite coast of Africa, imitating the Baltic tactics, sailed up the Rhone. Charles Martel had expelled the Saracens from Arles, but the progeny of Charles Martel could not wield his weapon. The miscreants stormed the city; and the amphitheatre circuit, converted by them into a fortress, is still crowned by their Mauresque towers.

§ 29. The cosmical phenomena, so physically and morally important during the mediæval era, continued and encreased. The heavens throbbed with blue and red and yellow fires: comets and cometary beams traversed the sky—tremendous earthquakes encreased the alarm—The volcanic Rhine region was particularly disturbed, but the concussions were not confined to this locality. Commencing with earth-thunder, the shocks prevailed seven days throughout the Gauls, the subterraneous “bellowings,” as they are described, recurring periodically at certain ascertained watches and hours of night and day. To these were added keen famine and dire pestilence.

Taken in the wider sense, every physical phenomenon is an historical incident, whether affecting the material condition of man or his mind—the pestilence-breathing blast not more so than the Aurora’s innocuous beams. Feebly and faintheartedly would Livy, the rebuker of a corrupt and apostate generation, have fulfilled his

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Cosmical phenomena, earthquakes, fires in the sky, &c.

Physical phenomena, to be considered as historical incidents.

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 842—843 high mission, had he not constantly and faithfully borne witness to the prodigies whilome received by his forefathers, as testifying the active presence of the Deity, teaching them to nourish their strength by confessing their weakness, and to acknowledge that their power was a free gift, which the Gods, the Divine warnings contemned, would take away.

Psychological reality
 of omens
 and prognostics.

Science cannot dispel this lurking belief, so flippantly denominated “superstition”—it is innate and unconquerable. If the weather be coarse during the national Fête, the tricolor is gloomy. The Parisian crowds are dispirited by the darkened heavens, and they loudly give utterance to their heaviness. That a bright gleam of sunshine should suddenly illuminate the House of Peers and dart down upon the Lords Commissioners when they declared the Royal assent to the Reform Bill, was joyfully accepted by the hardheaded unimaginative Radical as a happy foreboding.—Tokens, predictions, prognostics, possess a psychological reality. All events are but the consummation of preceding causes, distinctly felt though not clearly apprehended until the accomplishment ensues. Whilst the strain is sounding, the pre-established harmony of atmosphere, of nerve and of soul reveals to the most untutored listener that the tune will end with the key-note, though he cannot explain why each succeeding bar leads to the concluding chord.

§ 30. The notables and nobles from and in all parts of the Empire called for a pacification, and the call was obeyed. At Coblenz, the three envious brothers, the three grudging and hostile Kings, were convened in stately Congress, their nobles, their prelates and one hundred and ten delegates or commissioners,—a special Parliament. They held their Sessions in that edifice still appearing as the principal feature in the sunny and cheerful city, the twin-towered Church of Saint Castor. Apart from the mutual jealousies which would have embarrassed a plain question, great practical and political difficulties attended the negotiations. The negotiators were doing far more than they knew about: they began the plotting out of the future European community. Upon what principles were the divisions to be appropriated? Extent, fertility, opulence, laws, customs, all required consideration. Schemes were proposed and canvassed, dismissed and resumed, until the kings and diplomatists again assembled.

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Proceed-
ings lead-
ing to the
treaty of
Verdun.

Three years after the death of Louis-le-débonnaire, the treaty was concluded, which, assuming the Carlovingian Empire to be the first, became the second stage in the organization of Western or Latin Europe.—The history of modern Europe is an exposition of the treaty of Verdun.

843. Aug.
Treaty of
Verdun,
Carlovin-
gian inher-
itance
divided.

§ 31. A precedence quite unchallenged as to rank, though entirely undefined as to jurisdiction,

Lothair's
precedency
acknow-
ledged by
all parties.

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belonged to Lothair: "*Seigneur*" or "*Senior*," all questions concerning his authority were left undetermined. Whether the junior brothers were to acknowledge the natural right of the first-born or the political supremacy of the Emperor, no one can tell; yet in the opinion of the German jurists, the treaty of Verdun contains the invisible *punctum saliens* of the public law, which ruled, or professed to rule, the Romano-Germanic Empire.

The principle which connected the provinces and regions allotted to Lothair, was the average preponderance of some one or more of the Roman elements, either in the races or the laws, or the languages, or the institutions, or the traditions, or the opinions of the people. Italy became the territorial basis of the opulent and dignified endowments assigned to Augustus, who, crowned by the Pontiff, confirmed that Pontiff on his throne. In Rome, as all then admitted, none can rightly rule except the Emperor. Lothair's kingdom was therefore built upon Italy: but the name of Charlemagne, and the long-continued usages of government entitled Lothair to demand Aix-la-Chapelle, the constitutional Austrasian metropolis. These two Imperial residences, each the Cæsar's palace, each adding dignity to the other, the centres of the two great Cisalpine and Transalpine Crown-lands, were conjoined by an unbroken and continuous territory, including all the varieties of soil, climate and

Lothair's
portion of
the Em-
pire.

production offered by the richest and most active portions of Europe, the wine and the oil of the South, the harvests and pastures of the North.

From the teeming floods of the German Ocean and the sands and denes of Frisia, Lothair's Imperial kingdom extended to the luxuriant regions of Capua, the olives and chestnut-groves of the Abruzzi, and the [emerald and sapphire waves of the Mediterranean and Tyrrhene seas. The Cisalpine Eastern and Western boundaries were indicated or formed by the Scheldt, the Meuse and the two great rivers so kindred in the etymology of their names, so contrary to each other in their course, the Rhine and the Rhone. Not in all cases did the frontier reach quite up to the banks of the several rivers, yet that frontier was rarely, if ever, removed beyond a short day's journey from the river or the river-valley boundaries.

The compact and solid conformation of this realm, so scanty in average latitude but so ample in longitude, renders its chorography singularly conspicuous on the historical map; and we trace the demarcations imposed by the treaty of Verdun in the peculiar character of the architectural monuments still subsisting within the compass of Lothair's realm. The coincidence is indisputable; the particular cause of the coincidence is concealed amongst the mysteries of architectural development. The scenery of Rhine

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Boundaries
of Lothair's
kingdom.Peculiar
character
of the Lo-
tharingian
ecclesiasti-
cal archi-
tecture.

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Lotharin-
gian Archi-
tecture.

and Moselle will always be associated in our recollection with the venerable ecclesiastical buildings adorning the landscape, and spreading over the adjoining districts in stately splendour. Their normal features are most distinctly pronounced in the church of Saint Castor, where the conferences were held: the tall, square, many-storied and compartmented bell-towers, the apse crowned by open galleries, and the other details which the eye impresses so clearly on the memory and the pencil delineates with so much facility, whilst the pen fails in portraying them.

Cologne may first present these combined peculiarities to the stranger; but all ancient Lotharingia abounds with them. When the traveller, pursuing his journey towards Lotharingian Italy, traverses the Alps through either of the *Chiuse*, the accustomed Lotharingian passes of Mont Cenis or Saint Gothard, the same models still appear; and had not the reverend Abbey Church of Saint Gall yielded in the last age to modern taste, that structure would have exhibited the type in vast magnificence. The Lotharingian style flourishes throughout the whole of Lotharingian Lombardy, which, besides the modern province so called, includes the Venetian Terra firma, Tyrol and Trent, Ticino, Piedmont, Parma, Piacenza and Modena. In Tuscany the Lotharingian style contends with the productions of another school, displaying more accurate reminiscences of Roman

art.—The City of the Cæsars proudly rejected ultramontane taste; but the usage of the bell enforced her priesthood to admit the Teutonic “Glocken-thurm:” the Basilica of “San Giovanni e Paolo,” originally raised by the Roman Patrician Pammachius, the husband of Paulina, Saint Jerome’s sister, was, during the subsistence of the Carlovingian domination, rebuilt by an architect taught in the barbarian colonies of Germany or Belgic Gaul. And the Lotharingian normal design lastly meets and abandons us at Rome.

Lothair’s Kingdom on the North of the Alps is a grand Imperial highway athwart the Cisalpine Continent.—The territories on the East and on the West of this kingdom (West of the Rhone and East of the Rhine) naturally became the lots of Louis and of Charles, aggregating themselves respectively to the undivided kingdoms of Baioaria and of Aquitaine. Louis took as far North and East as Charlemagne’s power had extended, Charles as far South as the Marches of Spain; and this division created territorial France. With the exception of Provence and some few portions of Lotharingia, there is not any where the value of fifty miles difference in frontier between the kingdom of France in the reign of Louis-Quatorze, and the kingdom given to Charles-le-Chauve by the treaty of Verdun. Some four years afterwards, Northmen and Saracens pressing harder, this Verdun compact (cer-

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The lots
assigned to
Louis and
Charles.

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 847
 847.
 Feb.
 Treaty of
 Mersen.

tain arrondissemens being completed by the supplementary treaty of Thionville) received a final ratification pursuant to a third treaty concluded at Mersen nigh Maestricht, when the kingdoms of the three brothers were respectively declared to be hereditary, provided the nephews consented to be obedient to their uncles, *si tamen ipsi nepotes patruis obedientes esse consenserint*, and various other additional articles and covenants, deceptively promising a permanent pacification, were engrossed in the tripartite chirograph which each monarch signed with his own hand.

Relations
 between
 particular
 history and
 universal
 history.

§ 32. THE COMPLEXITIES, the intricacies, the alliances, the feuds, the dissensions, the distractions attending the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, render the historian dizzy in attempting to relate them: he is a traveller bewildered among confusing tracks in a driving snow-storm. But during this storm the states of modern Europe are rising: the storm is a spring-tide storm, a storm which breaks up the soil and stimulates germination: the buds begin to burst amidst the turmoil of the elements, and the silver lilies of France, and the gay genista of Anjou, nay, even the bright roses of England, are springing.

The instruction derived from the particular history of any one nation or state encreases in geometrical ratio to the student's knowledge of

universal history. No state, no population, not even the smallest or most inconsiderable, is absolutely inert in the macrocosm of humanity. Each state constitutes a system, involved or affected by other systems, orbs gyrating about other orbs, whirling in cycles and epicycles, sometimes obeying mutual attractions or yielding to mutual repulsions, fighting in their courses; and the utmost perfection of historical knowledge which any human capacity can attain must be imperfection—not knowledge, but a diminution of ignorance. This indeed must be affirmed concerning all human knowledge: there is no increase of such knowledge, only a removal of obstructions, a picture faintly brought out by rubbing off the soil. The study of history ought to be a labour of love, but it is nevertheless a hard labour. Your hand cannot be aided by machinery. There is no “history for the million.” In this branch of science, no small book can really teach you great things: your philosophy of universal history is a ghost, your epitome of universal history a skeleton: if you try to embrace the spectre, your arms go through and hug the dry bones, bones which no flesh will ever cover.

Nevertheless the richest narrator must occasionally epitomize, and the most barren epitomizer will of necessity be sometimes stimulated into abstract or general reasoning; yet since men

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Carlovin-
gian ge-
nealogies.

§ 33. For the purpose of conducting my reader through this era of consternation, and in order that he may better comprehend the course of European events in connexion with those of France, Normandy and England, I shall resume the narrative genealogies of the Carlovingian families until they become extinguished in the male line. I include in this, and in a subsequent chapter, some notices of the three rival Kingdoms, *Italy*, *Provence*, and *Burgundy* (the last two afterwards united into the Kingdom of *Arles*), which arose upon Carlovingian ground during the subsistence of the Carlovingian dynasty. I shall also indicate the partitions and divisions of the Carlovingian Empire, which were effected or sustained after the death of Louis-le-débonnaire: fragments shivering into fragments. Excepting in the Iberian peninsula south of the Ebro, every European power, living or defunct, sovereign or subordinate, speaking the Roman, Tudesque or Sclavonian tongues, has been either

mediately or immediately shaped out of these partitions. The reader must make for himself an universal history of Europe, seeking the complementary histories, determining according to his own views which histories he will consider as principal, and which as accessories.—It is my wish to help others as I have been helped myself, and to teach as I have been taught.

Most assuredly, no period of modern history is so fundamentally important to the student as the Carlovingian era, or so difficult to comprehend—States independent yet conjoined, their geography repulsively difficult, territorial divisions marbled, spotted, or clouded and contorted into each other, complicated and broken,—no ordinary sized map of the Empire can exhibit the details with any approximation to clearness. Special maps are therefore required. A map can only exhibit one scheme of political boundaries, as existing at one given period of time: those professing to do more are so blurred as to be nearly useless. Large and small, general and particular, fifty maps would be needful to complete the Carlovingian Atlas.

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The difficulties of Carlovingian geography, onomastic nomenclature and textual arrangement.

Not the least of the obscurities arises from repetitions of names. “Charles” occurs eleven times in the Carlovingian genealogies, “Louis” nine times: there are six “Pepins,” five “Carlo-mans” and four “Lothairs”; and the nobles draw only from the most scanty family onomastic nomenclatures. The epithets “Martel” and the

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like, by which the Sovereigns are now distinguished, are never affixed to their names in the coeval histories. Even Charlemagne is merely "Carolus;" and during the later periods of the Empire there are so many homonyms as to confuse the most attentive investigator.

The concurrency of the several lines and branches adds exceedingly to the difficulty: their histories are not successive but synchronous, and the arrangement of the text in parallel columns (practised by some of my predecessors, of whose labours I thankfully avail myself), and which at first would be thought most natural, cannot be executed neatly or conveniently: the plan becomes unmanageable and wearisome; and the learned and eminent modern historians of France

The Carlo-
vingian
portions of
Sismondi
and Luden
unsatis-
factory.

and of Germany, who have respectively combined the more prominent or leading Carlovin-
gian incidents in one narrative, fail to extricate themselves from its labyrinthine perplexity. I therefore shall proceed according to lineages and individuals, rendering each section, as far as is practicable, a self-contained statement; yet, referring the reader to my former explanations, I must remind him that the plan pursued is not strictly methodical, but freely varied according to the bearing and nature of the matter. All the synchronous sections should be severally compared with each other, and thus placed parallel in the reader's mind.

See I. § 5.
p. 145.

The people who live in the pages of the

historian, who speak through his books, are to be the reader's companions. He takes more kindly to them, if, occasionally looking behind, he is prepared for their approach, or, looking onwards, espies them on the road before him. It is not well for the personages of the historical drama to rise on the stage through the trap-doors. They should first appear entering in between the side scenes. Their play will be better understood then. We are puzzled when a King or Count suddenly lands upon our historical ground like a collier winched up through a shaft. Many genealogical details are given in the course of this history. When in common life we are introduced to any new acquaintance, we instinctively endeavour to render our ideas concerning him precise, by enquiring into his family and connections—where did he 'come from,—whom does he belong to—whom did he marry—how many children has he got—how are they settled? Nor is it an impertinent curiosity which prompts such questions: never do we thoroughly know the stranger until these particulars are ascertained. Historical characters present themselves to us as new acquaintances, new even when their names are familiar, for generally we only suppose we know them; and they should be treated after the same guise.—Genealogies are as important in the general, as they are in the special. It is a thoroughly vulgar error to sneer at the Herald be-

824—987

Genealogies, their value in historical enquiries.

824—987 cause he is grotesquely clad, or to deride genealogical studies as vain enquiries because they may minister to vanity.

Utility of
family his-
tories.

The history of any one noble or private family—would that we had more of them composed with conscientious discretion,—is often an essential portion of national history, and always a perpetual commentary upon the national history. Such a family history gives you a vertical section of the strata, presented at one view. No other process affords an equally distinct disclosure of the chronological progress of human society. Inductive philosophy flourishes according to the copiousness and accuracy of the experimental observations upon which the science is founded. So far therefore as there can be any historical science, the observations made upon man, separately and individually, are the only legitimate sources of induction. Collective society displays the consequences and not the impulses.

Mediaeval
history, un-
necessarily
invested
with a con-
troversial
character.

Mediaeval history is in danger of becoming either a weary task or a feeble romance: a dogmatic truism or a fantastic illusion. We are all of us apt to be tempted by the queer, the quaint, the æsthetic; and somewhat more attention than is needful is bestowed upon the measurements of high head-dresses and long-peaked shoes. Mediaeval history has also been invested with a controversial character. Historians have insensibly become defenders or assailants: hence

on the one part somewhat too much marvel and cry of wonder, and on the other part somewhat too much contempt and depreciation. The corrective is to be sought in those details which unite themselves to our ordinary sympathies, without misleading the imagination. 824—987

In the course of this work I have never shunned repetitions of any sort or kind, when I have found repetitions needful. Repetitions are not superfluities; nor is it surplussage to reiterate the same thought or fact under diverse combinations. The present generation can only commence the task of correcting the prevailing notions respecting the formation and policy, whether civil or ecclesiastical, of the mediæval European communities; and there is and will be a mighty conflict of opinions, right and wrong against right and wrong, to accomplish this end. In some provinces the rank weeds should be plucked up, in others the tangled forest felled. All we can expect from each historian is that he should stammer a few imperfect developments of truth: each enquirer partially elucidating some obscure passages in the progress of society: dispelling favourite or deluding visions or dreams: cutting, when practicable, the conventional pictures out of their frames, and replacing them by portraits taken from the life; but, above all, uncramping or shattering the pedestals supporting the idols which have won the false worship of the multitude, so

824-867 that they may nod in their niches or topple down.
 —My object, first and last, is to know the individuals and to make them known. Our Mother-tongue has played us a sorry trick in separating the meanings of “history” and of “story.” “History” and “story” are one word in etymology, in fact, and in deed. The distinction imposed upon our minds by usage of speech causes us to forget that, in both, the subject is the same,—man and man’s actions. What would a story be unless the tale-teller took the utmost pains to bring his personages before you?

Carlo-
vingian
lineages.
Lombard,
§ 35.
*Aquita-
nian*, § 36.
*Lotharin-
gian*, § 37-
44.
German,
§ 45-52.
French,
§ 53-55.

§ 34. THE CARLOVINGIAN FAMILY must be considered as divided into five Lines or Houses. The *Lombard* line descended from PEPIN, the son of Charlemagne: the *Aquitanian* from PEPIN, the son of Louis-le-débonnaire: the *Lotharingian* from the Emperor LOTHAIR: the *German* from LOUIS-LE-GERMANIQUE; and the *French* from CHARLES-LE-CHAUVE. We have arranged the several Houses according to the duration of their several sovereignties. The rival royal lineages of *Italy* (when that realm was lost to the Carlovingians), *Provence*, *Burgundy* and *Arles*, have their places at the most convenient points of insertion after the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, and we will now take them in due order.

§ 35. THE LOMBARD LINE of the Carlovingian family, though deprived of royal honours, acquired subsequently great importance both in France and in Normandy, where Charlemagne's descendants long retained the respect due to their mighty ancestor's name. PEPIN, son of the miserable Bernard king of Lombardy, whom we left under his uncle's dubious protection, obtained an inadequate but tranquil appanage—the rich Abbey of Saint Quentin, and also Peronne, “Peronne la pucelle,” castle and seigneury. This Pepin of Peronne had three sons,—BERNARD,—HERBERT—and PEPIN.

824—887

840—1080

The Lombard line—origin of the House of Vermandois.

Pepin, son of King Bernard, Abbot and Seigneur of St. Quentin and Peronne, died after 840.

BERNARD, the eldest son of Pepin of Peronne, probably died in his father's lifetime: some writers connect him by alliance with the Guelphs of Bavaria.

HERBERT, the second son of Pepin of Peronne, succeeded both to the Abbey and the Seigneury, holding them conjointly; and, widely extending his power, he acquired the illustrious historical title of Count of Vermandois—noble, royal, imperial Vermandois,—from the Gallo-Roman name of the district.—A hamlet or village called *Vermandois* still exists; but antiquaries dispute much whether Saint Quentin be or be not the ancient Augusta-Veromanduorum. The dominion annexed thereto included the cities and territories of Rheims, Soissons, Meaux and Senlis.

Herbert the First, count of Vermandois, died 902.

824—887

840—1080

The aforesaid Herbert, the *second* son of Pepin of Peronne, is dynastically, or amongst the Counts of Vermandois, reckoned Herbert *the First*. He had an only son Herbert (of whom we speak in a subsequent paragraph) and two daughters, the eldest, whose name is not known, married to Otho Count of Franconia, and BEATRICE, married to Robert Duke of France, son of Robert-le-Fort.

Pepin
Count of
Senlis and
Valois, died
after 883:
his family.

PEPIN, the third son of Pepin of Peronne, became Count of Senlis and Valois, leaving a son or grandson BERNARD, the *Bernard-de-Senlis* of the Norman chroniclers. A sister or half sister of Bernard-de-Senlis, whose name is unknown, was the *poppet*, the *bonne-amie* of Rollo, and mother of his son and successor, Guillaume-Longue-épée. The great families of Valois, Saint-Simon and Hamme, all come from Vermandois.

902—943.
Herbert II.

HERBERT, the only son of Herbert the first, dynastically reckoned Herbert *the Second*, was Count of Vermandois and also of Troyes, one of the most powerful feudatories of northern France. Well was he able to avenge himself upon the Carlovingians for the wrongs which his ancestor had sustained.

See § 59.

Sons of
Herbert II.

This Herbert the Second, had by his wife Hildebranda (according to some authorities daughter of Robert Duke of France, and if so, his own niece) five sons, to wit,—EUDES Count of Amiens,—ALBERT the First, Count of Vermandois,—Ro-

BERT Count of Troyes,—another HERBERT, who, ^{824—887}
upon the death of his brother Robert, became ^{840—1080}
Count of Troyes,—and HUGH who at the age of
five years was intruded by his Father Herbert
into the Archbishoprick of Rheims—This absurdly
indecent nomination was opposed, and Hugh ulti-
mately deprived, but the disputes occasioned
thereby were scandalously violent. Frodoardus of
Rheims, the most valuable historian of his era,
was persecuted and imprisoned for supporting
the cause of Artaldus, the canonical competitor.

Herbert the Second also had two daughters—^{Daughters of Herbert II.}
to wit, ALICE or ADELAIDE wife of ARNOLPH
Count of Flanders,—LUITGARDA married to her
kinsman GUILLAUME-LONGUE-ÉPÉE, and after his
death to THIBAUT-LE-VIEUX, or Thibaut-le-Tri-
cheur, Count of Blois and Chartres; this Thibaut
being the son of Gerlo the Dane, the near relation
of Rollo.

ALBERT, surnamed the “Pious,” and dynas- ^{943—983.}
tically reckoned Albert the First, married Ger- ^{Albert I. Count of Vermandois.}
berga, daughter of Louis d'Outremer.—We are
under great obligations to Albert of Verman-
dois, for he introduced the first historian of
Normandy, Dudo, Dean of Saint-Quentin, her
Herodotus, to the patronage of Richard-sans-peur.

The Fiefs of Vermandois and Valois were ^{Herbert IV., died 1080, his daughter Adela, married to Hugh, son of Henry I.}
reunited in the person of Herbert the Fourth
(the lineal descendant of Count Albert), whose
only child Adela brought them to Hugh-le-Grand,

824—987 the Crusader, second son of Henry the First
 King of France—from Hugh and Adela came the
 840—1080 second line of Vermandois and Valois.

The Aquitanian line
 speedily
 extin-
 guished.

Pepin II.
 died about
 865. See
 Chap. III.

Charles,
 Abp. of
 Mayence,
 died 863.

§ 36. AQUITANIA'S unfortunate line was speedily extinguished.—PEPIN King of Aquitaine, second son of Louis-le-débonnaire, left two sons, the despoiled PEPIN the Second, king, pretender, monk and pirate, married (as is supposed) to the sister of Robert-le-Fort, but who died in prison, childless; and CHARLES, whom his uncle Charles-le-Chauve persecuted into holy orders. Unwilling to submit, the young prince escaped from Corbey, attempting to regain his secular rights; but misfortune humbled his spirit, and he ultimately accepted the obligations against which he had rebelled: an exemplary priest, Archbishop of Mayence, chosen to the see by clergy and people, he worthily fulfilled the duties to which he was called.

840—855.
 Lothair and
 his lineage.
 Disobedi-
 ence of
 his sons.

§ 37. LOTHAIR the Emperor, eldest son of Louis-le-débonnaire, left three sons, LOUIS, LOTHAIR and CHARLES. The lessons he, the father, had taught, were ill-calculated for the training of dutiful children. Avenging Nemesis compelled him to take a hearty drink from the self-same cup of bitterness: Louis, his eldest son, deprived him of the proudest portion of his Empire.

The election of Pope Sergius, made without Lothair's assent, excited his anger : he despatched a large army to Rome, commanded by Louis, for the purpose of enforcing obedience. Louis was thus placed in the same relative situation towards his father Lothair, as he, Lothair, had been placed with respect to his father Louis-le-débonnaire—entrusted with the like mission, exposed to the like temptation, furnished with the like opportunity. Pope Sergius and the Romans consistently acted in like manner as Pope Pascal and the Romans had formerly done. When Louis and the Frankish army approached the city, the Roman clergy and senators received the Emperor's son with royal honours. The Pope crowned Louis as King of Lombardy before Saint Peter's Altar. A second journey to Rome, a second *Rom-fahrt*, procured for Louis the Imperial Crown. It was not worth while to ask Lothair's consent : a species of mocking apology was made to him. Henceforward, though "*Lotharius Imperator*" might appear in Charter or Diploma, and the fealty-form be preserved to him, his sovereignty in Italy was gone. The prey Lothair tore from his father was snatched from him by his son.

Lothair's life wasted away obscurely and ignobly, his coasts grievously troubled by the Northmen, to whom he was compelled to cede large districts, no honour or respect rendered to his

834—837

840—855.

844.

Louis II.
(see § 38, 44)
crowned
King of
Lombardy
by Pope
Sergius.

Dec. 2.
850.

Louis II.
crowned as
Emperor
by Pope
Leo.

824—987 Imperial title, his health declining, his heart
 broken, the Pfaltz of Aix-la-chapelle, his ances-
 840—869 torial hall, became a wretchedness. He quitted
 the Palace once and for all, and, traversing the
 Ardennes repaired to Pruhm, the prison-house of
 so many of his family. Renouncing the world
 which was leaving him, he shrouded his head in
 the cowl, and died a professed monk in the Abbey.
 Yet posthumous vanity followed him there, and
 the monks adorned his tomb with a glorious
 epitaph.

Sept. 29.
 865.
 Death of
 Lothair.

844—875
 Louis II.
 eldest son
 of Lothair:
 see § 44.

Hermen-
 garda, see
 § 44, and
 chap. IV.
 § 2.

855—869
 Lothair II.
 second son
 of the
 Emperor
 Lothair,
 and his
 lineage.
 See § 39—
 42.

§ 38. LOUIS the Emperor, the eldest son of
 Lothair, married the clever and intriguing Engel-
 burga, supposed to be a daughter of the Duke of
 Spoleto, by whom he had two sons, who both
 died infants, and two daughters, one a professed
 nun, Abbess of Santa Giulia at Brescia, and HER-
 MENGARDA, married to Boso, son either of Bovo
 Count of the Ardennes, or of Theodorick Count
 of Autun, and brother or half-brother of Richard-
 le-Justicier Count or Duke of Burgundy.

LOTHAIR the second son, his father's name-
 sake (also dynastically styled Lothair the Second),
 was betrothed to Waldrada, sister of Gunther,
 Archbishop of Cologne, but married to Thiut-
 berga, sister of Hubert, Count, under Carlovingian
 supremacy, of Transjurane Burgundy, the Valais,
 Geneva and Chablais and the rest of modern
 Switzerland as far as the Reuss, moreover Abbot
 of three Abbeys, the royal Saint Maurice in the

Valais, Saint Martin of Tours and Luxeuil. He 824 867
 was killed in battle. 840—866

Lothair's conduct towards Thiutberga was detestably malevolent; and, seeking a divorce, he preferred the most foul and incredible accusations against her. The transactions connected with this repudiation do not belong to us, but they tended, far more than any political disaster could have done, to the degradation of the Carlovingian name. No children were born to Lothair the Second by Thiutberga, but by Waldrada he had one son, the unfortunate HUGH, Count or Duke of Alsace, and several daughters, two of whom must be noticed.—BERTHA, twice married, first to Thibaut Count of Arles, and secondly to Adelhard Marquis of Ivrea; and GISELLA married to Godfrey the Dane, who became a Carlovingian feudatory. Our attention must be directed to this Princess from the parallelism between her and Gisella, the daughter of Charles the Simple and wife of our Norman Rollo.

CHARLES King of Provence, the third and youngest son of the Emperor Lothair, died childless. 855—863.
Charles of
Provence.
See § 41.

§ 39. UPON the death of the Emperor Lothair his share of the Carlovingian inheritance, the Kingdom acquired by disobedience, violence, deceit and fraud, sustained further partitions: Lothair's piece of the rent garment was clutched 855—866
Partition
of Lothair's
Empire
amongst
his sons:
their dis-
ensions.

824—827 and tattered again and again by his nearest of
 kin, his three sons, and their two uncles, and the
 855—856. sons and the sons' sons of his sons and uncles,
 till the lineage ended.

Louis II.
 takes
 Italy. See
 § 44.

The process of political self-destruction which severed the Empire upon the death of Louis-le-débonnaire, continued after the death of Lothair, on a smaller scale, but with undiminished bitterness and virulence. The Emperor Lothair had directed and confirmed the partition of his third of the Carlovingian Empire, appointed to him by the treaty of Verdun. With respect to Italy, there was little to say; LOUIS, his eldest son, was in possession, Louis the Emperor, second of the name. But such confirmation as could be imparted by Lothair's declaration—for Louis-le-Germanique might contest his nephew's rights—was willingly bestowed.

Lothair II.
 takes vari-
 ous Austras-
 sian, Bur-
 gundian and
 other
 territories,
 constitut-
 ing the
 Kingdom
 of Lotha-
 ringia or
 Lorrain.

To his namesake, his second son, designated dynastically in the Carlovingian annals as **LOTHAIR** the Second, the Emperor Lothair gave the ancient and venerable seat of government, Aix-la-Chapelle, those portions of the pristine Austrasia which had not passed to Charles-le-Chauve and Louis-le-Germanique, and Transjurane Burgundy. This Kingdom did not correspond exactly with any of the former constitutional divisions of the Empire. It included many races and many tongues, the Tudesque, the Belgic and the Romance, in various dialects. The possession of Aix-

la-Chapelle might have entitled the elder Lothair to adopt the style of King of Austrasia. But the associations connected with the *ancien régime* were fretted out by the multiplied divisions, subdivisions and changes which the Empire had sustained, and the *Regnum Lotharii* assumed, at a very early period after its erection, the denomination of *Lotharingia*, *Lothier-regne*, or *Lorraine*.

824—837

865—866.

The extent and importance of this realm will be best understood by adopting a description given in the terms of more modern geography.—Lothair inherited from his father the thirteen Cantons of Switzerland with their allies and tributaries, East or Free Friesland, Oldenburgh, the whole of the United Netherlands, and all other territories included in the Archbishopric of Utrecht, the *Trois Evéchés*, Metz, Toul and Verdun, the electorates of Trèves and of Cologne, the Palatine Bishoprick of Liège, Alsace and Franche-Comté, Hainault and the Cambresis, Brabant (known in intermediate stages as Basse-Lorraine, or the Duchy of Lohier), Namur, Juliers and Cleves, Luxemburgh and Limburg, the Duchy of Bar and the Duchy which retained the name of Lorraine, the only memorial of the antient and dissolved kingdom.

CHARLES, the youngest son, received the remainder of Lothair's dominions, the counties of Ussez and the Vivarais on the right bank of the Rhone, various Burgundian provinces, including

Charles,
King of
Provence.
See § 41.

824—987 the duchy of Lyons, and generally the territories
 adjoining or bounded by the Jura, the Alps, Cot-
 855—856 tian or Penine, the Rhone and the Durance.

The finest portions of the Troubadour fatherland belonged to Charles. He held his Court at Lyons; but Provence proper, the land between the perennial rushing Rhone and the stony bed of the torrent Durance, was the most attractive portion of his dominions, and gave her name to the new kingdom.

856
 Conference
 at Orbe:
 the two
 elder bro-
 thers en-
 deavour to
 despoil the
 younger.

§ 40. In the year following their father's death, the three sons of Lothair came together at Orbe in the Burgundian Jura. The circular watch-tower of the castle where they assembled, a structure of very singular character, existed within our recollection, the last token of the dignity once possessed by the present obscure and insignificant town. As a matter of course, the three brothers met as rivals; and a quarrel ensued concerning the division of their inheritance. Louis, the Emperor, claiming all his father's dominions equally by pre-eminence and right of primogeniture, had a particular demand against Charles for the districts connected with the Alpine passes. Lothair for the same reason; whilst Charles also desired an extension towards the Alps or the Jura: so violently did they dispute that they came to blows in the Council-chamber. The scuffle being quieted, the two elder brothers, Louis and Lothair, though each was involved in sword-point

litigation against the other, agreed nevertheless cordially upon one proposition, that according to family precedent they would join in despoiling the younger and weaker. Lothair seized his brother Charles, and would have compelled him to be tonsured, but the nobles rescued the young prince from the hands of his brothers, and the design was frustrated.

The three sons of Lothair thus in conflict, their two uncles Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve prepared to assert their pretensions. They assumed that the treaties of Verdun, Thionville and Mersen conferred upon Lothair only a life-interest in his dominions, and that he being deceased, his sons had no right thereto.—Charles King of Provence, the youngest son of the Emperor Lothair, was the first who died, then King Lothair: the Emperor Louis, the eldest son, died last, and their several histories must therefore be related in corresponding sequence. But so long as they lived, they and their two uncles, Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve, and their cousins, Carloman, Louis and Charles, the sons of Louis-le-Germanique, and their second cousins Carloman and Louis the sons of Louis-le-Bégué and grandsons of Charles-le-Chauve, and the survivors and survivor of them, were worrying or warring for the dominions which had belonged to the cowl-clad corpse decaying beneath the convent-vault in the Ardennes.

824—967

856

Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve enter into the quarrel.

See § 41, 42, 44.

See § 45-52.

284—287

855—863

Charles
King of
Provence,
summary of
his history.

861.
Charles-le-
Chauve
invades the
Kingdom
of Charles
of Pro-
vence.

See Ch. III.

Charles,
king of
Provence,
died 863.

§ 41. CHARLES, King of Provence, possessed much talent, ability and goodness of disposition ; but he was afflicted by epilepsy, and he therefore continued unmarried and childless. Brothers and uncles, all hungry for his dominions, looked on in longing expectation for the dropping of that frail life which stood in their way. Charles-le-Chauve was the most impatient. A favourable opportunity occurred in consequence of the increasing infirmities of the king of Provence, who being unable to manage the affairs of government, acted by a noble who was appointed as a lieutenant or administrator. This inconvenient though needful arrangement displeased certain of the nobles, and they invited Charles-le-Chauve. France, at this period, was overrun by the marauding Danes, but Charles-le-Chauve was neither restrained by principle nor deterred by danger, and he invaded the territories of his helpless nephew. The subjects of that nephew were true men, and the rapacious uncle was driven back with disgrace. King Lothair was more prudent : he courted the sickly brother, who gratefully appointed him to be his heir. Charles died in a fit, and was buried in the Church of Saint Pierre at Lyons. This is not the Cathedral, but an abbatial Church, on the other side of the Saône.

§ 42. LOTHAIR prepared immediately to take possession of his brother's bequest, provoking at once a family contest; but Charles-le-Chauve, extremely perplexed by the Northmen, could not participate in the fray, so the Emperor Louis and Lothair, the two surviving brothers of king Charles of Provence, had to fight the matter out. The Danes were in very great force in the north of Germany: they had twice entered the Rhine, and as far as Cologne, and below, the river and its banks were occupied by their fleets and troops; yet Lothair, abandoning the defence of his own country, attacked his late brother's dominions: the Emperor Louis also. Troubles and difficulties induced them to agree upon a pacification: Lothair took the Lyonnais, the Duchy of Vienne, afterwards the *Delphinat*, or *Dauphinée*, the Vivarais and the county of Ussez; but the country relapsed into great disorder, and ere long was severed from the Carlovingian crown.

The dishonourable disputes arising out of Lothair's divorce occupied him during the whole of his reign. The Danes also continually troubled his dominions. Discredited and disgraced, he died of apoplexy at Piacenza. His wretched Queens, Thiutberga and Waldrada, both retired into monasteries.

824—867

863—869
Conclusion
of the reign
of Lothair
II.

864

Contest be-
tween his
brothers
for the Lo-
tharingian
kingdom,
which they
agree to
divide.Lothair II.
died 8 Aug.
869.

824—867

869—888

Lotharin-
gia, from
the death
of Lothair
to Charles-
le-Gras.

§ 43. AFTER King Lothair's death nine family competitors successively came into the field for that much-coveted Lotharingia, as well as for the remainder of Lothair's possessions, the domains which had devolved upon him by the death of his brother Charles—a crowd of competitors; for every dispute in this distracted family was necessarily a European war. First of all Lothair's son, Waldrada's son, the bold Hugh Count of Alsace; next his brother, the Emperor Louis; then his senior uncle Louis-le-Germanique and his junior uncle Charles-le-Chauve; subsequently his cousins Carloman and Louis, the sons of Louis-le-Germanique; moreover, their namesakes, the other Carloman and the other Louis, sons of Louis-le-Bégué; and after the deaths of Charles-le-Chauve and of Louis-le-Bégué, Charles-le-Gras.

Hugh, Waldrada's son, the son of a crowned Queen, might adduce strong and plausible reasons for maintaining that he was legitimate; but the power and influence of his opponents, all having an equally adverse interest against this Prince, caused him to be pronounced a bastard.—If Count Hugh was not his father's heir, then, according to treaties, the kingdom belonged to the Emperor Louis, and if he was removed, Louis-le-Germanique, the *Senior* of the family, was the heir. Such rights as Charles-le-Chauve might possess would place him fourth in order; but Charles who, amongst the nearest of kin had least claim—if

any principle held good in these disputes,—was the first who made a seizure of the prize. Louis-le-Germanique was very ill, thought to be in danger of death, Louis the Emperor opposing the Saracens, the inveterate foes of Christendom, Charles-le-Chauve himself, extremely driven by the Danes, who were then ravaging the north of France; but the opportunity was too tempting to be neglected. Charles-le-Chauve occupied Lotharingia; and, Hincmar of Rheims officiating, was very solemnly crowned and anointed king, according to the forms and ceremonies which had hallowed the accession of the Merovingian and Carolingian Sovereigns.

Sept. 9,
869.

Charles-le
Chauve
crowned
king of
Lotharin-
gia.

But this usurped Kingdom vanished, to the great depreciation of Carolingian royalty. Whilst Charles-le-Chauve was triumphing in the acquisition of the Lotharingian Crown, the Northmen were levying contributions in Touraine and Anjou, and uniting themselves with the Bretons. Louis-le-Germanique recovered his health and assembled his forces. Pope Adrian solemnly censured Charles for his rapacity; and the monarch, however ambitious, had a tender concern upon his mind, his amours with Richilda, which occupied him as much as a Kingdom. The consequence was a mutual compromise of claims between the King of France and Louis-le-Germanique. They agreed to share Lotharingia. The lot of Charles consisted of Burgundy and Provence, and most of those Lotharingian dominions where the French or Walloon

Aug. 8,
870.

Partition
of Lothair's
dominions.

824—987

855—875

tongue was and yet is spoken: the boundary-lines of the language not having sustained any material variation since the Carlovingian age; but he also took some purely Belgic territories, especially that very important district successively known as Basse-Lorraine, the duchy of Lohier, and Brabant. Modern history is dawning fast upon us. Louis-le-Germanique received Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Treves, Utrecht, Strasburgh, Metz,—indeed, nearly all the territories of the Belgic and German tongues,—and by the award of the arbitrators, he was considerably the gainer.

This division was settled with cautious minuteness; and the schedule enumerates all the *parcels*, as a conveyancer would say. Language seems to have exercised considerable influence in determining the apportionment. The unknown compiler of the ancient vernacular history which has acquired traditional celebrity under the conventional title of the “Chronicles of Saint Denis,” was so much puzzled by the uncouth Tudesque names that he left most of them out—he could not Frenchify them—*maintes autres villes et citez ne sont pas ici nommées, pour ce que le noms sont en langue Thyoyse, ou l'on ne peut assigner propre François*. A special disquisition would be required to elucidate this transaction, and the investigation would be well bestowed, for it was in Lotharingia that the antient Teutonic organization of the *gau* was first obliterated by

mediæval Feudality in the strict and legal sense of the term; and the dismembered states were amongst the most important in France and the Germanic Empire.

Treaties, however, were completely illusory: when Louis-le-Germanique was on his death-bed, and Charles-le-Chauve nearly in the same state, the latter attempted to usurp the dominion he had ceded to his brother; but he was shamefully defeated. The continuation of this section, and the fate of Lothair's wretched son, Count Hugh, whose eyes were torn out by Charles-le-Gras, will be found in subsequent chapters.

824—837

855—875

876.
Charles-le-
Chauve
contests the
whole of
Lotharin-
gia.

See Chap-
ters III. IV.

§ 44. LOUIS the Emperor and King, who survived his brothers and all their lineage—except Hugh of Alsace,—being engaged in the dissensions before narrated, reigned in a constant state of arduous, adventurous and varied conflict. The meteoric brilliancy of the Italian republicks has thrown the less popular, though not less instructive eras of her history under her Kings and Emperors, into comparative dimness. Mediæval Italy is, for the greater part, as an unenclosed waste—yet waste only because the land has been neglected, waiting for some historian to cultivate her fertility.

Louis II.
Emperor
and King.
See § 37,
38.

Calabria, Benevento, Apulia, swarmed with Saracen armies, threatening the whole of Italy.

834—967

}

855—875

At this period the Hesperian Peninsula was the bulwark of Latin Christendom against the common enemy. The jealousies of the Christians menaced the Empire with the subjugation sustained by Spain. The Counts and Dukes of Lombard blood never ceased to hate the house of Charlemagne, and the people of the south participated in those feelings. Adalgisius Count of Benevento, and another Count, Adalferius, yielding to the instigation of the citizens, rebelled against the Emperor. Combining with the Moslems, they basely and treacherously seized the Sovereign, whom they confined in the Castle. The names or titles of the Saracens who aided Adalgisius must be guessed at, under the disguises of *Saducto*, *Sado* or *Sadoan*, *Sogden* or *Sugdan*. Powerfully supported, however, by the Duke of Friuli and the Frankish soldiery, Louis was liberated; and a popular ballad is extant, written in alphabetical stanzas, commemorating the plot and the plot's frustration. This rhythm, which must have originated in some of the localities, where, however corrupted, the vernacular Latin had not yet been superseded by the lingua rustica or Romance, is a very remarkable monument of the grammatical confusion which disintegrated the classical tongue.

871.

Louis II.
traitorously
seized at
Benevento:
coeval
ballad
upon his
liberation.

Audite omnes fines terræ errore cum tristitia,
Quale scelus fuid factum Benevento Civitas.
Lhuduicum comprehenderunt sancto, pio Augusto.

Beneventani se adunarunt ad unum consilium,

824—987

Adalferio loquebatur, et dicebant Principi :

‘Si nos eum vivum dimitemus, certe nos peribimus.

855—875

‘Celus magnum preparavit in istam Provintiam,

‘Regnum nostrum nobis tollit : nos habet pro nihilum.

‘Plures mala nobis fecit. Rectum est, ut moriad.’

Deposuerunt sancto pio de suo palatio ;

Adalferio illum ducebat usque ad pretorium :

Ille verò gaude visum tamquam ad martirium.

Exierunt Sado et Saducto, inoviabant imperio.

Et ipse sanctè pius incipiebat dicere :

‘Tamquam ad latronem venistis cum gladiis et fustibus.’

Speedily did the tidings cross the Alps—the Emperor Louis is slain!—Joyful news this for his junior uncle Charles-le-Chauve, who had been eagerly coveting his nephew’s inheritance ; and he marched rapidly towards Mont-Cenis. Joyful news equally to his senior uncle Louis-le-Germanique, who immediately despatched his third and youngest son Charles to secure the Burgundian passes.—Was there any concert between these uncles and the Beneventine patriots ? Had bruit or message from Adalgisius or Adalferius the Lombard Counts, or from Saracen Cid or Saracen Soldan, prepared the Kings of France and Germany for the intelligence ?—But the expectations of both these kinsmen were disappointed : the safety of Louis became known, and moreover how completely he had been rescued from his enemies. Charles-le-Chauve, who had left France in prey to the Danes, halted at Besançon and

871
Louis-le-
German-
ique and
Charles-le-
chauve
prepare to
seize Italy.

834—987 turned back; and the expedition headed by the
 855—875 younger Charles was abandoned.

Both retraced their journeys, but without retracting their designs. There was no period during the reign of the Emperor Louis in which he and his brothers and uncles were otherwise than unfriendly or inimical—always grudging, envying or fighting.

The Carolingians exhausted all their bad passions on their nearest kinsmen, and reserved their amiabilities for strangers, a species of favouritism not very uncommon. Louis the Emperor was mild, charitable, merciful, generous and brave: under more auspicious circumstances he might have been another Trajan. He nobly asserted his imperial dignity against the cavils of the Constantinopolitan Emperor. Had not his strength been wasted in family dissensions, the Franks might have renovated the prosperity of the Peninsula, and emulated the glory of the Roman Empire. Prosecuting an undaunted warfare against the infidels, nine thousand (as it is said) fell, when opposed to the Imperial army, in the battle of Capua, one amongst a series of successful conflicts. Crowned with the laurel in the Capitol by the Pope, amidst the salutations of the Roman Senate and Roman people, and going forth in stately procession to the Lateran Palace, the triumphal honours of the ancient Cæsars, the testimony of national gratitude, were

872

Louis successful
 against the
 Saracens—
 his Roman
 triumph.

fitly revived in favour of the victorious Emperor. ^{824—837}
 But his fortune suddenly declined: a comet, fear- ^{855—875}
 fully resplendent,—“a torch,” they called the
 blazing star,—alarmed Italy. The Saracens re-
 turned and burned Benevento;—Louis, who was ^{Aug. 18,}
 then in the neighbourhood of Brescia, died on ^{875.}
 the following day, and his corpse was tempora- ^{Death of}
 rily deposited in the Duomo of Saint Philaster. ^{Emperor}
 There congregated the Bishops and Clergy of ^{Louis II.}
 Lombardy with hymn and psalm, and the lamen-
 tations of the crowds conjoining, they bore the
 body to Milan. Andrea the priest, our Chronicler,
 was one of the supporters of the bier: they buried
 Louis in Sant’ Ambrogio.

The Lombard magnates assembled at Pavia
 to deliberate concerning the succession. Hermen-
 garda, the high-minded daughter of Louis, his only
 child, had been betrothed to Constantine, son of
 the Emperor Basil. Another Irene, she might
 have been thought worthy of the Imperial Crown;
 but the Lombard nobles wished to weaken the
 Royal authority by dividing the Monarchy. They
 proposed that the government should be exer-
 cised by two Sovereigns, the one to be a check
 upon the other, and they invited both Louis-le-
 Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve to share the
 Kingdom. Louis-le-Germanique was detained
 at Frankfort by troublous affairs, and therefore
 he sent his youngest son Charles, his third son,
 the stripling whom the Italians called by the
 affectionate diminutive, Caroletto.

⁸⁷⁵
 Louis-le-
 Germa-
 nique and
 Charles-le-
 Chauve
 both in-
 vited by
 the Lom-
 bard
 nobles.

824—987

855—857

Hermen-
garda's
aspirations.
See Chap.
IV. § 2.

Charles-le-Chauve came in person : Berengarius his nephew, the son of Everard Duke of Friuli by Gisella the daughter of Louis-le-débonnaire, assisted him powerfully ; and Charles-le-Chauve obtained the Crown, but not to keep it—"I will not live," said the maiden Hermengarda, "if I, the daughter of an Emperor and the betrothed of an Emperor, do not make my husband a king." Boso won the blooming heroine, and when she had a husband, she succeeded in gaining for him a kingdom (though not in Italy), which, more than any other usurpation, accelerated the downfall of the Carlovingian dynasty.

826—876

Louis-le-
German-
ique.

§ 45. LOUIS-LE-GERMANIQUE, the third son of Louis-le-débonnaire, considered himself, after the death of his brother Lothair, as the head of the family. He was not Emperor : that dignity belonged to Louis his nephew ; but the Imperial title was, in his estimation, irrelevant :—the law of nature and the directions of the *Charta Divisionis* rendered the Senior's right infeasible. The talent of Louis-le-Germanique was great, his disposition generous : deservedly was Louis loved by the Germans as their first national king. But the Carlovingian curse neutralized all his virtues. We have seen how he had violated every natural feeling towards his father. The slaughter of the battle of Fontenay did not mitigate his enmity against his brothers. Louis was

an excellent ally to the fiercest enemies of the Empire: his strifes and bickerings with his nephews, the sons of Lothair, have been already noticed, but he did much worse. Accepting the invitation offered by certain discontented nobles, the treaties of Verdun and Mersen vanished into smoke; and at the very time when Charles-le-Chauve was enveloped by the Danes and distracted by his children and his nephews, Louis-le-Germanique invaded France, and nearly succeeded in expelling Judith's son from the kingdom.

824—887
 826—876

858—859
 Louis-le-Germanique attempts to dethrone Charles-le-Chauve. See Chap. III.

A rapid turn of affairs replaced Charles-le-Chauve, but the German and French branches of the Carlovingian family were henceforth permanently separated and frequently hostile: families foreign to each other, antagonistic kingdoms, co-operating only for mutual destruction. Louis-le-Germanique married an "Emma," a noble lady of doubtful lineage, but known by this name or epithet, and the better commemoration of goodness, virtue and great piety. He had three sons by her, CARLOMAN, LOUIS and CHARLES: Carloman, magnanimous in disposition, distinguished by beauty and vigour, pleasant in speech, mild and gentle: Louis affectionate, wise, learned: Charles, the youngest, the Caroletto of the Italians, apparently energetic, prescient and qualified for his high station. But in none of these sons had their father any comfort: there was no antidote for the hereditary Carlovingian contagion of disobedience; and the disobedient father received his due reward.

His troubles with his children. § 47, 48, 49.

824—887

826—876

Oppres-
sions sus-
tained by
the Scla-
vonian na-
tions.

§ 46. No subjects were so troublesome to the Carolingians as the Sclavonians, and with sorrowful reason on both sides, savage revenge being kindled by savage oppression, and the oppressors avenging the revenge. The Teutonic nations treated the Sclavonians as we view “natives,” or “aborigines,” a genus somewhat inferior to man and not so valuable as the beast, to be left alive only when they could not be exterminated—to be cleared off, to be evicted or improved from the face of the earth: creatures not having any right to be fed at the great table of Him by whom the fulness is bestowed; in short, a race “doomed” according to the stereotyped phrase, “to be extinguished by the progress of civilization.”

The history of the transactions between the Sclavonians and their cognate races and the Germans, is a hideous page in the dark book of human calamity.—Join not in abetting prosperous crime by the most pernicious of deceptions, the sophistry which encourages wickedness by the cant vocabulary of praise, the pretence of faith, or the promise of renown: the spirit which adopts for heroes Cromwell in Ireland or Cœur-de-Lion in Palestine. When the Grand Master of the Livonian Knights received investiture, the Prelate of the Order pronounced the following words:—*Das Schwerdt empfang durch meine hand—Zum Schutze Gottes und Marien land.*—The slaughter of the Lithuanians is scarcely so

fearful as the moral delusion which fell upon the priestly-soldier or soldier-priest by whom the benediction was bestowed or received.

824—987

876

At the commencement of the Carlovingian era, the Elbe separated the great Teutonic and Slavo-Wendish families.—The Sclavonians combined Oriental aptness with European firmness: a patriarchal nation, simple and primitive, clinging together by those strong ties of affection which peculiarly belong to that state of society. A strange tradition floated amongst them, telling how Alexander the Great, out of love for Roxolana, had granted his Empire to them by charter. Subdued by the Carlovingians, reduced to galling bondage in some parts of the German North, and rendered tributary in others, their spirit was unbroken, and whenever opportunity served they rose against their tyrants. They fought for all that can be dear to mankind—land and liberty, language and nationality.

Both parties were wild, both ferocious, both treacherous, both merciless; but the Germans the most condemnable, for they made the higher profession. The violence exercised towards these unhappy people is not so odious as the insolent arrogance by which the Teutons asserted their ascendancy, scarcely effaced in our own times. In the last century, no workman of Slavo-Wendish blood could be admitted into the trading guilds: *Vetter Michel*, the unwashed cobbler, would not bear the smell of a Wend.—Even more signi-

824—887
 826—876
 ficant is the fact, that the term *Slave*, according to its own meaning, *Glory*, should have been converted by the Germanic nations into the degrading sense which the word now conveys, the perversion testifying the burning brand of contempt stamped by the Germans upon the nation to whom the name belonged.

In relating these deeds, the Germans are tranquilly complacent. Literature perpetuates all national injustices. Clio cannot tell truth: she cannot help being a false thing, it is her nature: it is the inherent deceit of history, the subtle deceit, the irremediable deceit, to be essentially subjective, and therefore inevitably selfish. For want of an history written by an Helot, how little do we know of Sparta.—But this by the way.

Annoy-
 ances given
 to Louis by
 his sons.
 Carloman
 See § 49.

Arnolph
 son of Car-
 loman. See
 § 52.

§ 47. CARLOMAN had been invested by his father with the Sclavonian duchy of Carinthia. The mother of his children was Lituinda, a Carinthian damsel of royal or noble race, to whom the designation of wife is refused by the French and German chroniclers. Their son ARNOLPH, wise and prudent, was very remarkable for his beauty; and his cheerful spirit corresponded with his aspect: their daughter GISELLA was married to Zwentibold King of the Moravians. The first instances known in history of any alliances between Teuton and Sclavonic blood are furnished by the family of Carloman. This connection

made Carloman more akin to the Sclavonians: he leagued himself with Rastiz King of the Wends, and usurped a large portion of the Sclavonian and Pannonian territories, which Louis-le-Germanique had inherited or acquired. The enmities and dissensions with his father continued many years: Carloman was deprived of his duchy, reconciled, put in arrest, escaped, revolted over and over again, and never settled into any satisfactory relations with his father so long as they lived.

LOUIS-LE-JEUNE, or LOUIS THE SAXON, was equally troublesome. Affronted, because certain benefices had been given to Carloman, he excited the Thuringians and Saxons to insurrection, took under his protection various rebellious noblemen whom his father had deprived of their lands, and did not scruple to deceive his father by false oaths and false declarations: Louis-le-Jeune, like his elder brother, was engaged in fierce hostility against his uncle Charles-le-Chauve.

CHARLES, Caroletto, the youngest son of Louis-le-Germanique, was insolently disobedient to his father, and indeed imitated his brothers in their unkindness.—Yet now and then there were short, bright intervals in the lives of the sons, when they were useful, kind and affectionate to their father,—touches of sweetness in his weary life, more weary towards its close.

The successful enlargement of his Kingdom, and the still greater success of earning the affection

824—987

826—876

Louis-le-Jeune or Louis the Saxon. See § 50.

See Chap. III.

Charles, § 51.

Other troubles sustained

824—887 of his subjects, gave Louis-le-Germanique no joy. Slavonians and Northmen troubled him again and again. Germany was visited by an extraordinary plague—swarms of locusts producing famine by their ravages, pestilence by their corruption—winters of uncommon severity. It was when Germany was thus afflicted, that the Slavonians renewed their efforts to recover their freedom. Threescore and ten years had passed over the head of Louis, but he could not rest. He made a fruitless attempt to win Italy, and only reaped disappointment. Emma died, to her husband's inconsolable grief; yet, amidst all these troubles, he directed another expedition against his brother Charles-le-Chauve, when death, and death alone, ended their discord.—All the children of Louis-le-débonnaire were enemies from cradle to grave.

876
28 Aug.
Death
of Louis-
le-Ger-
manique.

876—877 § 48. UPON the death of Louis-le-Germanique, his dominions, so well governed by him, were, according to inveterate custom, divided, giving a further impulse to the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire. Louis-le-Germanique made an apportionment during his life-time, which the coheirs prepared to contest. In the congress held at Swalifeld they settled the matter with somewhat less bickering than usual, but still continuing that severance of the Teutonic nations which forbids the unity of their "Vaterland."

876—877
Dissen-
sions of the
sons of
Louis-le-
German-
ique.

§ 49. CARLOMAN took Baioaria, Bohemia, ^{824—887} Carinthia, dominions including the mediæval ^{877—880.} Duchy of Austria, and a portion of those Pannonian plains to which the terrible Hungarians, ^{Carloman's share and reign.} the Mogors, commanded by their Seven Hetumogors, the chieftains wary and fierce, Arpad, and Zobolsu, and Curzan, and Ete, and Lelu, and Zemera, and Horcu, were marching. But a higher fortune was preparing for Carloman. Upon the death of the Emperor Louis, he challenged Italy. ^{877.} This involved him in sharp and ^{Carloman obtains the kingdom of Italy and the Imperial dignity.} successful competition with his uncle Charles-le-Chauve. Graceful, courteous, energetic, Carloman won the favour of the Italian nobles and was saluted Emperor. With singular generosity he exhibited the rare example of kindness to a brother, surrendering to Louis the Saxon the portions of Lotharingia which had devolved to him. Yet it is quite consistent with Carloman's character to suppose that sound policy supplied the place of principle—his prudence restrained the appetite of dominion; and he felt the expediency of retaining a territory so far distant from the Imperial Kingdom which he now ruled. Carloman's youth, bodily and mental power and talent, promised to revive the waning glories of the Carolingian Crown; but having entered the second year of his reign, Carloman, the strong ^{879.} man, fell, smitten by the palsy. ^{Carloman struck by the palsy.} Speech was restored in a very slight degree to the sufferer, who was immediately beset by his anxious bro-

824—987
 876—882
 22 March,
 880.
 Death of
 Carloman.
 881.
 Charles,
 King of
 Italy, &c.
 See § 62 and
 Chap. IV.

thers. Louis determined to obtain the Baioarian and Sclavonian dominions, and prevailing upon the nobles to support him and none other, he compelled the poor helpless hopeless Carloman to sign an instrument by which he surrendered himself, his wife and his son, into his brother's guardianship. Charles established himself in Italy. The two committees of person and estate (the technical terms of our practical jurisprudence are not inappropriate) had the decency to wait for the absolute assumption of royal authority till the breath was out of the dying man's body—but their patience was not tried long.—Carloman died in the course of the next year; Louis annexed the German and Sclavonian dominions of Carloman to his own, bestowing however the Duchy of Carinthia upon his nephew Arnolph:—Charles (to whom we soon return) was invested with the iron Crown at Pavia.

876—882.
 Louis the
 Saxon.

§ 50. LOUIS THE SAXON had the country which gave him his denomination; moreover Franconia, Friezeland, Thuringia, and, by the bounty of his brother Carloman, Basse-Lorraine. He was twice married—his first consort, the daughter of Count Adelard, he espoused against the wishes of his father. From her he separated; possibly they were only betrothed, possibly also she was the mother of his son Hugh, considered to be illegitimate By Luitgarda, the daughter of

Ludolph Duke of Saxony, he had one son, whom he christened by his own name,—a precious life was this infant Louis to his father;—and, Hugh being excluded, the child was his designated heir. As soon as Louis had in the manner before mentioned acquired Basse-Lorraine, Charles-le-Chauve, without any warning, invaded the country for the purpose of annexing the province to the dominions which the Northmen were wresting from him. Louis the Saxon, on his part, fought bravely and with exasperation: Charles-le-Chauve was compelled to retreat disgracefully, and in anguish of mind.

824—887

876—882

See Chap. III.

Louis the Saxon hated the French branch of his family. When his cousins in the second degree, Carloman and Louis, sons of Louis-le-Bégué and grandsons of Charles-le-Chauve, were almost ruined by the northern invasions, he profited by their distress, extorted from them the residue of that much-coveted Lorraine country, and subsequently endeavoured to dispossess them of the whole kingdom of France.

See § 84 &c. Chap. IV.

The dexterous management adopted by Louis, and the death of Carloman, gave him Baioaria and Baioaria's dependencies; but whilst he was taking possession of the fine German kingdom, he sustained the most grievous loss,—his child, his fondling namesake, who accompanied him to Ratisbon to witness his inauguration, fell from the palace-window and was deplorably killed.

880.

Unfortunate death of the child Louis.

824—987 The dominions of Louis were repeatedly ravaged
 by the Northmen. He gained a complete victory
 876—882 over them in the Ardennes, but their impetus
 did not sustain any check; and the death of the
 880—881 young prince Hugh, a brave and honest son, was
 Battles with the Northmen. a loss scantily compensated to Louis by the vic-
 tory. In the subsequent battle at Ebsdorf, his
 troops were totally defeated by King Eric and
 the Northmen. His brother-in-law Bruno, two
 882. Bishops, twelve Counts and eighteen Palatine
 Death of Louis the Saxon. officers, were slain. Louis sickened and sunk
 under his trials and troubles, and died of vex-
 ation and sorrow.

876—888. § 51. CHARLES, the Caroletto of the Italians, the
 Charles-le-Gras and his acquisitions. third and youngest son of Louis-le-Germanique,
 received Alemannia or Suabia. He once was
 visited by a strange and sudden horror, crying
 out that he was pursued by a Demon. Popular
 opinion attributed this attack to distress of mind,
 remorse for the great trouble he had occasioned
 to his father. His mental faculties were never
 afterwards affected, but excessive corpulence gave
 him an unseemly appearance, approximating to
 infirmity. *Caroletto*, as he grew older, waxed
 into *Carlone*, his unwieldy obesity suggested the
 half-ludicrous popular epithet by which he is so
 unhappily recognized,—“Karl der dicke,” “Caro-
 lus Crassus,” Charles-le-Gras.—

He seems to have been twice married: the name of his first wife is not known—during this period of confusion chronicles become scanty. His second wife was Richarda, defamed as an adulteress, a crime of which she offered to clear herself by the ordeal; but Charles never cohabited with her. One only son he had by an unmarried mother, Bernard the *namzer*, whom he laboured to establish as his successor. Towards the close of his life, Charles launched suddenly into a brilliant career of success, promising a splendid future. Charles having attached himself in the first instance to his brother Carloman, obtained Lombardy by that brother's opportune demise. He then advanced rapidly to Rome: Nobles and Pope yielded, and on the Feast of the Epiphany he received the Imperial crown from the hands of the Pontiff.

824—987

876—888

880.

Charles-le-
Gras, King
of Italy,6 Jan. 881,
receives the
Imperial
Crown.

Thus suddenly placed in the highest dignity of the West, another great promotion opened to him upon the death of Louis the Saxon. Charles the Emperor, King of Lombardy, King of Alemannia, was unanimously invoked by the Germans as their protector and defender.—Let him proceed in re-establishing the integrity of the Empire: let Italy and Germany again be protected by the might of one supreme Sovereign.—The Lombards joined his standard with alacrity.

882

He ac-
quires Ba-
ioaria upon
the death
of Louis the
Saxon.

Equally successful was Charles north of the Alps.—Kaiser Karl is coming!—he was greeted

824—987 at Worms with exuberant joy.—Kaiser Karl is coming! Bavarians, Saxons, Franks, Thuringians and Alemanni mustered to his support, and all Germany gladly obeyed him.

884

Charles-le-Gras King of France. See § 63, 64.

Emperor Charles was pursuing a consistent scheme, he was seeking to reunite the dominions of his great ancestor: the premature deaths of the childless Louis and Carloman, the sons of Louis-le-Bégué, accelerated the accomplishment of his plans. The infant Charles-le-Simple, the posthumous son of Louis-le-Bégué, being rejected, the Emperor Charles-le-Gras, King of Lombardy and King of Germany, became King of France, and Charlemagne's supremacy seemed to be restored. But for how long?—Charles-le-Gras was deposed, begged his bread, and is supposed to have been strangled. His son, the favoured Bernard, died in obscurity and misery.

888

His miserable death.

887—921 Arnolph and his lineage.

§ 52. ARNOLPH, the Sclavo-Teuton, the noble, the honest, the sturdy son of Carloman and Liutwinda, now acquired the kingdom of Germany. Shortly afterwards he was elevated to the Empire by the unanimous voice of the nobles. His ability fully justified their choice, and his talents and virtues promised an era of national prosperity; but after obtaining the dignity, three years only of life were allotted to him, and he died leaving two sons, ZWENTIBOLD and LOUIS, whom the Ger-

899

Death of Arnolph.

mans call *Ludwig das Kind*, "Louis the child," also three daughters—HADWISA, married to Otho duke of Saxony—GLISMONDA, married to Conrad of Fritzlar, Count of Franconia and Wetteravia—and BERTHA, married to Luithard, Count of Cleves.

In the meanwhile the Carlovingian Empire was rapidly dissolving. EUDES, Count of Paris, ascended the throne of France. Boso, Hermengarda's husband, founded the Kingdom of Provence. BERENGER, a most energetic and renowned Sovereign, "*il Re Berengario*," was made King of Italy and Emperor, the Lombard nobles the Roman people and the Papal sanction all concurring; but the German nobles would only recognize LUDWIG DAS KIND, who, being seven years of age, was inaugurated as king of Germany in the Diet of Forsheim. Zwentibold was appointed to Lorraine by his father; his harshness offended the influential leaders, they excited his brother Ludwig, or rather his partisans, to dethrone him; and Zwentibold was slain.

Misfortunes thickened upon Germany. The "Feud of Babenburgh" plunged Suabia and Alemannia into all the miseries of civil war: the Magyars spread themselves far and wide into Thuringia and Saxony and beyond. Amidst these calamities, the young Emperor Ludwig suddenly died, being about fifteen years of age. The chronicles, usually so ample in obituary details concerning monarchs, scarcely notice his death:

824—987

899

See § 54, 59.

899

Ludwig
das Kind
(Louis III.
or IV.) his
son, called
to the
Throne.See chap.
III. § 2.Died 21
Jan. 911.

824—987 even the place where the event happened is not known. It should seem as if there were some reason for their reticence. The male lineage of Charlemagne in this branch being thus extinguished, CONRAD, the son of Glismonda and Conrad of Franconia, quietly established himself upon the Throne. The country was in such a state of exhaustion, that clergy, nobles and people in general cared not either to assent or to dissent when Conrad was proposed by his partizans. The Car-
 911—917
 Conrad I.
 King of the
 Germans.
 Extinction
 of the Car-
 lovingian
 Imperial
 dignity.
 lovingian supremacy in Germany expired; and, after many vicissitudes, the Imperial dignity was re-settled into the new form of that organization whose style involves an irreconcilable contradiction in terms, the so called "Holy Roman Empire."

840—877 § 53. We now revert to the youngest branch of the dying Carlovingian race, in which the struggle for existence was longest maintained.
 Charles-le-
 Chauve and
 his chil-
 dren.

The first wife of CHARLES-LE-CHAUVE, the first king of France, was Ermentruda, the daughter of Eudo Count of Orleans, pious and affectionate, seeking to be a peacemaker, but unrequited by her husband's love. Charles longed for her death, and that death enabled him to espouse RICHILDA, with whom he had previously cohabited. This lady, concubine and Queen, was sister or half-sister of Boso (the husband of Her-

mengarda), who by this marriage therefore became brother-in-law to the King.

824—887

840—877

Unhappy in his kingdom, more unhappy in his family, scarcely able to defend himself against the perfidious attacks of his brother Louis, Charles-le-Chauve was the assailant, in his turn, of all his nephews and great nephews, being also involved in harassing dissensions with his own children. He had eight sons, four by Ermen-truda, four by Richilda,—all sons of bitterness or sorrow.

LOUIS-LE-BÉGUE, the eldest son, stammered exceedingly, a great hinderance, the faculty of addressing his warriors being no less needful to a King than the power of vaulting on his steed. Charles interfered with the affections of Louis, provoking him to disobedience; and Louis became a discontented and grudging son, crossing his father's intentions, and courting and supporting his father's enemies.

Louis-le-Bégue died 879.

The second son, CHARLES, was appointed King of Aquitaine by his father. Bold, ambitious and able, he, during his short life, repeatedly rebelled against his parent, and brought on his own death by an idle frolic. Returning late in the evening from a hunting party, heated perhaps by the cups of Bordeaux wine, he boyishly entered into a scuffle with his companions, youths like himself, one of whom, Alboin, not recognizing him in the dark, angrily struck him on the head

Charles King of Aquitaine died 868.

824—987 with a sword. The blow was not immediately fatal; but Charles became insane, and lingered painfully during two years before he died.

Lothair
died 896.

LOTHAIR, the third son, was born lame and unhealthy: humble, affectionate, diligent and pious, his disposition was excellent. Nominated Abbot of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, he died at an early age.

851—873.
Carloman
died 866.

CARLOMAN, the fourth son, was also compelled by his father to take Orders. Very ample preferment was bestowed upon him: the Abbey of Saint Médard, Saint Riquier or Centulla, Lombes and many others: thereby exciting great scandal. This misappropriation was most unfortunate to all parties. Carloman would not be contented: he teased his father, cheated him, conspired, rebelled, and, being tried for his treasons, was condemned to lose his eyes. Charles-le-Chauve sanctioned the execution of his sentence, and it was so far mercifully carried into effect as not to kill the victim. The poor blinded wretch was harboured by his uncle Louis-le-Germanique, and maintained in a monastery out of charity. He died childless.

The four above mentioned were Ermentruda's sons. By Richilda, that loved Richilda, Charles-le-Chauve had four more—Pepin, Drogo, a second Louis and a second Charles, all of whom died young or infants: the last, when his parents were in great distress.—Charles-le-Chauve had

several daughters: all became Abbesses except Judith, an undutiful girl of ungovernable passions, whose first husband was Ethelwulf, king Alfred's father. After his death, she contracted a scandalous marriage with her step-son king Ethelbald. Of her third husband, Baldwin the Forester, we shall speak fully hereafter.

824—887

841

Judith.
(see Chap.
IV. § 1.)

§ 54. LOUIS-LE-BÉGUE inherited his father's dominions: in early life he had been much attached to Ansgarda, sister of a Burgundian Count, Eudes or Odo. Charles-le-Chauve refused his assent to this union, wishing to effect a State-alliance between Louis and a Breton (or *Breyzad*) princess. Louis, therefore, espoused Ansgarda clandestinely, but was compelled by his father to divorce her, and she was defamed as a concubine. The projected match with the betrothed daughter of the Armorican king Herispoë failed, and Louis then married an *Adeliza* or princess, named JUDITH, whose lineage cannot be determined: this marriage was also of doubtful validity.

877—929
Louis-le-
Bégue and
his chil-
dren.
(see Chap.
IV.)

LOUIS-LE-BÉGUE, sickening about the time of his accession, never recovered his health, but lingered and died before he had attained the age of thirty-four years, or completed the second of his reign. By Ansgarda he had two children, LOUIS and CARLOMAN, who succeeded to their father's dominions, and reigned jointly—both most promising youths, singularly affec-

10 April,
879.
Louis-le-
Bégue died.

824—987

936—987

Louis III.
died 882,
Carloman
died 884.

tionate to each other, both valiant, both bitterly assailed by their cousin Louis the Saxon, who contested their title, and both died childless; Louis, the eldest, first, and Carloman two years after, cut off by violent deaths, caused through their own rashness or imprudence—they threw their lives away.

Charles-le-Simple
excluded
in the first
instance by
Charles-le-Gras. (see
Chap. IV.
§ 21.)

(See § 59.)

CHARLES, whose honesty earned for him the epithet of "LE-SIMPLE," son of Louis-le-Bégue by the Adeliza Judith, a posthumous child, struggled bravely, but unsuccessfully against treachery and misfortune. Excluded in the first instance from the succession by his ambitious uncle Charles-le-Gras, he was compelled to yield to EUDES CAPET, who assumed the royal title. Charles had also to contest the throne with ROBERT Duke of France the brother of Eudes. Supposed to have been thrice married, Charles had two children. Historical theory cannot decide whether the first consort was wife or concubine, and there is much obscurity concerning Frederuna, the second. The third was Elfgiva, or Eadgiva, the daughter of our Edward the Elder. By the unknown companion of his bed, Charles had the daughter who was given to Rollo,—GISELLA, a name not unfrequent in the Frankish genealogies, yet somewhat perplexing, inasmuch as it may possibly be only an epithet or a by-name—perhaps *Gesellin*, a companion, or perhaps *Gisle*, or *Gisla*, a hostage, or pledge of friendship or love.

By Elfgiva he had one son, LOUIS, afterwards surnamed LOUIS-D'OUTREMER. 824—887

Finally deposed by RAOUL or RODOLPH King of Burgundy the son of Richard-le-Justicier, Charles-le-Simple died in captivity. 893
Charles-le-Simple
finally de-
throned
923, died
929.

§ 55. LOUIS-D'OUTREMER, son of Charles-le-Simple by Elfgiva, obtained the throne upon the death of Raoul: a fugitive in his childhood, a fugitive in maturer age, he was killed by a strange mischance, either caused by or connected with insanity. 936—987
Descendants of
Charles-le-Simple.
Louis-
d'Outremer
died 954.

Louis was married to Gerberga, daughter of Henry the Fowler, duke of Saxony and afterwards king of Germany, by whom he had three children who attained man's estate, LOTHAIR, CARLOMAN and CHARLES.—LOTHAIR succeeded Louis in his kingdom. CARLOMAN, given as an hostage to the Normans, died in captivity. CHARLES was invested with the dukedom of Lorraine by his cousin the Emperor Otho. This Charles Duke of Lorraine was married to Agnes, daughter of Herbert Count of Troyes, by whom he had two sons, Louis and Charles. From this family came the Dukes of Lohier or Brabant, the house of Guise, and, amongst numerous illustrious descendants, Godfrey of Boulogne. The Duke Charles endeavoured to vindicate his rights to the Crown of France, and partially succeeded;

396 DISSOLUTION OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

824—987 but, basely betrayed into the power of his enemies, he died in captivity.

987
Charles,
Duke of
Lorraine,
died 1101.
Lothair
died 986.

Louis-le-
Fainéant
died 987.

LOTHAIR died of poison, the crime being imputed to his adulterous wife Emma. He left one son, LOUIS-LE-FAINÉANT, who also died childless, poisoned (as is supposed) by his wife Blanche, the daughter of an Aquitanian nobleman,—and the third dynasty obtained the Throne.

Moral and
political
failure of
Carlovin-
gian Em-
pire.

The descendants of one *gros-vilain* gave place to another *gros-vilain*—the lineage was worried out, worn out, stricken and consumed. As the Carolingians began, so they closed. Force and fraud raised them up : force and fraud put them down.

§ 56. NEVERTHELESS the transcendent dignity of Charlemagne, steeped in fiction, and encreasing in splendour as his form receded into the mists of antiquity, perpetuated his empire upon popular imagination, more powerful than reason. Admiring nations bowed before the majestic Phantom. Whilst his real laws, his codes and institutions, were wholly effaced, the fabled Doze-peers rose as living beings before the world : centuries elapsed before the noble families, who boasted the blood of Charlemagne, entirely renounced the hope which their ancestry inspired.

But these dazzling though undefined visions received their tremendous realization in our own

age, when the Oriflamme's folds floated over the façade of Notre-Dame, and the Pontiff placed the Imperial Crown upon the brow of Napoleon, his throne surrounded by fantastic feudalism. Both Emperors, prototype, antitype, and also types of futurity, entered upon equivalent missions: both failed in gaining their hearts' desires.

824—987

987

Comparison between the Empires of Charlemagne and of Napoleon.

Self-deceived, Charlemagne would have sunk in confusion could he have comprehended how he performed not the good he sought, and did the evil he abhorred. Dimly conscious of his own intentions, unable to construe his own contending thoughts, Charlemagne's scheme of imperial sovereignty amounted to the erection of a Christian Caliphate. Emperor-Pontiff, head of the Catholic Commonwealth, head of the Church, head of the State, supreme in temporals, supreme in spirituals, *Emir-ul-Moslemin*, Commander of the Faithful, Christianity propagated and defended by the sword, Religion, fully acknowledged to be all-pervading and paramount, yet practically treated as a portion of human policy and entirely subordinate to human policy,—Such were the principles animating this phase of the Fourth Monarchy, emphatically symbolized by the heraldic crown of the "Holy Roman Empire," the mitre within and included by the diadem.

Napoleon sought the creation of an antichristian Imperial Pontificate, the Caliphate of Positive Civilization: his aspiration was the establishment of absolute dominion, corporeal and intellectual,

824—987 the mastery over body and soul, Faith respected
 only as an influential and venerable delusion:
 987 the aiding powers of Religion accepted until she
 should be chilled out and the unfed flame expire,
 and Positive Philosophy complete her task of
 emancipating the matured intellect from the re-
 maining swathing bands which had been needful
 during the infancy of human society. And the
 theories of Charlemagne and of Napoleon, though
 irreconcilably antagonistic in their conception,
 would, were either fully developed, become iden-
 tical in their results, notwithstanding their con-
 trarities. They start in opposite directions, but
 circling round, their courses would—were it per-
 mitted that they should persevere continuously
 and consistently—meet at the same point of
 convergence and attain the same end.

Moreover the territorial Empires of Napoleon
 and of Charlemagne had their organically fatal
 characteristic in common. Each Founder at-
 tempted to accomplish political impossibilities,
 to conjoin communities unsusceptible of amalga-
 mation, to harmonize the discordant elements
 which could only be kept together by external
 force, whilst their internal forces sprung them
 asunder—a unity without internal union. But
 even as the wonderful agencies revealed to mo-
 dern chemistry effect in a short hour the pro-
 cesses which nature silently elaborates during a
 long growth of time, so in like manner did the
 energies of civilization effect in three years that

dissolution, for which, in the analogous precedent, 824—987
seven generations were required.

987
Extinction
of the Car-
lovingian
legislation
and con-
stitution.

The devastations, the insatiate appetite of domination, the hereditary and contagious disobediences, the crimes, dissensions, hatreds which devoured the Carolingian dynasty, had produced political destruction long before the actual subversion of the Carolingian thrones. Charlemagne's great glory was his legislation, the wisdom speaking in his institutions, the activity and diligence which rendered words realities. But the descendants of Charlemagne trampled his Capitulars to rags in their battles and turmoils. After the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, these ordinances, enacted by the Sovereign in the general Diets of the realm, cease. The few occasional statutes which occur scarcely deserve the name of Capitulars, and even these soon terminate entirely. No longer was any general legislation exercised by the State: no attempt made to reform abuses or to enforce the vigour of the laws.

According to the Carolingian Constitution, justice was brought home to every man's door by the *Missi Dominici*, the Judges travelling their circuits and representing the Sovereign, the centre and source of remedial power: the Emperor was to afford redress when every other authority failed. Unless by the mandate or in the presence of these Judges, or of the Imperial Counts, the local legis-

824—887
 887
 lature; the Mallum, the Shire-moot, could not be convened. Counts were no longer regularly appointed. Those in office, whether holding for life, during pleasure, or hereditary, withdrew obedience from the Sovereign, and the regular administration of justice expired.

It was the law, that, upon the accession of a new Senior or Sovereign, or upon every mutation of a Lord, the vassals or tenants of Benefices had to renew their oaths of fealty as well as their homage. We have seen how feebly these solemn compacts were binding either upon honour or upon conscience, and the ceremonies were probably generally neglected. We gather this information from the great emphasis with which the performance of homage is noticed in certain particular instances, shewing that such an acknowledgement had become the exception and not the rule: these circumstances dissolved the bonds of political authority.

The subsequent situation of France testifies how completely the Carlovingian legislation was obliterated.—Contrast France and England. The Norman Conquest left the English nation possessed of the laws and usages of their Anglo-Saxon ancestors; but when the third dynasty ascended the French throne, not a vestige of the earlier jurisprudence remained—the Salic Judges, Arbogast, Widogast, Bodogast and Salogast were utterly forgotten: Legists would have been scared

by their very names. The dooms of the Salic and Ripuarian Franks and of the Burgundian and Gothic kings had all completely passed away. The antient laws were neither upheld by practice nor honoured by tradition; and hence the Carolingian system of legislation has, in the main, become a guess and a mystery.

824—987
 987

The Northmen broke down the hallowed tomb of Charlemagne, and stabled their horses upon his grave; and the Jews bury their dead where stood the marble-paved and porphyry-columned Palace of Ingleheim.—Charlemagne left nothing enduring except a name and a fable, an ivory horn, and the fag end of an old song.

§ 57. It might be expected that this utter collapse, this fainting-fit of civil government during the decline and fall of the Carolingian dynasty, would have produced complete extinction.—Not at all: France was nursing herself into future strength, and maturing the elements of national stability.

Social
 order pre-
 served by
 the Hier-
 archy.

Families might decay, kings be deposed, nobles slaughtered, the Courts of Justice disused, laws and lawgivers silenced, but there was a magistracy invested with a power not dependant upon kings, tribunals permeated by indestructible vitality. During this dark and dismal period, Carolingian France, almost a sacerdotal Commonwealth, was sustained by the Hierarchy. The French bishopricks, more than any other north

824—987

987

of the Alps, conformed to the civil, political and ethnographical repartitions of the country. The *Gallia Christiana* furnishes the best topographical commentary upon Cæsar's Commentaries. It is there that you find the principal data for the maps of *Gallia Romana* or *Gallia Antiqua*. Sanson and D'Anville, in making out the Ædui or the Bituriges, or the Carnutes, or the Cenomani, have had no sure guides except the episcopal circumscriptions. When these fail, as they sometimes do, topographer and geographer are at fault, and fight the fierce battle of archaeological controversy. The Romans, wise people, avoided disturbing the Gaulish populations more than was absolutely necessary. The Gaulish civitates, their boundaries unchanged, became the Roman governments; and the Christian dioceses of the earlier periods were always coterminous with the civil governments.

Bishops
representatives of
the people.

This territorial coincidence of the temporal and spiritual magistracies was extremely potential in the policy of the Gauls. In each diocese the Bishop was originally either virtually or literally elected by clergy and people. The liberty of elections had been restored by Louis-le-débonnaire; and although the Crown still continued to exercise considerable influence in the appointment of the pastors, and that influence was susceptible of abuse, yet the royal malversations in episcopal preferments, partially repressed by



the energy of the Church, never became so ^{824—987} mischievous and unprincipled as in the case of ⁹⁸⁷ the Abbeyes; and, very generally, the pervading spirit of the hierarchy corrected the individual unhealthiness, so that even royal nominees were converted into the most firm defenders of ecclesiastical liberty against the encroachments of the Crown. Therefore, generally speaking, each Diocese had a chief magistrate, a governor of the people representing the people; and the ecclesiastical synods, composed of these representatives, aided the debility or supplied the non-existence of the legislative or judicial powers, preserved good order, watched over public morals, and supported the dilapidated fabric of society. No hereditary senate, no delegated lay-assembly could possess equal independence, dare to speak so loudly or rebuke so sternly, none so efficiently protect the weak or be so bold against the strong. Kings quailed in the presence of the Priesthood; and the meanest were not beneath their care.

Yet Faith alone could never have resuscitated the State: the aid of the world's weapons is ^{The "Grands fiefs" of France.} needed for the world's human government: the kingdoms of the earth are earthly. It is a great misfortune for any country to be visited by a revolution, but far greater when no heroes are engendered qualified to ride upon the storm—a human help afforded only by God's providence. The demand does not necessarily create the supply.

824—987

987

Political crises occur when opportunity and temptation, the poignancy of suffering, the courageous cowardice of extreme danger or the highest call of patriotism, may all fail to elicit the bold, the honest, the prudent, the wise, or the greatly bad, to reconstitute the Commonwealth, or even to subdue anarchy by the tranquillity of despotism.

The new
lineages.

§ 58. It was otherwise with France.—Whilst the Carolingians are perishing off the land, we gradually discern the forefathers of those stately lineages, the Dukes, the Marquisses, the Counts, the Viscounts, the Châtelains, the Vîdames, prototypes of the fabled Paladins, paragons, if ever there were, of gallantry, spirit, gentleness, courage, courtesy and honour. The genealogists working in their vocation, the grateful monk, the obsequious herald, and the loyally laborious historian, have thought it their duty to discover for most or all of these lineages princely or royal ancestors, losing themselves in primitive eld. Some of the “great feudatories” were unquestionably saplings growing from the old roots, or grafts upon the old trunks; but the majority neither talked nor cared nor knew about such pedigrees. Virtue, in the Roman sense of the term, had been granted to them, their virtue raised them to their power.

Robert-le-
Fort.

Exalted amidst the throng of the new men, the *gros-vilains*, the men whose now time-honoured names had then no yesterday, was the Founder of

that fated family, bearing in irregular succession the various titles of Abbots, Counts, Dukes, Marquisses, Kings, working their bark through the wreckage of the Carlovingian Empire,—vassals, rivals, competitors, allies, ministers, masters of the doomed Carlovingian race—their fortunes chequered yet consistent, varied yet uniform—appearing to lose but gaining, rising and sinking, waxing and waning but never totally eclipsed, never dipping below the horizon,—retreating yet advancing—every discomfiture the step back before the leap, every adversity the forerunner of prosperity. Which amongst our European dynasties, taken all in all, can compete with the progeny of Robert-le-Fort, that lineage whose unbroken descent from man to man during a thousand years, the male heir never wanting, has been marked out for preservation through chance and change, peril and trial, triumph and degradation, virtue and vice, sanctity and sin, wisdom and folly, by a peculiar Providence, unparalleled in history?

824—987

987

§ 59. ROBERT-LE-FORT married Adelaide, widow of a Conrad, Count of Paris, probably the nephew of the Empress Judith. By her he had two sons, EUDES and ROBERT, both dukes of France, both kings of France, and RICHILDA, wife of Richard Count of Troyes.

867—987.
Robert-le-Fort and his lineage.
See Chap. III. § 35.

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824—987

867—987

Eudes died
898.
Robert II.
died 923.
See § 35.

EUDES, the good and brave, died childless. The second son, ROBERT, allied himself to the inimical lineage of Vermandois, espousing Beatrice, daughter of Herbert the first, Count of Vermandois, by whom he had three children, EMMA, wife and Queen of Raoul duke of Burgundy and King of France,—HILDEBRANDA, who added strength and influence to her mother's kindred by marrying Herbert the second, Count of Vermandois;—and HUGH, "Hugh-le-Grand," "Hugh-le-blanc," or "Hugh-l'Abbé;" the first epithet bespeaking his consequence, the second his complexion, and the third, the vast preferments which he held. Robert's second wife was Rothilda. This lady was closely but dubiously connected with Charles-le-Simple.

Hugh-le-Grand died
956.
Hugh Capet.

HUGH-LE-GRAND was thrice married: his first wife, Eadhilda, connected him with the royalty of England and of France, for she was daughter of Edward the Elder, sister of Queen Edgiva, and therefore aunt of Louis d'Outremer, the son of Edgiva by Charles-le-Simple. His second wife was Hadwisa, also called Edith, daughter of the Emperor Henry the Fowler, son of Otho the Great. His third wife, who died childless, is said to have been a niece of Charles-le-Simple. Hadwisa bore him several children, amongst whom two only need be here noticed, EMMA, wife of Richard-sans-peur, the grandson of Rollo, and HUGH CADET.

Such was the lineage of ROBERT-LE-FORT in ^{824—987} the descending grades, but whom do we encounter in the ascending?—“*Pipinus Rotberto comiti et Britonibus sociatur.*”—This phrase is absolutely ^{867—987} the first distinct notice we find concerning Robert-le-Fort in authentic history : no preface, no designation, not the slightest explanation of the commanding position which he had obtained. During two centuries subsequent to the death of Robert-le-Fort nothing whatever was recollected respecting his ancestry, except certain reports that his father was one Witikind, a Saxon stranger, a poor man probably, an humble man, but may be a stalwart soldier endued with energy and strength. In proportion as the Capetian Crown increased in brilliancy, so was more light reflected back upon the progenitors of the monarch, and you have half-a-dozen contradictory theories concerning the origin of the Capetian family.—Conradus Urspergensis Abbot of Lichtenau proves that Witikind was no other than the great and heroic chieftain of the Saxon race.—Chifflet the erudite deduces Robert-le-Fort from Guelph the Agilolphing.—Père Tournemine branches Robert off from Charlemagne ; and Legendre from Ansprandus, king of Lombardy.—Zampini takes Childebert as the stem,—and Monsieur le duc d’Epernay discerns a misty Nibelung.—In each of these conflicting pedigrees, and they are spread before us, there is not as you read them a hitch or a

Robert-le-Fort : obscurity of his ancestry.

824—987 chasm, all runs smooth and clear; but still we
 867—987 fall back upon the fact that they did not enjoy a
 crumb of coeval credence. The early traditions
 of France were uniform in their import that the
 humble origin of the Capets was their glory. The
 old Romance tells us that Hugh Capet was once
 a butcher; for albeit born of gentle blood, yet
 having mortgaged his land, he took to the trade
 in frolickry;—and somehow or another, or in
 some stage or another of the pedigree, be sure
 that the symbolical kernel of the truth is unquestionably enclosed in Dante's rhyme:

*“Chiamato fui di là Ugo Ciappetta:
 Di me son nati i Filippi e i Luigi
 Per cui novellamente è Francia retta.
 Figluol fui d'un beccaio di Parigi.”—*

CHAPTER III.

THE NORTHMEN DURING THE TIMES OF CHARLES-LE-CHAUVE
AND ROBERT-LE-FORT, TO THE END OF THE REIGN.

840—877.

§ 1. INTERNAL enemies and external ene- 840—877
mies, enemies known, enemies unknown, enemies The ene-
mies of the
Empire.
provoked, enemies unprovoked, enemies from the
East, enemies from the West, enemies from the
South, enemies from the North, from the seas,
the rivers and the hills.—Our sailors box the
compass, improving Charlemagne's lessons. Char-
lemagne began to give the compound names by
which the rhombs of the mariner's card are known;
and from every circling point of the horizon the
wind wafted an enemy. Christians and half-
Christians, Mahometans and idolaters, diverse
races, and diverse tongues,—worshippers of Thor
and Odin, Promo, Chrodo, Jutebog, Zernebog,
Belbog, Zutebor, and lion-visaged Radegast, Swan-
towit with four heads, triple-headed Triglaw,
and genial Siewa, the many-breasted teeming
Siewa with the bunch of grapes in her hand,—
Gascon, Vascon or Escalduanac, Celt or Breyzad,
Jute, Norsk and Dansker; Ishmaelite, Moor, Sara-
cen; Sorb, Wend and Obotrite; Lech, Zech and
Magyar,—all conjoined with the infatuated Carlo-
vingian Princes and their more infatuated subjects
in effecting the Empire's destruction.

840—877

Alas! for Charlemagne's victories, Charlemagne's conquests, Charlemagne's wisdom, cultivation and knowledge—all come to naught, turned to confusion. Aquitania, a festering ulcer, rebellious, and tempting the offspring of the throne to disobedience and rebellion, Armorica no longer merely an insurgent province, but a kingdom striving for independence and liberty, the Sclavonians breaking up the borders of the Empire. Worse than all, the extinction of natural affection, truth, faith, honesty and loyalty: the hand of each brother, not figuratively but literally lifted against each other, every father distrustful, every son disobedient. Certain obscure ejaculatory English-Saxon verses are extant, describing a country in utter misery, which, partially divested of their archaic orthography, run as follows:—" *Land-king wilful, dooms-man nimmand, rich-man niggard, poor-man proud, gaveloc broken, child unbuzom, churl unthemed, fool reckless, old-man loveless, woman shameless, land lawless, better be lifeless.*"—These rapid lines, of which there are many more, sounding as having been transmitted from remote antiquity, truly characterize the wretchedness of the Empire—the whole one vast Luegen-feld, flooded by falsehood, without comfort, without rest.

862—897
The Hun-
garian
invasions.

§ 2. The troubles on the Eastern side of the Empire animated and encouraged the fiercest and most recent assailants, the Hungarians:

plague upon plagues, misery upon miseries— 840—877
 unexpected, unintelligible, the uncouthness of ⏟
862—897
 the visitation encreasing the horror. The face of
 the sun-burnt Saracen was well known to the
 Romanized Teutons and Romanized Gauls: an
 old acquaintance, an infidel certainly, but a man
 like other men, who lived in a house, could read
 and write, and was attired in silk and satin. The
 fair and blue-eyed Scandinavian, though fierce,
 was comparatively a neighbour, whose barks
 and barges were dreaded, yet accustomed. But
 these uncouth fur-clad hordes had nothing in
 common with any foe whom the Christian had
 seen, against whom he had fought, or by whom
 he had been subdued. Learned men traced the
 Hungarians indeed from history: the history was
 appalling, and history and tradition conjoined in
 exciting insuperable terror. Attila's bones were
 imprisoned in his secret sepulchre, but the
 scourge of God was raised to chastise the Chris-
 tian with increased severity.

The language spoken by these Scythians,
 distinguished by some unique peculiarities of
 construction, and offering only the faintest simi-
 larity to any other known speech, refuses to aid
 the Ethnographist's speculations. According to
 their own primitive traditions, the ruling caste,
 the main body of the nation, were the children
 of Mogor the son of Magog. The Hebrew name
 Mogor signifies "Terror;" and slightly varied by

840—877

897—950

The Hun-
garian
invasions
of Italy,
Germany
and the
Gauls.

the Orientals into “Magyar” became the rallying cry of the once-splendid Hungarian nationality. But the denomination of Hungarian was equally retained by the Mogors: it is as Hungarians that they are admitted into European history.

However acquired or transmitted, the knowledge which the Hungarians possessed concerning the countries once the scenes of Attila’s victories, was neither inaccurate nor inconsiderable. The aspirations of Almus, supreme among the seven Hetumogors, and of his son and grandson, Arpad and Zulta, display a grandeur, disproportionate perhaps to their forces, yet worthy of their predecessor’s renown.

Early in young Zulta’s reign, three chief Hetumogors, Lelu the son of Tosu, Ver-Bulsu, or “Bulsu the bloody,” the son of Bogat, and Bouton the son of Culpun—King Bela’s Chancellor must warrant our orthography—marched through Carinthia and Friuli and entered Italy, which they contemplated as an appendage of their encreasing realm. Imperial Pavia burnt and destroyed, the Scythian locusts devoured the Lombard plains. Germany they devastated from side to side. Their Parthian cavalry crossed the Rhine—Lotharingia and Burgundy, Brabant and Vermandois, the Counties and Dioceses of Louvaine and Cambray, Laôn, Rheims and Châlons, were traversed and penetrated by their armies. They spread over central and Southern France to

Nîmes and Toulouse, through Provence and Aquitaine, till they came down to the Mediterranean shores. Berenger King of Italy is said to have invited them. Arnolph once sought their deadly aid. There was a short season of libration, when the Hungarians by alliance, junction, or coalition with the Carolingian rivals, or with the other domestic or foreign enemies of the Empire, might have effected a permanent conquest. Their chivalry however failed: diseases, the result of unwonted food and an unaccustomed climate, thinned their squadrons. Thick flew the arrows from their bows of elastic horn; but, in close conflict, the light-armed Tartar horsemen were unequally matched against the steadier ranks of the French and the Germans. Zulta had wisely organized and fortified the rising Kingdom of Hungary; they were proud of their fertile conquest, to them a new father-land; and the Hetumogors and their hordes returned home, trains of captives and bales of plunder rewarding their prowess.

Briefly and dolefully do the Chroniclers of France, Germany and Italy, describe and lament the vast fury of the Hungarian ravages. Tradition and poetry impart life and colour to these meagre narratives. The German Boor still points at the haunted Cairn, as covering the uneasy bed or the troubled grave of the restless Huns whose swords are heard to clash beneath the soil. Throughout fair France the grinning, boar-tusked,

840—877

897—950

840—877
 897—950
 ensanguined, child-devouring Ogres appalled the
 doubtfully incredulous delighted tremblers round
 the blazing hearth. And we yet possess the
 solemn chaunt by which the centinel of Modena,
 pacing along the rampart, cheered his compa-
 nions and beguiled the weary watches of the night
 —the floating melody which the half-awakened
 sleeper can scarcely distinguish from a dream :

“ O Tu qui servas armis ista mœnia,
 Noli dormire, moneo, sed vigila.
 Dum Hector vigil extitit in Troïa,
 Non eam cepit fraudulenta Græcia.
 Primâ quiete dormiente Troïa,
 Laxavit Sinon fallax claustra perfida.
 Per funem lapsa occultata agmina
 Invadunt Urbem, et incendunt Pergama.
 Fortis juvenus, virtus audax bellica,
 Vestra per muros audiantur carmina :
 Et sit in armis alterna vigilia,
 Ne fraus hostilis hæc invadat mœnia.
 Resultet Echo comes : eja vigila !
 Per muros eja, dicat Echo, vigila !”

714—900.
 The Sara-
 cen inva-
 sions.

§ 3. Far more destructive during the hate-
 ful succession of divisions and jealousies, feuds,
 frauds and treacheries, were the Saracens and
 the Northmen, hacking and hewing, cutting and
 carving, making their partitions also, here with
 Danish battle-axe, there with Damascus blade.

The Saracen expeditions continued the for-
 midable warfare by which they had won the
 Iberian peninsula, and previously assailed the
 Gauls. Nothing daunted by the defeats received

from Charles-Martel, they treated the Aquitanian and Narbonensic Gauls as a country to which they possessed a natural claim: in sultry Provence you feel to breathe the Zahara air. The Aquitanians were well inclined to fraternize with the Mahometans. No thanks either to Adalgisius and Adalferius and the Beneventine Lombards, that the Carlovingian Emperor had not been supplanted by a Sultan of Naples, whose Emirs would have extended their conquests round to the realm of the Ommiades. Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, bowed humbly before the Arab, and it seemed more than once uncertain whether Rome would not be equally reduced to servitude. The Western Pontiff was threatened by the captivity inflicted upon the oriental Patriarchs: Saint Peter's successor might groan in bondage, like the successors of Saint Ignatius, Saint James or Saint Mark. The great Mediterranean lake appeared destined to become a Moslem lake; and why not? An Emperor of Morocco, according to the reasoning so irrefutable when supported by the arguments of civilization, would have as good a right as an Emperor of France.

Few early Provençal or Aquitanian Chronicles have been preserved, consequently the history of the country is very obscure. We have evidence however that the Saracens came over in great numbers. Their attacks and partial successes are not unfrequently noticed, but the

840—877

714—900

Saracen
invasions
of Italy and
Provence.

840—877

714—900

Saracen
settlement
and influ-
ence in
Provence.

larger and more continuous immigrations are only incidentally recorded. Fraxinet, a castle or fortress on the coast, somewhere nigh Fréjus, became the nucleus of a Saracen colony midway between Italy and Spain, and readily reached from Africa. This position offered great advantages. The Saracens expanded themselves over the country. They mastered the passes of the Cottian and Penine Alps, following the footsteps of Hannibal. Various localities have received their denomination from these invaders. The *forêt des Maures* on the Fréjus coast, *Puy-Maure*, and *Mont-Maure* near Gap, the *Col de Maure* near Château Dauphin, and the whole County of *Maurienne*, testify their occupancy; and it is considered that the Saracen blood has left deep traces in the aspect as well as the character of the Provençals.

With the Saracens probably came also a large proportion of Jews, who subsequently acquired considerable influence, rivalling their Spanish brethren, the Sephardim, in literature and intellectual cultivation. But the Moslems were as much at variance amongst themselves as the Christians:—a divided Caliphate in the presence of a divided Empire. The Musnud of Bagdad has fallen like the Throne of Aix-la-Chapelle. Power had the Saracens given to them for accelerating the ruin of Carlovingian domination, but no power to build up for themselves out of the

ruins. How casual and fantastic are the elements of popular celebrity! Turpin and Ariosto contribute the most enduring memorials of Charlemagne's renown; and Haroun Alraschid reigns throughout Frangistaun by the lips of Sheherazade.

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714—900

Notwithstanding their ultimate expulsion from Italy and the Gauls, the Mahometans kept up their continual claim.—Dragutte and Barbarossa infested the Mediterranean shores with undiminished pertinacity. The harems of Tunis and Tripoli were adorned by the flowers of beauty rudely plucked from the cottages and the villas, the chateaux and the palaces of Liguria or Tuscany, Romagna or the Abruzzi, Languedoc or Provence, who under a more fortunate or a more adverse star would have furnished models for Titian or Raphael, heightened the licentious revelry of a Borgia, or graced the courts of Henri-quatre or François-premier. The best names of the French noblesse and gentry might have answered the roll-call of the Algerine galley, whose bench levelled all distinctions, the captive peasant chained by the side of his captive seigneur. Even now, the frequent towers, adding romance to the lovely Riviera, anxiously commanding the promontories and protecting the gleaming bays, attest the harass so long inflicted by the infidel, and the vicinity of Africa's hostile shore.

§ 4. Elsewhere have we alluded to the
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The
Scandi-
navian
invasions.

European extent of Scandinavian piracy. It was, according to common expression, a chance, but in truth a wonderful ruling of Providence, that the pure Scandinavian and Jutish races had not prevented Cortes, Cabot and Columbus, colonizing and conquering broad America. Human sagacity cannot discern any adequate reason why the Northmen, whose energy established the once flourishing republic of Iceland, braved the eternal snows of Greenland, and explored the shores of the Pilgrim Fathers, should not in all respects have anticipated their successors of Visigothic, Roman, Gaulish, or “Anglo-Saxon” blood, and spread themselves over the forest-clad continent, then scarcely tenanted by the tribes who have since been exterminated by the poison-blast of civilization. What voice directed Leif Ericson and Thorfind to abandon the fertile Vinland? and who can explain wherefore that incipient domination was crushed, through which, had it been permitted, the whole course of the world’s future history would have been changed?

Our discourses in this work concerning the Scandinavian invasions are cursory and partial: we only contemplate them in Belgium, the Gauls and the borders. A general notion of the Danish inroads in these countries, so far as they are known—and very imperfectly known—from history, may be obtained by employing an easy process. Take the map, and colour with vermilion the provinces,

districts and shores which the Northmen visited, as the record of each invasion. The colouring will have to be repeated more than ninety times successively before you arrive at the conclusion of the Carolingian dynasty. Furthermore, mark by the usual symbol of war, two crossed swords, the localities where battles were fought by or against the pirates: where they were defeated or triumphant, or where they pillaged, burned or destroyed; and the valleys and banks of Elbe, Rhine and Moselle, Scheldt, Meuse, Somme and Seine, Loire, Garonne and Adour, the inland Allier, and all the coasts and coast-lands between estuary and estuary and the countries between the rivers-streams, will appear bristling as with chevaux-de-frise.

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Historical map of the Scandinavian, Saracen and Hungarian invasions.

The strongly-fenced Roman cities, the venerated Abbeys and their dependent bourgades, often more flourishing and extensive than the ancient seats of government, the opulent sea-ports and trading towns, were all equally exposed to the Danish attacks, stunned by the Northmen's approach, subjugated by their fury. Aix-la-chapelle, Nimeguen and Treves, Cologne, Bonn, Coblentz, Worms, Hamburgh, Metz, Toul and Verdun, Tolbiac, Tournay, Terouenne and Tongres, Doerstadt and Quantowick, Arras, Amiens, Cambray, Ghent, Louvaine, Maestricht, Stavelo and Deventer, Fleury, Hasbey and Corbey, Nuys and Malmedi, Marmoutier and Noirmoutier, Pruhm,

840—877 Condé, Sithiu and Centulla, Saint-Denis, Saint-
 Omer, Saint-Riquier and Saint-Quentin, Saint-
 815—1013 Florent, Luçon, Lillebonne, Fontenelle, Jumièges,
 Evreux, Baieux, Rouen, Paris and Orleans, Aux-
 erre and Troyes, Angers, Nantes and Rennes,
 Amboise, Blois, Beauvais and Tours, Noyon,
 Lisledieu and Grand-lieu, Chartres, Méaux, Melun,
 Autun, Clermont, Bourges, Valence, Périgueux,
 Poitiers, Angoulême, Bourdeaux, Xaintes,
 Toulouse, Melle, Limoges, Auches, Tarbes, Dax,
 Leictoure;—an enumeration collected almost at
 haphazard, exhibits a very incomplete indication
 of the places which the Northmen occupied, plundered
 or ruined, in some instances so thoroughly that even
 episcopal sees never recovered their prosperity.—Such a
 specific catalogue of ravages, could it be rendered perfect,
 would only supply scanty data for calculating the heaviness
 of the sufferings which the Empire sustained. Each City,
 Town or Abbey, must be taken as synonymous with a
 Pagus, a Province, a Diocese; and all the countries,
 not merely on the line of march, but all around, were
 involved in the desolation. Then if you think fit, denote
 the Saracen and Hungarian invasions by darker-ensanguined
 tints, by crossed assagays, scimitars or arrows, and apply
 the same reasoning to them, and you will approximate to
 a notion of the misery, and understand how rare and
 dispersed were the favoured regions spared from the actual
 presence of the enemy.

§ 5. But the whole annals of the Northmen in the Gauls are rendered irremediably defective through the insufficiency of coeval historical testimony. The Chroniclers naturally gave prominence to the events concerning them most, or which occurred in their vicinity: the facts relating to remote localities were not mentioned or not known; and the evidences of one inroad were often destroyed by a subsequent devastation. We have scarcely any chronicles originating in the places enumerated in the preceding summary, except such as started again when the Northern incursions slackened or ceased. We are tantalized by a single fragment of the chronicle of Fontenelle, which without doubt would have removed many annoying difficulties. The chronicles of Jumièges are entirely lost. Of Nantes, there are only confused fragments, probably rewritten from recollection. The chronicles of all the monasteries in the diocese of Paris have perished: nothing from Saint Germain-des-près, or Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, or Sainte-Généviève—nothing Carlovingian from Saint-Denis.

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Historical
evidence of
the Danish
invasions.

Destruction of
Chronicles.

Anterior to Abbot Suger we do not possess any chronicle, properly so called, appertaining to that renowned Monastery. The sumptuous black-letter folios, the pride of Verard's press, so prized by the bibliomaniac, and not destitute of importance to the collector as curious specimens of typography, have no intrinsic connexion what-

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ever with the Abbey, excepting that the sources employed by the compiler may have been consulted in the library. They profess to be the “Chroniques de France *selon* qu’elles sont conservées à Saint-Denis.”—We have really no means of ascertaining their composer—may be the author was a monk, may be not : a plausible conjecture has been hazarded, that a household minstrel of Alphonso Count of Poitiers began to indite the work in the reign of Saint-Louis. At all events this vernacular Romane text does not contain a single line from any chronicle excepting those still extant in the original Latin. As an historical monument the Chronicle is valueless, which negative quality may, *primâ facie*, be predicated respecting any similar black-letter book : two to one, rubbish—either superseded by more correct or complete editions, or not multiplied by subsequent editors, because not worth multiplying.

In the conflagrations of Saint-Riquier, Centulla of the hundred towers, that most venerated and most important sanctuary, all ancient records perished ; and the circumstances connected with Nithardus singularly exemplify the absence of accurate information regarding the Danish invasions. Nithardus, a cultivator of literature, a real historian, a statesman, a soldier high in rank, Count of Ponthieu or the Maritime shore, conversant with public affairs, would have been the man to furnish us with full details of the events

of his times; but, with the fragment of his own history, Nithardus completely disappears. We know nothing beyond the asterisks with which the published fragment ends. About a hundred and fifty years after the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, the Church having been rebuilt, search was made amongst the tombs by Gervinus the Abbot and Hariulphus a fellow-monk, the writer who recommenced the annals of his community. Lying by the side of Angelbertus his father, they discovered the rudely-embalmed corpse of Count Nithard. The skull, fractured by the Danish battle-axe, told the story of his last exploit: he had unquestionably fallen in the defence of Ponthieu. But even when Hariulphus wrote, they had not the slightest knowledge of the time or circumstances of Nithard's death; nor have we any account, till a later period, of the invasions which the province sustained.

The historical materials relating to the Gauls south of the Loire are exceedingly scanty: concerning Orleans, Blois, Tours, Perigord, Bordeaux, Toulouse, nothing is left but a few jejune annals. The vast archiepiscopal province of Bourges, comprising the Dioceses of Clermont, Limoges, Tulle, le Puy and Sainte-Flour, including, according to more modern geography, the Limousin, Périgord, Auvergne, Vellay, Vivarais, indeed the whole of central France and the Dauphinois and a great deal of the Rhone coun-

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840—877 try, is nearly a blank. Excepting when we
 815—1013 enjoy the lively company of Sidonius Apollinaris,
 the last individual representing the gentleman-
 bishop of the Roman age, and gain a glimpse
 of pious Avitus, we are in almost unvaried
 solitude.

Our texts for Carlovingian history are mainly derived from the northern dioceses of France and Germany, principally from the ecclesiastical province of Rheims. So far as the records extend, they are exceedingly valuable and authentic, many of them having been compiled by persons high in authority and enjoying the confidence of the sovereigns, but whose notices of events happening in distant places are only collateral and casual. Where the chronicles fail, our materials must be drawn from the legends of Saints, accounts of the translation of relics and the like; veracious as far as the intentions of the writers were concerned, but usually put together or composed long subsequently to the sufferings, and rendered inaccurate by the excitements of maundering transmission, re-echoing the sounds of confusion and terror. Generally speaking, the Gauls south of the Loire were much severed both by interest and feelings from the northern provinces: their history can only be scantily gathered from the Chroniclers belonging to the Langue-d'oil, or the Belgic or Tudesque countries. So deficient are these memorials, that the only know-

ledge we possess concerning the destruction of the six episcopal sees of Gascony, arises from an incidental allusion in a charter.

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§ 6. If we compare the preceding summary of the Danish invasions with the proposed coloured and symbolized map, it will be observed that they constitute three principal schemes of naval and military operations, respectively governed and guided by the great rivers and the intervening sea-shores. In or adjoining the valleys of the rivers, these schemes may sometimes blend into each other, but on the whole they are well defined.

General scheme of the naval and military operations of the Northmen, in the Gauls, and Northern Germany.

The first scheme of operations includes the territories between Rhine and Scheldt, and Scheldt and Elbe: the furthest southern point reached by the Northmen in this direction was somewhere between the Rhine and the Neckar. Eastward, the Scandinavians scattered as far as Russia; but we must not follow them there.

The North sea expeditions.

The second scheme of operations affected the countries between Seine and Loire, and again from the Seine eastward towards the Somme and Oise. These operations were connected with those of the Rhine Northmen.

The Seine and Loire expeditions.

The third scheme of operations was prosecuted in the countries between Loire and Garonne and Garonne and Adour, frequently flashing towards Spain, and expanding inland as far as the

The Loire and Garonne expeditions.

840—877 Allier and central France, nay, to the very centre,
 to Bourges.

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When the Spaniards were regaining their own country from the Ishmaelites, each Hidalgo appropriated to himself in prospect his *Conquista*, the territory he intended to settle and win; and no other Hidalgo was to interfere therewith. Somewhat of the same understanding subsisted amongst the Anglo-Norman subjugators of the Cymri, the March-lords of Wales. Strongbow and his followers did the like in persecuted Ireland. The Danes conducted their piracies according to a similar system, though less perfectly regulated. Instances of discord however occur occasionally amongst the marauders: they brought with them a proportion of their internal dissensions. Dane was occasionally bribed to fight against Dane, for they were exceedingly fond of money; but on the whole these quarrels and betrayals did not affect the habitual unity of the great enterprize.

Danish
 Fiefs or be-
 nefices in
 Lotharin-
 gia.

Lotharingia suffered dreadfully during the Rhine and Scheldt invasions. They were peculiarly fierce, and the facts afford much historical instruction. Anterior to Rollo, the cessions made in Lotharingia furnish memorable examples of benefices or feuds, granted to the Danish chieftains for the purpose of purchasing a suspension of hostilities, or employing them as defenders of the Marches against their own countrymen.

The Loire expeditions produced very important consequences; but they are obscurely narrated. The Danish conquests are rather to be collected from inferences and results than from direct and substantial narratives.

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The Northmen established themselves not only in the neighbourhood of the river, but inland. The Breton Marches harboured and encouraged them as enemies or as friends. Their settlements in these countries were probably scarcely less extensive than those effected by Rollo in Normandy. Hastings held the County of Chartres. Blois, won by Gerlo the Dane, kinsman of Rollo, became the seat of a Danish dynasty, but the Northmen of the Loire had no Dudon de Saint-Quentin; and the absence of any national historian has concealed the progress of their fortunes.

The Northmen of the Loire.

The Seine expeditions concern us most nearly: it is therefore to this series of inroads that we principally apply ourselves, adverting nevertheless to the others so far as may be needful for the general elucidation of our story, and connecting the Norman narrative with the principal events of Carlovingian France and Capetian France—Normandy rising, as the Carlovingian dynasty declined, and fully flourishing when the Capets won the crown.

§ 7. During Louis-le-débonnaire's calamitous reign, the Danish attacks had been formidable, and yet in a measure experimental. The Northmen,

Sequence of Danish attacks after the battle of Fontenay.

840—877
815—1013 acutely and warily observing the opportunities of success, were biding their time. They united the spirit and adaptability of the British sailor with the Buccaneer's ferocity. But these pirates shaded also into traders. In either capacity they received copious intelligence concerning the events of the empire: all the Carlovingian treacheries, dissensions and cruelties were gain for the Danish cause. Every crime or folly of the Carlovingian Sovereigns enured to the benefit of the Northmen: every Frank or German who fell in the civil wars was an enemy removed.

Whilst the sons of Louis-le-débonnaire were pursuing their warfare, the inherent instinct of the Northmen taught them that the marching troops would soon lie dead as carrion.—“Hurrah!”—cried the Danes at Rouen, when King Louis and King Charles were rejoicing at the defeat of Emperor Lothair's army. Well therefore were they prepared for a battle of Fontenay; and the news of the direful slaughter rebounded throughout the North and all the Baltic and North Sea shores. The attacks upon “Romerige,” as they called the Empire, hitherto tentative, were now continued systematically. From the Belt to the Dardanelles the Danes familiarized themselves with the navigation: their fleets covered the seas, their sturdy and active warriors overspread the land. Not unfrequently, historical evidence combining with popular tradition enables us to recognize the

chieftains who appear as the heroes of these long-
 protracted conflicts: whilst they dart and flicker
 athwart the waves, we may follow their track
 from their own old countries Scandinavia and the
 North, or their newer settlements in the British
 islands.

Regner-Lodbrok, and Biorn-Ironside, Lod-
 brok's son, become conspicuous, their inroads in
 France being only digressions from their achieve-
 ments beyond the channel. It was not the
 armour of Biorn which gave him the name of
 Ironside: no shield hung on Biorn's arm, no hel-
 met covered his brow, no hauberk protected his
 breast.—Such defences were rendered needless
 by his Sorceress-mother, whose magical liniments
 had hardened the tender body of her babe. Sigurd
 son of King Ingiald the Ost-man, king of
 Waterford, and Sydroc the younger, and another
 Sydroc, King Ivar's son, conqueror of Dublin,
 appear in succession,—moreover, Welland, the
 father of Vidric the sturdy *Kæmpe*, who slew the
Langbeen Rise, that “longshanked giant,” whose
 proper name has merged in this descriptive por-
 traiture. And Hastings, who stalks forward as
 the persecutor of the Gauls, he, may be, who set
 fire to thatch-roofed Cirencester by letting loose
 a flight of sparrows with lighted coals tied be-
 neath their wings.

§ 8. During eleven years after the pillage of
 Rouen, Osker continued afloat, incessantly occu-
 pied in devastation. An *Osker-Saga* is wanting

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Danish
 invaders of
 the Gauls
 identified
 by their
 acts on the
 British
 islands, &c.

842—844

Great
 Danish
 expeditions

840—877

842—844

on the
coasts of
the Chan-
nel, Loire,
&c.

to detail the particulars of his enterprizes; but he was probably the leader who conducted a bold and successful expedition on the northern coasts, much about the time that Lothair, Louis, and Charles were engaged in the battles and negotiations which produced the treaty of Verdun. The merchant-guilds of Exeter and London mourned with fellow-feeling the pillage of opulent Quantowick, the chief mint of the Gauls, to which was necessarily annexed the chief table or bank of exchange. The calamity is specially recorded in our Saxon chronicle: never but once afterwards is Quantowick mentioned in history. Natural causes, however, co-operated with the calamities of war in extinguishing this once-celebrated commercial city; the haven is completely concealed by the encroaching sands. Topographers can only guess that Quantowick was situated somewhere near Etaples in Picardy.

Loire and the Garonne were filled with the black-sailed squadrons: Nantes burned and plundered, the inhabitants scattered like silly sheep: noble Toulouse, equally cowardly, Counts and Senators fleeing from their Capitol: Treves and Cologne as yet unstruck, but trembling. Encouraged by success, the Northmen varied the indulgences of rapine. The Danes attacked Lusitania and Spain, spoiling the Saracens, their competitors in the work of affliction.

The ravages which the Northmen were committing in England alarmed the Carlovingsians,

without impressing them. Belief, unaccompanied by conviction, is an ever-enduring moral phenomenon. The very presence of the invaders within the Empire scarcely enabled Sovereigns or people to realize their danger. Amidst family quarrels and national dissensions and the seductions of insatiate ambition, the trouble given by the Northmen appeared a small matter, so intent were the brothers on their rivalry.

Some precautions however were adopted. Eric the Red, the son of Godfrey, the ancient rival and enemy of Harold, was now acknowledged as the *Over-King* or supreme monarch of Denmark, though probably without much power of enforcing obedience. However, he enjoyed the honour; and the Carlovingian monarchs treated the "Over-King" as a responsible sovereign. They threatened King Eric with reprisals—small account did he make of their warnings. From time to time various means of defence were concerted. Charles-le-Chauve acted firmly, but the ground he stood upon was rotten. The Sovereigns tormented each other, the people betrayed the Sovereigns, and the Empire lingered in spasmodic misery.

§ 9. France was heavily afflicted: a fearfully cold year was followed by another still colder and more inclement. The North wind blew incessantly all through the Winter, all through the pale and leafless Spring. The roots of the vines

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842—844

844—845.
The cold
years—
Ragner
Lodbrok
(845) en-
ters the
Seine.

840—877 } were perished by the frost—the wolves starved
 844—845 } out of their forests, even in Aquitaine. The cunning animals, wer-wolves, *loups-garoux*, invaded the villages and towns, foraging for human flesh, marshalling themselves in troops, occupying the roads, conducting their operations with military skill, emulating man in the tactics of destruction.

Meanwhile the Danish hosts were in bright activity. Regner Lodbrok and his fellows fitted out their fleet, ten times twelve dragons of the sea. Early in the bleak Spring they sailed, and the stout-built vessels ploughed cheerily through the crashing ice on the heaving Seine. Regner Lodbrok defied the piercing blast in his shaggy garments—Osker's example had instructed his countrymen where they could find sport, where the game was to be sought; and Regner prepared to strike a heavy blow.

Amidst all misfortunes France retained an irrepressible elasticity. The monks, huddling themselves together in their desolated habitations, had resettled at Fontenelle and Jumièges, and the country-folks diligently tilled the fields. But the Danes spared Fontenelle and Jumièges for the nonce, that monks and peasants might be better worth plundering another time. Rouen dared not offer any opposition. The Northmen quietly occupied the City: we apprehend that some knots or bands of the Northmen began even now to domicile themselves there, it being scarcely

Rouen
 occupied
 again by
 the Danes.

possible to account for the condition of Normandy ^{840—877}
under Rollo otherwise than by the supposition, ^{842—845}
that the country had long previously received a
considerable Danish population.

§ 10. Paris, the point to which the North-^{Carlovin-}
men were advancing by land and water, was the ^{gian Paris.}
key of France, properly so called. Paris taken,
the Seine would become a Danish river: Paris
defended, the Danes might be restrained, perhaps
expelled. The Capetian "Duchy of France," not
yet created by any act of State, was beginning
to be formed through the encreasing influence
of the future Capital.

Antient cities are in the nature of palimpsests,—each generation erasing the writing of the preceding generation, and superimposing layers of other writings and newer-formed characters, line upon line; each successively superinduced line teaching a more modern lesson, telling a more recent tale.

In the page presented by the Paris of the nineteenth century, a paragraph occasionally remains, exhibiting the fine Valois-Orleans "lettres gothiques," imparting dignity to the tomes of chivalry: here and there, deeper, you may still discern scattered specimens of the quaintly-elegant calligraphy which delighted Saint-Louis: below these, some scanty vestiges of the stately Carlovingian uncials: and lastly, piercing through all the strata, a few firm majuscules inscribed by

840—877 Roman power, a syllable or two and no more ;—
 but the whole text restamped by the neat, monotonous, well-cut fount, cast in the matrices of civilization. It is very difficult therefore to read the enchorial characters of Paris as the city existed in the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, though in some degree we are able to retrace their tenor.

Alterations
 in the bed
 and level of
 the Seine.

The Seine, as we have before remarked, was very much wider than at the present day. The whole level of the city and of all the adjoining faubourgs has been considerably raised, and the bed of the river has evidently sustained much elevation also. The antient fluvial spread of surface is distinctly shewn by the inundations which occurred early in the course of the last century, about a hundred and thirty years ago, when the Champs-Élysées were deeply inundated: the water came up also to the very front of the Hôtel-des-Invalides and surrounded the Palais-Bourbon.

Two bridges afforded access to the city-island. On the north, the Pont-du-change; the Petit-pont on the south. The Grand-Châtelet includes within the thickness of the walls a Carlovingian, or perhaps a Roman fortress, the station of the Parisian Navicularii under the Roman Empire. It is doubtful whether, properly speaking, there was more than one city-gate, the Petit-Châtelet being probably in the nature of an outwork or postern. Within the island there was only one church of importance, namely, Saint-Etienne, afterwards Notre-Dame.

On either bank of the ample Seine the cultivated and populous country was dotted with flourishing bourgades and splendid structures: the present remains of the Palais-des-Thermes attest the antient strength of the edifice, then towering in Babylonian altitude. This architectural magnificence was peculiarly manifested by a very lofty vaulted hall, not demolished till the reign of Louis-quinze; and in the other surviving portions the steady Roman arches may yet be seen, contrasting with the florid pinnacles and canopies and flamboyant tracery of the Hotel-de-Clugny. The terre-plain over the hall was formed into a terraced garden.

Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Germain-des-près, Sainte-Généviève, and Saint-Victor, all possessed a castellated aspect. We have evidence of the robustness of these ancient monasteries in the prison of the Abbaye, the only remaining fragment of conventual Saint-Germain-des-près, and which obtained such fatal celebrity during the Revolution. The great tower of the church is attributed to Childebert: the porch, now mutilated, was a monument to the honour of the Merovingian dynasty. Against the slender pillars were the effigies of the kings and queens,—Clovis, venerable, gaunt and grave, according to the sculptor's realization,—holy Clotilda, her long-flowing tresses woven and braided with bands of orfray.

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842—845

Architectural character of the Great Monasteries of Paris.

840—877

842—845

The interior of the building is Carlovingian : the ample Corinthianized capitals are unaltered, and if instead of the more recent vaulting we substitute the open roof and tyebams of a Roman Basilica, and imagine the shrines richly decorated with the jaspers and precious marbles which have long since disappeared, we may obtain a tolerably correct idea of Saint-Germain-des-près when the vessels of Regner Lodbrok sailed up the Seine. Saint-Victor was splendidly adorned, but not a trace or recollection of the structure remains. The walls of Sainte-Généviève shone with gilded mosaics, patterned from Rome or Byzantium.

Charles-le-Chauve stations himself at Saint-Denis.

Saint-Denis had already become the nucleus of an important bourgade : the monks had taken the relics out of their depositories, and were preparing to escape. They were however well protected : Charles-le-Chauve had stationed himself with his troops before the Abbey. Expecting the approach of the Northmen, he had done his utmost to concentrate his forces. Opposite to his position an island divided the Seine. His troops were neither numerous nor hearty, yet the Danes dared not attack him. They made their way along the river by the off channel, spread themselves also over the adjoining country, ravaging like furies. A large detachment landed at Charlevanne, near Saint-Germain-en-laye, on the spot where Louis-quatorze afterwards built the machine of Marli.

Eleven corpses swinging from gibbets planted on an eyot, announced to the French the punishment by which any resistance would be visited; and, in all the villages about Paris, the same ghastly spectacle, rigid carcasses suspended to the bare and naked boughs, repeated the warning. The river also gave the like stern monition, the dead-men drifting in the water or stranded on the shores.

Fierce as the Northmen generally were, they exceeded their usual ferocity, whether instigated by the inhumanity of Regner Lodbrok and Ironside, or whether the cruelties were aggravated by the Vikingar, not in rage but upon cold-blooded calculation, for the purpose of exciting greater terror. Any how, the result was the same. With such panic were the Franks stricken, that they gave themselves up for lost. Paris island, Paris river, Paris bridges, Paris towers were singularly defensible:—the Palais-des-Thermes, the monasteries were as so many castles. Had the inhabitants, for their own sakes, co-operated with Charles-le-Chauve, the retreat of the Danes would have been entirely cut off; but they were palsied in mind and body, neither thought of resistance nor attempted resistance, and abandoned themselves to despair.

§ 11. On Easter Eve the Danes entered Paris. Joyless did the austere season render the vernal festival of the Resurrection throughout the Gauls.

28 March,
845.
Regner
Lodbrok
and the
Danes enter
Paris.

840—877

845

Pâques-fleurie—but spring denied her early garlands; hepatica, primrose, violet and snowdrop were nipped in their clemmed buds, and the altars unadorned by flowers. At Paris they need them not: no tapers are lighted, no mass is read, no anthems sung.—Bishop Erchenrad setting the example, the priests and clerks deserted their churches: the monks fled, bearing with them their shrines: soldiers, citizens and sailors, abandoned their fortresses, dwellings and vessels: the great gate was left open, Paris emptied of her inhabitants, the city a solitude. The Danes hied at once to the untenanted monasteries: all valuable objects had been removed or concealed, but the Northmen employed themselves after their fashion. In the church of Saint-Germain-des-près they swarmed up the pillars and galleries, and pulled the roof to pieces: the larchen beams being sought as excellent ship-timber. In the city, generally, they did not commit much devastation. They lodged themselves in the empty houses, and plundered all the moveables. Silver and gold were hidden, but baser metals were worth carrying away, and the iron-work of Paris gate added to the freight of the Danish barks and barges: without doubt, also, the Danes found ample stores of provision in the city and in the monasteries.

Damage
done to
Saint-Ger-
main-des-
près.

The Danes
retire from
Paris.

The Franks did not make any attempt to attack or dislodge the enemy, but a more efficient power

compelled the Danes to retire from the city: 840—877
 disease raged among them, dysentery—a com- 845
 plaint frequently noticed, probably occasioned by
 their inordinate potations of the country-wine.
 Their own well-brewed strong ale was far healthier.

Regner Lodbrok was equally astute and bold, his craft is conspicuous in his legendary story. Had Charles-le-Chauve advanced from Saint-Denis and attacked the Danes, few if any could have escaped. Regner therefore made proposals to the King, promising to evacuate Paris upon receiving a competent subsidy. Charles himself was in great difficulty. His efforts for the defence of his country were disappointed. Troops he had assembled, but the cowards would neither move nor act: the king was powerless. In this strait he therefore offered an enormous subsidy, seven thousand pounds of silver:—a sum calculated by the Academicians, whose researches guide us in elucidating this perplexed portion of French history, at five hundred and twenty thousand livres. This was the first Danegeld paid by France, an unhappy precedent, and yet unavoidable: the pusillanimity of his subjects compelled Charles to adopt this disgraceful compromise. The money was levied upon the inhabitants of Paris and the adjoining provinces,—right that they should bear the burthen brought upon themselves by their self-desertion.

Danegeld
 paid by
 Charles-le-
 Chauve.

Regner returned joyfully to Denmark: he

840—877
 845—849
 repaired to Eric the Red, boasting of his exploits and their profit—how he and his Danes had rendered the Rœmerige tributary, the money he had received, the booty he had carried away. His bravery of speech affronted the Over-king, who openly told the grim Sea-rover he did not believe him. Regner came again before his scoffing sovereign, followed by gangs of his crew, some carrying the big iron bar of the Paris gate, the others laden with a carved larchen beam, plucked from the roof of Saint-Germain-des-près. These trophies, laid before King Eric's throne, were the silent but irrecusable testimonies of Regner's victory.

§ 12. The display of prize and plunder excited Eric the Red to try his fortune : the reports which Regner brought of the abject cowardice manifested by the Carolingian subjects, rendered the temptation the stronger. A remunerative venture upon the easiest terms was thus offered to the Northmen, an inducement more attractive than glory. Six hundred vessels composed Eric's fleet : none so well equipped had hitherto invaded Germany or the Gauls, and they entered the promising Elbe.

845.
 Hamburgh
 plundered
 by King
 Eric.

On the banks of that river a new city had arisen under the auspices of Charlemagne,—the future flourishing emporium of the North, wisely planned for the purpose of connecting Scandinavia and Germany, and at the same time assisting in

the defence of the Empire. Pagan Wends and Obotrites, Saxons still yearning for their pristine independence and the Baltic pirates, were all to be held in check by Hamburg. The City, an archiepiscopal See, the Patriarchate of Scandinavia, Cathedral, Castle, Church and Monastery, shone fresh and strong from the builder's hands. Suddenly was Hamburg surrounded by the yelling Northmen: the stout Carlovingian warriors, real Germans of the Germans, fled away—no great shame therefore that Archbishop Anscharius should scurry for his life, stripped of his garments, “nudus,” says Adam of Bremen—a figure of speech, but as near the truth as well may be. Anscharius fled to Bremen, where envious Bishop Luderic refused to receive his brother. Anscharius ultimately returned to Hamburg, and was restored, not merely to his dignity, but to peace and comfort with the Danes. He was a kind and good man, and laid the foundation of the Scandinavian mission by redeeming captive children and educating them in Christian doctrines. Eric, his persecutor, became his affectionate protector and friend, and may be said to have met his death in the battle of Flensburgh for the sake of Anscharius.

§ 13. Conflicts again in the Aquitanian rivers:—the Danes in great force, Osker their commander: Charles drove them off from Bourdeaux, but the discontented Aquitanians were plotting

840—877

845—849

846—849.
Danish
expeditions
in Aquitaine
and Spain.

840—877 and machinating to separate themselves from the
 846—850 Frankish Crown. Many supported Pepin, others
 looked towards Germany: the rich city was sur-
 rendered to the Danes. The French laid the trea-
 son to the charge of the Jews—hard upon the
 Jews to stigmatize them as the betrayers: hard
 upon Ganelone di Maganza to shew him up in
 romaunt and poesy as the very Coryphæus of
 felonry, when the whole Carlovingian Empire was
 infected with universal treachery.

The Northern fleets quitting the Loire, again
 visited the Spanish coasts. The gold of Spain, her
 warmth, her wines, attracted the invaders: indeed,
 they were only following the course of their
 brethren, if not their forefathers. The Visi-
 goths were the last amongst the kindred nations
 who departed from the Euxine shores and the
 Eastern Asgard. Destiny guided them far from
 the regions which thenceforward constituted the
 chief domain of the Asi, yet there were poetical
 recollections in the North of these wanderings and
 peregrinations. Well might the Norwegian dam-
 sels sing in their ballads of heroism and love,
 how *Myklagard and the land of Spain, lie wide
 away o'er the lee:*

“Myklagard ok Spanialand
 Thad liggur so langt af leidi.”

Seville was plundered, and though the fleet of
 Abdelrahman ultimately chased the Danes from
 the coasts, their cruise was successful, and their

booty safely transported to Scandinavia and the Baltic islands. Many a tumulus, many a mound under the cold sky, when opened by the groping antiquary or the honest boor, still presents the happy excavator with the golden denars which the Vikingar had hoarded at home.

840—877
850

Blazing hostility again in the North.—Friesland, close and nigh to the Jutland shores, was a favourite and successful field of enterprize. Roric, the nephew of Harold, occupied the country: Lothair endeavoured to expel the Dane, but he had not the power of prosecuting any effectual warfare. His untrustworthy forces were employed either in watching or opposing his own brothers. The Emperor therefore attempted the perilous compromise previously tried with Harold. Rustringia was granted to Count Roric, as a benefice; and the Imperial Diet confirmed the donation. Roric,—a Count, a Markgrave,—performed homage, placed his hands between the hands of Lothair, and covenanted to protect the Empire against his unbeneficed countrymen and kinsmen.—The transaction was acutely planned: an instinctive antipathy subsists between those who have and those who have not, which, as the world goes, often withstands the sympathies of affinity or consanguinity. Lothair calculated that he might thus rely upon estranging Roric from the Danish people; and another precedent was afforded for Rollo's future establishment in Normandy.

850.
Roric's expedition—
Rustringia granted to him as a benefice.

840—877

}

850

850.

Godfrey
the son of
Harold
enters the
Seine.

§ 14. Circumstances continued to promote this system of infeudation. Concurrently with Roric's expedition, Godfrey the son of Harold king of Denmark, the Atheling who with his parents had been baptized at Mayence, sailed up the Seine, he and his crews levying contributions on the country, according to their wont. The Franks vituperated Godfrey as a faithless Pagan; but it was not fair to censure the Northmen for violences which the Franks were committing amongst themselves and upon themselves. Charles-le-Chauve was very vigilant, but his people were nerveless, and he invoked the assistance of his brother Lothair, bound to him by treaties, bound to him by feeling.

Benefices
granted to
Godfrey.

Having done so, Charles immediately felt that he had preferred an imprudent request. A brother introduced into Neustria might be far more dangerous than a Dane: therefore Charles desisted from urging Lothair, and determined to acquire Godfrey's alliance by a competent cession of territory. The Benefice was in the vicinity of the Seine, the grant not being made simply to Godfrey, but also to his followers:—*terram eis ad inhabitandum delegavit*. This obscure though important settlement afterwards merged in the Norman Duchy.—The repetitions and similarities of the Scandinavian names are no less confusing than those which occur in Carlovingian history. It is therefore necessary to remark that Godfrey,

the son of King Harold, must not be confounded with Godfrey son of Harold, Jarl of Jutland, also a beneficiary of the empire, who married Gisella King Lothair's daughter.

840—877

850—855

§ 15. The foemen thus fixed and planted in the Gauls, others appear and re-appear with undiminished ferocity. Jarl Osker, having pillaged Bourdeaux, established a military station near the city,—probably consisting of entrenchments or earth-works which could be protected by his vessels in the Garonne, and likewise command the country. Osker then sailed northwards, and returned to the well-known Seine. During two hundred and eighty-seven days did his vessels continue in the river, whether cruising or moored—an aquatic colony, the Danes dispersing themselves when they thought fit on the land. They ruined the ruins of Fontenelle, burnt Saint-Bavon at Ghent, burnt Beauvais, and desolated the whole intervening tract. The Franks, plucking up heart of grace, attacked a body of straggling Northmen at a village now called Ouarde, situate on the river Epte, a boundary of future Normandy: some few Danes were slain, the remainder retreated into a wood: they did not concern themselves anxiously about points of honour. The average insignificance of the conflicts, and the evident exaggerations of Danish defeats and Frankish victories, emphatically testify the preponderance which the Northmen had obtained.

850—851.

Osker's return to the Seine.

840—877 When the Franks actually fought the Danes, the
 852 Chroniclers relate the rally as an event much out
 of the common course—a wonder:—they remind
 us, in more ways than one, of the despatches
 in the Pekin gazette, relating the successes
 gained over the barbarians.

851—855 § 16. The pirate-empire was rapidly widen-
 Concurrent operations of the Danes in the British Islands and in the Gauls. ing: the Danes spreading their warfare through-
 out the British Islands, unhappy Ireland experi-
 encing ample measure of their fury: Armagh was
 dreadfully devastated, and the most encouraging
 successes obtained by them in England. About
 this time they established themselves in Kent, win-
 tering in Thanet: their vessels swept the narrow
 seas, the English Channel was becoming a Danish
 channel. This command of the English coast
 gave them a fulcrum of greater power against
 France and Belgium. Friezeland and all the
 adjoining parts were completely subdued, and their
 attacks upon France became more pertinacious.

9 Oct. 852. Sidroc, the Irish-Dane, accompanied by a third
 Sidroc and Godfrey enter the Seine. Godfrey, who must be distinguished from the two
 previously mentioned, entered the Seine. Acting
 according to a more definite project of settling
 themselves throughout Neustria than they had
 hitherto entertained, they fortified themselves
 in a position which afterwards acquired great cele-
 brity during the Danish and Norman wars—
 The Danes establish themselves at Jev-fosse. *Givoldi-fossa* is the name given to the place by
 the Chroniclers: the exact situation has been

much debated by the French historians; how-
 ever, it appears to have been at or near a village
 now called Jeu-fosse, just above the confluence
 of the Epte and the Seine, not far from Vernon,
 about half-way between Rouen and Paris. The
 Chroniclers speak of *Givoldi-fossa* as an island,
 whereas Jeu-fosse is situated upon the main land;
 but in all probability the channels which then
 insulated the Danish entrenchments—they are
 said to be yet discernible—have been filled up
 by alluvion. From this stronghold the Danes
 sent forth their destructive expeditions, ravaging
 the country far and wide, doing much harm and
 threatening to inflict more.

The imminent peril produced a transitory concord between Charles and his brother Lothair; but Lothair could give no help even if he had been true, for he was sickening and declining, soon about to be laid in his sepulchre at Pruhm. (See II. § 37, p. 300.) The Franks refused to face the enemy: the Danes therefore continued in this part of Neustria throughout the winter, the spring and part of the next summer; then, sailing out of the Seine they coasted round to the Loire, plundered Nantes, Angers and Blois again, burned Tours, and greatly damaged the Church of Saint-Martin—the Glastonbury of the Gauls. The Danes, determined to gain the mastery of the Seine, were proceeding consistently. Near the point where the Andelle and the Eure fall into that river, was situated a

851—854

853—855

853—854.

Danes having quitted the Seine, attack and plunder the shores of the Loire.

851—854

853—854

18 July,
855.Sidroc re-
enters the
Seine.

854—855

Civil war
amongst
the Danes:
battle of
Flensburgh
and death
of Eric the
Red.

very favourite residence of Charlemagne, an ancient palace called Pistres, about five leagues from Rouen. The Carolingian Sovereigns were accustomed to hold their great councils in this royal mansion, and some noted ordinances were there promulgated, quoted by historians as the Capitulars of Pistres, just as we speak of the Statutes of Kenilworth or Merton. Pistres had hitherto escaped; but the Irish-Dane Sidroc had marked the place, and re-entering the Seine with a very large fleet, he accomplished his intent, and temporarily occupied palace, river and territory. Meanwhile Blois and Orleans were captured, and further devastations perpetrated on the Loire, yet Charles-le-Chauve, albeit grievously troubled by his own flesh and blood, was not despairing: he employed every exertion to oppose them; and by an unexpected contingency this revival of energy received encouragement from the Danes themselves.

Eric the Red, the former persecutor of Anscharius, though not professedly a Christian, was now most favourably inclined towards Christianity, won over by the goodness and kindness of the Archbishop. Through this conduct, the monarch provoked the inveterate hatred of the Northmen. The malcontents at home communicated with their countrymen abroad: the pirate-kings, dispersed as they were, agreed unanimously to forego their free-bootery, and, returning home, avenge

their national institutions, their gods, and their laws.—Guthrun, Eric's nephew, commanded the insurgents. The armies met nigh Flensburgh in Jutland: during three days, the battle raged so fiercely that all the chieftains—Eric, Guthrun and a cohort (so to speak) of Kings and Jarls—perished in the conflict. Equally tremendous was the slaughter in every rank and degree—Norskmen, Danes, Swedes, Jutes, champions and churls. Loudly did the Franks exult in the real or imaginary results of Flensburgh fight, the pirates who had devastated them during twenty years self-punished by a Danish Fontenay, all the nobility of the Vikingar exterminated, the royal lineages, as they believed, extirpated: the report prevailed that only one little child was left, and the Franks expected they would be for ever relieved from their tormenting enemies.—But few were the months during which they were permitted to enjoy the pleasing delusion.

§ 17. Dreadful adversaries again arose, the Piratical Hosts visiting and revisiting the Gauls with invigorated desperation. Biorn-Ironside, the invulnerable Biorn, his fleet joining Sidroc, again entered the persecuted Seine. They landed immediately, and marched westward, slaying all who resisted. Charles-le-Chauve, however, was in the field, and having succeeded in keeping his dastardly troops together, the Danes sustained some loss and retreated to the river; but they

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855. Sep.
Biorn-Iron-
side's expe-
dition.

851—854 derided their enemies: the foray had paid
 them.

855

Biorn occu-
 pies the
 island of
Oscelles.

Sidroc sailed for the Loire. In the meanwhile another Danish squadron of Northmen had occupied Nantes. Herispoë, the Armorican king, purchased Sidroc's alliance, and retained him to attack his countrymen. But the pirates were men of business: the Danes occupying Nantes opened a bargain with Sidroc and overbid Herispoë, and Sidroc sailed away. Biorn-Ironside continuing in the Seine, had examined the country and occupied the island of Oscelles, the *crux* of French topography. Academicians and Archæologists, Dom Duplessis and Dom Mabillon, Dom Felibien and Dom Sirmond, Père Daniel and Père Dubois, Baluze and Valois, Le-Bœuf and Bonamy, attest by their disputations the contending opinions respecting a position, considered as the most important during the war. These diligent and learned men, well conversant with the country, have not been able to decide on the locality, some bringing the place within a league of Paris, and others within three of Rouen.

This controversy must not be considered as an idle display of antiquarian pertinacity, for it shews, more clearly than any mere argument could do, the extent of the variations which the Seine's course and channels have sustained, casting the greatest obscurity upon a question of home topography in a well-known region, and

where difficulties would appear to be most easily susceptible of solution.—All things considered, however, we are inclined to place Oselles in the vicinity of Pont-de-l'Arche, just below the confluence of Seine and Eure. Here Biorn raised an entrenchment or camp, which became the Danish head-quarters: here they established themselves whenever they chose. Oselles gave them the complete command of the river; hence they sent forth their detachments by land or by water, helping themselves to what they needed, and keeping Paris in constant anxiety.

§ 18. It is evident that the Danes who had thus obtained the virtual mastery of France were not numerous. In England, not only the ancient Danelaghe, but many other districts retain and retained the records of their preponderance in the names of places and the aspect of the people. Our institutions also recall their memory; but in France, even in the countries where they settled and naturalized themselves, nigh the Loire where they colonized, in Normandy where they ruled, they were completely absorbed amongst the Romanized population. Like a stage-procession winding in and out, disappearing and returning, their numbers were magnified by their activity. If it so happened that they were in danger of being hit, they evaded the blow: when their stores were exhausted, they departed till the next harvest, or sought a harvest elsewhere. They consi-

851—854
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The North-
ern inva-
sions facili-
tated by
the domes-
tic disunion
of the Royal
family.

854—855
 855
 dered themselves as Landlords to whom a periodical rent ought to be rendered :—when the rent was due they came and distrained.

Charles
 troubled by
 his chil-
 dren.

Charles, during the whole of his reign, was perplexed and entangled by difficulties—a cloud of enemies surrounded him, the Northmen perhaps the least inveterate: his own people, his own kinsmen, his own children, were vigilant, constant and intimate foes. Visitations fell heavily upon Charles, and, as all men do, he often invited the scourge. Trials and punishments, afflictions sent and chastisements deserved, the tribulations constituting the mysterious discipline of human existence, are perhaps more instructive in the cases of exalted personages than in private life, because they are less invidiously quotable and more clearly shewn, and history therefore should disclose them. Amongst his numerous children only one could have given him comfort—lame Lothair, who died young. All the others were troubles, or objects of care and sorrow.

The King's own conduct contributed to poison the minds of his household. His marriage with his noble concubine Richilda, Count Boso's beautiful sister, the fifth day after Ermentruda's death, raises a strong presumption that his criminal passion enhanced the misfortunes which he sustained. Louis, his eldest son, Louis-le-Bégué, became discontented, a fomenter of mischief, amounting to rebellion and treason. Charles

was not blameless in his conduct towards this son : the endeavours which he made for the purpose of compelling Louis to discard the betrothed, if not the consort, whom he loved, in order that he might contract a state-marriage, encreased the disunion.

851—854

843—857

Louis-le-Bégué was urgent for an appanage—
 abbeyes, counties, dukedoms, or a kingdom. Family precedents warranted such demands, but Charles-le-Chauve was cautious, distrustful, loath to bestow any donation which might encrease his son's influence and power. Very significant of the schism between the father and the son is the list of forests in which Charles wholly prohibits his son from sporting : a long list of preserves, including Compiègne. As to the other forests, Louis only received a very qualified licence : he may chase a deer whilst passing through, let slip a hound or spear a wild boar, but nothing else.— This Capitular is an amusing and memorable example of the hunter's jealousy. To the young prince, such a prohibition must have been almost as annoying as the refusal of a kingdom.

Jealousies
 between
 Charles-le-
 Chauve and
 Louis-le-
 Bégué.

§ 19. Aquitanian affairs are singularly complicated with the Northern invasions. The deficiency of local chronicles concerning central France and the other countries south of the Loire, and indeed the general absence of information respecting this region—half France—precludes us from forming any accurate idea of the outrage-

843—857

The affairs
 of Aquit-
 taine.

854—855

844.
Pepin de-
feats the
forces of
Charles-le-
Chauve in
the battle of
Angou-
lême.

ous revolutions which the Aquitanian kingdom sustained. Amongst the acts of injustice committed by Louis-le-débonnaire, perhaps the least excusable was his conduct towards his grandson Pepin. He robbed the child solely for the purpose of aggrandizing his favourite Charles; and upon Charles he bestowed an inheritance of confusion. Putting the morality of the act out of the question, the exclusion of the younger Pepin was a grave political error. The Vasques or Gascons, a distinct race, fiery, fickle, haughty, jealous of their privileges, and as proud of their privileges, franchises and nationality as their Iberian brethren, could not be slighted with impunity: they disliked and dreaded the union of the French and Aquitanian Crowns. All Pepin's uncles were adverse, all combined against him, all betrayed him in their turns; but he defied them all. The Aquitanians refused to acknowledge his dethronement: during many years they supported him heartily. He surprized the troops of Charles near Angoulême, put them to flight, and completely defeated them.

In this battle, Abbot Hugh, the son of Charlemagne, was killed. Charles-le-Chauve was compelled to accept of a compromise: he knew the full extent of his danger. Nominoë and his Bretons, probably in concert with Pepin, had passed beyond their confines and invaded Maine, which Louis-le-Bégué desired as an appanage.

Charles must have been equally apprehensive that if the hostility of the Aquitanians continued unmitigated, their discontent would interfere with the defence of the country—nay, possibly induce them to aid the enemy.

854—855
844

This last anticipation was realized. The Danes menaced, and menacing made their assault. They entered the Dordogne, Charles repelled them; but they were not deterred, and their defeat in the river was followed by the most profitable acquisition of Bourdeaux. He therefore compromised with his adversary, consenting that Pepin should resume the government of Aquitaine, excepting Saintonge, the Angoumois, and Poitou: the two first-mentioned Counties, Charles reserved for himself, the last he granted to Rainulph or Ramnulf, son of Gerard Count of Auvergne. Concurrently with this restoration, the three brothers held a congress, enjoining Pepin to obey King Charles, as a nephew ought to obey an uncle: a very ambiguous precept, involving that pregnant principle of discord,—the confusion of family subordination and state-authority which had proved the bane of the Empire; and, in their hollow recognition, they all avoided giving the royal title to the Aquitanian king.

845
Charles cedes a portion of Aquitaine to Pepin.

What was the “obedience” which Pepin was bound to render? was he undutiful, or his uncle harsh and exacting?—we know not;—but Pepin concerted plans for making himself entirely inde-

848
Pepin preparing to render himself independent, treats with the Saracens and Northmen.

854—855

848

pendent; and Charles re-entered Aquitaine with the declared intention of subduing the rebel. Pepin prepared actively for defence. There were three inveterate foes of the Franks who would co-operate with him—the Saracen, the Northman, and the Breton. The Aquitanians were not unfriendly towards the Moslems. William of Toulouse, son of the notorious Bernard Count of Septimania by his wife, the accomplished and affectionate Doduana, entered willingly into the plot. Abdelrahman was invited from Cordova. The Saracens occupied the Spanish marches; and the Northmen were courted. Hence the invasion before mentioned, when they captured Toulouse.

Charles-le-Chauve marches against Pepin, and is crowned King of Aquitaine.

Charles-le-Chauve's expedition began favourably: a faction amongst the unstable Aquitanians had already discarded their chosen Pepin and joined Charles. Pepin was ousted, and Charles solemnly crowned as king of the country. Pepin, however, made a stubborn resistance. Sancho Sanchion, Count or Duke of the Gascons, supported Pepin: a fierce war continued in the southern parts of Aquitaine, which exposed the rest of the Gauls the more to the Danish ravages;—the Franks seeming totally insensible to their own folly.

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Pepin betrayed by Sancho Sanchion, and imprisoned in Saint-Médard.

About this time Bourdeaux was taken by Osker. Charles, the younger brother of Pepin, emerged from his obscurity, and fought against the persecuting uncle. He was captured by treach-

ery, delivered to Charles-le-Chauve, and compelled to take Orders: it is he who afterwards became the good Archbishop at Mayence. Treacheries were involved in treacheries. Sancho Sanchion, who encouraged Pepin and acted as his most earnest friend, concluded a base bargain with Charles-le-Chauve, surprized Pepin at a feast—an aggravation of perfidy—and delivered him into the hands of his uncle. Pepin was sent to Saint-Médard. Here he was treated equally as an unwilling novice and as a prisoner: an oath of fealty to Charles-le-Chauve was also extorted from him,—an absurd aggravation of harshness, and laying further snares for his conscience. Obligations accepted under duress, oaths imposed by duress, discredited all the principles of religion and honour.

§ 20. Charles-le-Chauve now ruled in Aquitaine, or seemed to do so, for the Aquitanians withdrew their obedience, became extremely discontented, and sought to rid themselves of his authority. The contagious turbulence spread with encreasing virulence amongst the French chieftains. Louis-le-Germanique, who fomented the disaffection whilst pretending reluctance, was invited as the deliverer of the country.

In Germany there prevailed an inveterate hatred of Charles: his usual appellation was *Sennacherib*, or *the Tyrant*.—Free us from our oppressor—was the supplication of the Aquita-

854—855

853—856.

Further revolutions in Aquitaine; Louis-le-Germanique solicited to aid—he sends Louis the Saxon.

854—855
 854
 nians; to this cry his brother responded; but Louis was unable to quit Germany. Carloman and Rastiz, the Wends and Carinthians, gave him sufficient employment: he therefore sent his son Louis the Saxon in his stead; and a singular rumour has been transmitted to us, that the Armoricans accepted the younger Louis as Count or King of "Cornouailles."

854
 Louis the Saxon is abandoned by the Aquitanians.

Pepin escapes from Saint-Médard.

Louis the Saxon hastened from Baioaria; but when, after his long march, he had crossed the Loire, the Aquitanians who sought him so earnestly just before, had changed their minds. Louis the Saxon was there, but they would have none of Louis. One Count alone came forward to join the German Prince. Pepin tried to escape from Saint-Médard by the connivance of some of the inmates, but he was intercepted: his abettors were punished, and he was compelled to kneel down and be shorn, take the vows, put on the cowl and become a Benedictine, as far as shaven crown, vows and cowl, could make him such. But the active adventurer renewed his attempt and got off clear, cast away his hateful garb, reached Aquitaine all shaven and shorn, and appeared again as a warrior and as a king.

There were now three competitors for Aquitaine—the German Louis, Charles-le-Chauve, and Pepin—all virtually (and Pepin ultimately actually) helping the Northmen. Charles-le-Chauve was the most successful, Louis the Saxon fled,



Pepin's partizans fell off: he had no money. 854—855
 Charles-le-Chauve prospered, and caused his son 857
 Charles, the thoughtless boy, to be acknowledged 15 Oct. 855.
 king of Aquitaine; he was solemnly anointed The young Charles crowned King of Aquitaine.
 and crowned at Limoges. After a few months
 of nominal reign, the young Charles was deposed,
 and Pepin re-acknowledged; but, before the year
 closed, the Aquitanians repudiated Pepin and 856
 re-deposed him, and re-acknowledged the young Charles deposed by the Aquitanians, and Pepin re-acknowledged.
 Charles. Pepin, desolate and reckless, now allied Pepin deposed, and Charles acknowledged again.
 himself with the Northmen. Poitou, Aquitaine
 and the Counties of Blois and Chartres, were
 all invaded and pillaged. Orleans was encour-
 aged to resistance by her Bishop, and the Danes
 retreated; but the apathy and treachery of the
 nobles enabled the Pirates to regain the city. The
 Northmen were peculiarly inveterate against the
 Bishops; and the Bishop of Chartres, Frodbaldus,
 who like another Wulstan encouraged his people
 to defend the houses of God and their own, was
 so fiercely hunted by the Danes, that, attempting
 to swim across the Eure, he was drowned.

§ 21. The Seine as well as the future Duchy
 of France being laid open to the Northmen, Paris,
 partially recovered from Regner Lodbrok's inva-
 sion, was assailed with more fell intent.

The surrounding districts were ravaged, and 857
 the great monasteries, heretofore sacked, were Paris attacked again by the Northmen.
 now destroyed. Only three Churches were found
 standing—Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain-des-près,

854—855

848

and Saint-Etienne or Notre-Dame—these having redeemed themselves by contributions to the enemy; but Saint-Denis made a bad bargain. The Northmen did not hold to their contract, or another company of pirates did not consider it as binding: the Monastery was burnt to a shell, and a most heavy ransom paid for the liberation of Abbot Louis, Charlemagne's grandson by his daughter Rothaida. Sainte-Généviève suffered most severely amongst all; and the pristine beauty of the structure rendered the calamity more conspicuous and the distress more poignant. During three centuries, the desolated grandeur of the shattered ruins continued to excite sorrow and dread, the fragments and particles of the gilt mosaics glistening upon the fire-scathed vaultings.

Destruction of the
ancient Basilica of
Généviève.

Such were the apprehensions excited by the visitations of the Northmen, that a new supplication,—*A furore Normannorum libera nos*, was introduced into the Gallican liturgies. They broke open the sepulchres, plundered the tombs of the Merovingian Sovereigns, and scattered the bones of Clovis and Clotilda.

So keenly was the wound which they had inflicted at Sainte-Généviève still felt in after times, that the same petition,—“*A furore Normannorum libera nos*”—continued to be intoned in the Abbey Choir even till the era of Louis-treize: it is not impossible but that the dread inspired by the Lion of the North may have

imparted a new reality to the archaic ritual. ^{854—855}
 Moreover, besides the commemoration thus kept ⁸⁵⁷
 up in prayer, the community steadily observed a
 statute which forbade the admission of any monk
 of Danish blood. The prohibition, inscribed on
 stone, was shewn to the visitor when he entered
 the Cloister, and testified their determination
 never to receive a Dansker-man within their
 walls.

The relics of Sainte-Généviève had been carried away by the monks. Until the reign of Philippe-Auguste the Church remained desolate, uncovered and open to the sky. Abbot Stephen (afterwards Bishop of Tournay) then began the restoration. Another sanctuary was erected, containing the renewed shrine of the patroness of Paris, vast and gloomy, and inspiring religious awe : pendant over the portal, hung the iron sanctuary ring which, touched by the fugitive, protected him from the avenger.

Such was the traditionary respect rendered to the dark Gothic Basilica, that the building was preserved when the new edifice arose—Corinthian portico and mathematically balanced cupola—equally testifying the encrease of architectural skill and the decline of religious sentiment.—The last fragments of the ancient consecrated fabric were not uprooted until after the restoration of the Bourbons. We well recollect the belfry-tower, standing, when we first saw Paris, upon

840—877 the dusty and desolate plot: the Church had been
 previously demolished by the *Bande-noire*, and
 857 the empty stone-coffins of the Merovingian kings
 were found as they had been left by the Scan-
 dinavian grave-robbers, plundered, broken open
 and in confusion.

The shrine of Sainte-Généviève has been put
 aside in a neglected corner of an adjoining paro-
 chial Church, and every vestige of Christianity
 is obliterated from the Pantheon—*Aux grands*
hommes la Patrie reconnoissante—the Sanctuary
 dedicated to the revilers of the Most High; and
 the altar trodden down by the star-crowned statue
 symbolising Immortality,—their immortality—
 stars glaring with the Unquenchable fire—the
 immortality of the never-dying Worm.

Cowardice
 of the
 Franks.

§ 22. Amongst the calamities of the times,
 the destruction of the Parisian monasteries seems
 to have worked peculiarly on the imagination.
 Paschasius Radbertus, the biographer of Wala,
 expatiates upon this misery when writing his
 Commentary on Jeremiah. The general dis-
 content was vented by the people in vituperations
 against Charles-le-Chauve, whom they accused as
 the cause of their misfortunes. This was the
 accustomed subterfuge of self-reproach: their
 panic-cowardice was shameful and almost inex-
 plicable. The Counts had full power to summon
 the lieges for the defence of the country: the
 Franks were strong men, well armed, well trained,

the country abounded with resources; and if the Counts neglected their duty, the Franks were fully able to combine and defend themselves, to fight for their vineyards, their harvests, and their homes. Yet instead of making any resistance, the recreants scarcely ever attempted to oppose the enemy, even in the strongest fortified cities; the few occasions when they held out were so exceptional, that the raising of a siege is most usually ascribed to a miracle.

Charles-le-Chauve did not lose heart. Entangled, embarrassed, yet undeterred, he formed a grand strategic plan for recovering the Seine and securing Paris, and, through Paris, central and southern France. The first movement now needed against the Danes would necessarily be the dispersion of their nest in the Isle d'Oscelles.

He summoned his Arrièreban, and blockaded the Northmen. Affairs in Aquitaine had become more adverse; Charles the boy was again expelled; and so intricately variable and contradictory were the political tergiversations of those times, that Pepin was equally a fugitive, seeking protection from his uncle. Amidst all these disturbances Charles conducted his operations vigorously. He intended to establish a complete line of fortifications and fortified posts, calculated, if the French could be roused from their fatal apathy, to frustrate the Pagan designs. After his death, though the works were only partially

854—855

858—859

Plans of Charles-le-Chauve for the expulsion of the Northmen: he blockades them in Oscelles.

854—855 executed, Paris was saved by his military pre-
 science. The blockade of Oselles therefore
 853—859 interested not merely Charles-le-Chauve or
 France, but the whole Carlovingian Empire.

853—859. § 23. During five years the discontented
 nobles and popular leaders of France had been
 plotting to depose Charles-le-Chauve, through
 the instrumentality of his brother Louis-le-Ger-
 manique. In the rapid and imperfect narratives
 of the Chroniclers a few names of the disaffected
meneurs are mentioned, whom we cannot easily
 identify—a Gunzeline, a Gosfrid, or an Hervey;—
 others somewhat better known, such as the son
 of Bernard of Septimania; but the name of the
 most celebrated amongst them all, the most
 illustrious in France, he who holds a paramount
 station in European history, is not disclosed until
 after the explosion.

Conspiracy
 for the de-
 thronement
 of Charles-
 le-Chauve,
 and the
 substitu-
 tion of
 Louis-le-
 German-
 ique.

Louis was apprehensive, as he declared, lest
 he should be accused of ambition. Dangers and
 conscientious scruples might combine to restrain
 him: his disobedient sons, Louis the younger,
 Carloman, and Charles, were digging pitfalls for
 their father. The Sclavonians were disturbing
 the German realm, the Czechs or Bohemians
 revolting, the Daleminzians recalcitrating against
 the imposed tributes. But, at length, the oppor-
 tune moment arrived: the Northmen were defend-
 ing themselves vigorously in Oselles, levying
 contributions upon the country, feeding them-

selves from the stores of Paris ; and when Charles-
le-Chauve was exerting himself manfully to clear
the Empire from these insatiate enemies, his
own brother, his pledged and sworn ally, casting
off all reserve, moved towards France at the head
of a powerful army, animated by personal, po-
litical, and national antipathy.

851—855
858

The Luegen-feld treachery was acted over again. The first notice which Charles received of his brother's hostile approach was the uproar in his own camp, the camp before Oselles. His army broke up. Counts, vassals, soldiers abandoned their liege Sovereign, for the purpose of supporting the fratricidal Louis. A cowardly stratagem was practised against Charles by his own people when he was reconnoitring the enemy, exposing him to the hazard either of death or capture by the Northmen. Still Charles bore up—constant adversity had steeled him against adversity ; and re-assembling such scanty forces as he could yet command, he advanced to resist the invasion.

Louis-le-Germanique, raising his banner at Worms, began his march triumphantly from Chrimhilda's Garden of Roses. The Germans were exasperated against Charles "the Tyrant," the subjects of Charles equally inveterate against their sovereign.

Aug.—Dec.
858.
Louis-le-
German-
ique in-
vades
France.

The Nobles, generally, were adverse to a Sovereign who disregarded the exclusive privileges

^{851—856}
 856 claimed by noble birth, and considered *virtue* as equivalent to ancestry.—There was a strong party amongst the Clergy against him. His dilapidations of Church-property had given great offence, and not without sufficient reason. Abuses are sometimes partially restrained by the modesty of power; yet appetite comes by eating—as the French phrase has it,—and the spurious bashfulness of indulged irresponsibility rarely lasts. Hitherto it had been understood that certain Abbeys were always to be treated as real ecclesiastical benefices, and bestowed only upon unmarried clerks. Charles-le-Chauve, yielding to State necessity, now, without any hesitation, granted the Clergy-reserves indiscriminately as lay-fees. It seems that he was also suspected of sympathy with Godeschalck, whose opinions upon predestination had been condemned by the Gallican Church.—Wenilo, Archbishop of Sens, was prominently active amongst the insurrectionists.—“*Wenilo*” and “*Ganelone*” are only linguistic varieties of the same name; and a commentator upon the cycle of Carolingian fictions may be tempted to suppose that the appellation of Ariosto’s poetical arch-traitor was suggested by this ecclesiastical delinquent.

856.
 Nov. 12.
 Charles-le-
 Chauve be-
 trayed by
 his troops.

Aquitani-
 ans, Bretons,
 Counts from
 all parts of
 France, promised
 help to Louis-le-
 Germanique,
 or joined his
 standard; yet
 Charles persevered,
 and, with such
 few troops as
 still adhered to
 him,

resolved to encounter the advancing enemy. The ^{851—855}
 armies came in sight of each other near Brienne ^{858—859}
 on the Aube, the nursery school of Napoleon.
 The stand which Charles had made, enabled him
 to commence negotiations with Louis; but dis-
 content was encreasing amongst his own soldiery,
 and he anticipated their defection by retreating to
 Burgundy, where he still relied on finding support
 from the partizans who remained to him.

Louis-le-Germanique, advancing as a deliverer ^{Louis-le-Germanique acknowledged as King of France. Charles deposed by a Conciliabulum.}
 and a conqueror, held his Court at Troyes, as-
 suming the royal authority, welcoming and guer-
 doning all who had deserted from his brother.
 Counties, abbeys and domains were granted pro-
 fusely.—Wenilo convened a Conciliabulum at
 Attigny, wherein a sentence of deposition was
 pronounced against the fugitive King.

Louis, now king of Germany France and Aquitaine, surprized at his own successes, considered himself entirely secure. Disbanding his forces, he dismissed all care from his mind, and enjoyed his unexpected good fortune; but treachery was so kneaded into the character of the Franks, that their recognition of the new Sovereign was the transition to his abandonment. Charles recovered his strength and influence, Louis-le-Germanique was universally discarded; and without ^{859.}
 even attempting to maintain his position, he sur- ^{Louis-le-Germanique expelled, and Charles-le-Chaure restored.}
 rendered the kingdom of France. His retreat
 was a flight, and the pursuit was so hot, that

851—855 Charles, had he chosen, might have captured the
 859 fugitive. It was full time indeed that Louis should
 repair to his own country. The Eastern Marches
 were all in commotion. The Sorbs were striving
 to rid themselves of the German yoke, and had
 slain their Duke, Cziztebor, the feudatory of Louis.
 The other Sclavonian tribes prepared for revolt.
 With triumph had Louis set out from Chrimhilda's
 Garden of Roses: he returned to the Garden of
 Roses covered with disgrace and shame.

859.
 Fresh dis-
 turbances
 in Aquit-
 taine and in
 Armorica.
 Pepin joins
 Robert-le-
 Fort (see
 II. § 59) and
 the Bre-
 tons.

§ 24. In the meanwhile, Northmen and Aquit-
 tanians were incessant in their disturbances. The
 Franks between Seine and Loire made an unsuc-
 cessful endeavour to expel the Danes. A peace
 had been concluded between Charles and Pepin,
 and the latter was reinstated in a portion of
 Aquitaine; but hostilities again arose between
 the uncle and that nephew whom he dreaded more
 than Lodbrok, Biorn-Ironside, Sidroc or Oscar.
 The Aquitanians, who had rejoiced in the return
 of Pepin, rejoiced as much when they cashiered
 him. The boy Charles was replaced upon the
 Aquitanian throne, and Pepin expelled for the
 fourth or fifth time—we are baffled in attempting
 a correct account of these changes—but, inexhaus-
 tible in resources, and endued with the wisdom of
 desperation, Pepin knew the point where the
 kingdom of Charles was peculiarly vulnerable, a
 country open to his worst enemies, the Northmen,
 a country peopled by a race still burning with

national vengeance against the Franks, a race now supported by the alliance of a Chieftain who had acquired the highest reputation, "another Judas Maccabæus" in popular estimation, a stranger or the son of a stranger, under whom the Armoricans had rallied, who had been the head and front of the confederation against Charles, ROBERT-LE-FORT, the first of the Capets,—"*Pipinus Rotberto Comiti et Britonibus sociatur*"—is the brief announcement of the change coming upon the Monarchy's destiny.

§ 25. It is a marvellous history, that of Armorica, reminiscences of truth and traditions of fable inextricably intermingled. The huge rocks piled on the borders of the gloomy Morbihan will not answer your interrogatories. Celtic history, so interesting, so affecting, so noble, has been rendered the meaningless vacuity of literature, by the unbounded speculations of the learned. When will Druidical archæologists be convinced that menzhir and peul-ven, cromlech and kistvaen tell us nothing; and from nothing nothing comes. You can no more judge of their age than the eye can estimate the height of the clouds: these shapeless masses impart but one lesson, the impossibility of recovering by induction any knowledge of the speechless past. Waste not your oil. Give it up, that speechless past; whether fact or chronology, doctrine or mythology; whether in Europe or Asia, Africa or

851—855
 859

History of
 Brittany:
 its close
 connexion
 with the
 history of
 England.

851—855. America;—at Thebes or Palenque, on Lycian
 shore or Salisbury plain: lost is lost: gone, is
 gone for ever.

818

Yet close by that inexplicable Morbihan memorial are the excavated walls of the Roman station, replacing the Celtic city, whose people, impelled to the South and deserting their habitations, established the Adriatic's island queen. Even as the Galatians of the Narbonnensic Gaul became the Asiatic Galatians, so did the Gaulish Veneti become the Veneti of Italy.

The seat of the Veneti was subsequently occupied by the immigration proceeding from the greater Britain, the second Celtic colony:—such has been the process according to which the pilgrimage of races has been usually conducted—families attracted by the kindred families which have preceded them. When the Arabs conquered Carthage, they were but the followers of the Canaanites who had fled to Carthage before Joshua's devouring sword. And thus, in the lesser Brittany, the Loegrians introduced their language and their laws, settling another Cornouaille opposite our Cornwall, and another Gwynneth retracing the Gwynneth of Siluria, and appointing another local habitation for Tristran and the Morholt, symbolized in the fable of Saint Michael's guarded Mount, surrounded by the submerged shore.

Britanny was an integral portion of the Con-

queror's empire, and the histories of Normandy and the history of England are interwoven with Armorica's destinies. From the earliest period when the events of Armorica become known with any degree of certitude, they are combined with the annals of our own island.

851—855
 843—844

Riche-mont, Mont-aigue and Mont-gomery are three proud memorials of the Conquest; but the proudest is Alan Fergant's tower on the verdantly shadowed Swale, ruling the inheritance of the Anglo-Saxon Edwin;—a monument of the retributive Nemesis, avenging on those Saxons their expulsion of Alan's ancestors from their aboriginal island.

§ 26. Charlemagne's supremacy over the Armoricans may be compared to the dominion exercised by Imperial Russia amongst the Caucasian tribes—periods during which the vassals dare not claim the rights of independence, intercalated amongst the converse periods when the Emperor cannot assert the rights of authority; yet the Frank would not abandon the prerogative of the Cæsars, whilst the mutual antipathy between the races inflamed the desire of dominion on the one part, and the determination of resistance on the other. Britanny is divided into *Bretagne Bretonnante* and *Bretagne Gallicante*, according to the predominance of the Breyzad and the Romane languages respectively. The latter constituted the march-lands, and here the

Important
 subjugation of Ar-
 morica by
 the Carlo-
 vingians.

851—855 Counts-marchers were placed by Charlemagne
 and his successors, Franks mostly by lineage;
 818—833 yet one Breyzad, Nominoë, was trusted by Louis-
 le-débonnaire with a delegated authority.

818.
 Noninoë
 accepts the
 protection
 of Louis-le-
 débon-
 naire.

Nominoë deserved his power: he was one of the new men of the era, literally taken from the plough. Inimical traditions tell how the tyrant's ploughshare discovered a treasure, the gold which enabled the usurper to win the crown. Those who favoured Nominoë, or were his favourites, complimented him by a lineage ascending to the fabled chieftains of King Arthur's days; but the Monasteries he had plundered revenged themselves by proclaiming his ignoble origin. The dissensions among the Franks enabled Nominoë to increase his authority. Could there be any adversary of the empire so stupid as not to profit by the battle of Fontenay?—During the dreadful devastations which the Normans were committing in the Carlovingian march-land or County of Nantes, Nominoë attacked and occupied the march-land of Rennes; and then he and Count Lambert, whom we recollect in the Pfaltz of Aix-la-Chapelle in the very beginning of Louis-le-débonnaire's reign, turned their weapons against France. Nominoë assumed the royal title, vindicated the independence of his antient people, and enabled them, in the time of Rollo, to assert with incorrect grandiloquence, pardonable in political argument, that the Frank

had never reigned within the proper Armorican boundaries. 851—858

§ 27. Five expeditions, five raids-royal, conducted by Charles-le-Chauve in person, successively entered Armorica: he encamped around Rennes: the severe season and the insufficiency of his forces compelled him to retreat. Baffled, but not dispirited, he resumed the conflict in the following year. Charles inherited Charlemagne's genius. Inferior in opportunity, inferior in fortune, he possessed the spirit and talent, which, unmarred by fate, might have enrolled him in the rank of conquerors. Again he advanced boldly into Armorica. But Charles was unacquainted with the country: his ardour rendered him incautious. The artifices of Nominoë enticed the royal general and the Frankish army into a marshy tract between the Oult and the Villaine, the river giving a name to one of the Departments which have obliterated Brittany from the map of France.—It was a celebrated Field where the armies thus encountered, the field of Balaon: the Field famed or defamed by a battle fought long ago in the dismal times, in the times of Chilperic and Fredegonda, between Guerech and Beppolin, a desperate and bloody strife between kinsman and kinsmen, the strifes which constitute the sorrow of Celtic history.

The hardy Saxons, from the "Otlingua Saxonica" near Bayeux, that Teutonic settlement

843—850
843—844

First expedition of Charles-le-Chauve into Brittany.

845
Second expedition of Charles-le-Chauve against the Bretons.

851—855 which had preceded the establishment of their
 858 brethren in our insular Britain, were marshalled
 as the vanguard of the Frankish army. They
 fought desperately, but ineffectually; the light
 and active Breton cavalry pierced through and
 broke the ranks of the enemy. Battle-axe and
 sword yielded to javelin and the spear. Two
 days did the conflict continue, till at length
 Charles, retreating before Nominoë, took refuge
 in Mans; and the victorious chief, who had al-
 ready assumed the title of King, obtained, after
 long negotiations with the successor of Saint
 Peter, the golden crown.

850.
 Third ex-
 pedition of
 Charles-le-
 Chauve
 into Brit-
 anny.

So earnest was Charles-le-Chauve for the
 subjugation of Brittany, that amidst the turmoils
 of the Danish invasions, and the enmity of his
 brothers, he recommenced hostilities. Upon the
 borders of Armorica, the Romanized population,
 more especially the citizens, longed for reunion
 with the Franks, and invited Charles to resume
 his authority, the Count, his lieutenant, having
 been expelled from the borders of the Loire.
 Charles therefore invaded Armorica, and placed
 garrisons in Rennes and amidst the ruins of
 Nantes. But the energetic Nominoë was in the
 height of his power: he occupied and subjugated
 Anjou and Maine. Nominoë's army, conjoined
 with the insurgent Lambert, then entered the
 Pays-Chartrain. Fortune seemed to promise that,
 Arthur's fabled glories restored, the Gauls be-

tween the Seine, the Loire and the sea, should be ruled by a Celtic dynasty; but sudden death stayed the progress of the Hero:—he left three children by his Queen Argantael, the eldest Herispoë.

861—866

861—862

Charles acknowledged the rights of Herispoë, confirmed him in his authority, and received the proud vassal's homage. Vassalage did not practically imply obedience. Violent dissensions arose between France and Armorica. Charles led a fourth and a fifth expedition into Herispoë's dominions. Herispoë opposed a stout resistance, obtained his own terms, and accepting a fresh investiture from Charles, he assumed the royal title by his Suzerain's authority. Herispoë was inclining towards the Franks, and willing to assimilate himself, like his successors, to the prevailing ethos of the Empire. A family alliance was projected: hitherto had the proud Franks disdained the Celtic race, and the Celts loathed their oppressors; but the interests and inclinations of the Sovereigns prevailed over national antagonisms, and it was agreed that Louis-le-Bégué, the heir-apparent of Charles, should become the husband of Herispoë's daughter. The affections of Louis were fixed upon Ansgarda, his first love: the promise however of an ample appanage, Maine—a State almost independent, though claimed equally by Franks and Armoricans—Le Perche, and all the Counties lying

861—862.

Fourth and fifth expeditions of Charles against the Bretons.

Marriage proposed between Louis-le-Bégué and the daughter of Herispoë.

851—855 around and between Chartres, Orleans, and Tours,
 861 procured a reluctant compliance ; and the policy
 which in a subsequent age united the fleur-de-lis
 of France and the ermines of Brittany was near
 to have succeeded.

858.
 Discontent
 excited
 thereby in
 Armorica :
 Herispoë
 killed by
 Solomon,
 who suc-
 ceeds.

§ 28. Armorica repudiated the antinational
 policy of her ruler : the alliance with the Franks
 deeply incensed the Breyzad race. A conspiracy
 was matured against Herispoë by a rival, his
 nephew Solomon. This chieftain, claiming the
 supreme dignity, and hitherto protected and
 trusted by Charles-le-Chauve, had already ob-
 tained the county of Rennes, one third of Ar-
 morica. Herispoë sought refuge in a Church,
 but his foemen killed him before the altar.

861—862
 The great
 Danish in-
 vasions un-
 der Wel-
 land, &c.

The Danes were pouring into France : Charles,
 however, assembled his forces, and prepared to
 avenge the disappointment of his hopes ; but the
 new Armorican King was the stronger. French
 affairs were becoming more and more troubled :
 the conspiracy for the deposition of Charles and
 the substitution of Louis-le-Germanique had ram-
 ified into this distant region. Robert-le-Fort was
 in Brittany, heading the confederacy ; and it was
 at this juncture that Pepin of Aquitaine, joining
 Robert-le-Fort and the Bretons, turned the scale.

§ 29. Anglo-Saxon England must be read
 in parallel with the history of France. Early
 in Ethelbert's reign Winchester was sacked and
 burned to the ground by the Danes A mis-

chance followed their success. — Returning to their vessels, merry and spoil-encumbered, they were attacked by the Hampshire-men, commanded by Ethelwolf and Osríc, and some of their detachments were dispersed; but they recoiled with greater force on the other side of the Channel. Half a day, or a day, landed them on the opposite coast, and they infested the whole of the shores from Scheldt to Seine; Amiens was taken, so also Nimeguen, the Bishop put on board ship in chains, Bayeux taken and the Bishop killed: Terouenne, the ancient capital of the Morini, burnt—the once opulent Terouenne—Wolsey's Terouenne, Henry the Eighth's Terouenne, Francis the First's Terouenne, which, after rising again to exuberant prosperity, was ruined for the gratification of her burgher-rival's jealousies.

Up the Seine sailed Jarl Welland with a fleet of two hundred ships—towns, villages and villas burning on every side. Notwithstanding their repeated warnings, the Parisians neglected every means of defence: they dared not, or cared not, cowardice combining with apathy. The Danes, as they were wont to do in England, horsed themselves, and the general tenor of events tends to shew that gaining influence by inspiring terror or acquiring friendships, they received assistance from the people.

On Easter morn, a sad anniversary, they surrounded and entered the city. The Monks of

851--855

861

6 April,
861.The North-
men enter
Paris.

851—855 Saint-Germain-des-près were surprized whilst
 singing matins, the monastery plundered, the
 861 buildings set on fire; the various merchants who
 attempted to rescue their property by boating
 up the Seine, intercepted and their goods and
 wares captured and despoiled.

861 § 30. Consternation filled the country.
 Measures of defence adopted by Charles-le-Chauve. Charles-le-Chauve was at Senlis, harassed, unsupported, unassisted; nevertheless he immediately actively resumed his offensive and defensive warfare against the Danes. Forts and entrenchments were raised at the place now called Pont-de-l'Arche. The bridge was built by him also, the admiration which the strength of the fabric excited, was testified by the antient popular name — le-Pont-du-diable: preparations were made for defending the shores of the Marne, and above all for strengthening Paris and Paris island.

Charles perplexes the Northmen. Leaving Louis-le-Bégué at Senlis as Regent, aided by competent advisers, and imposing upon Bishop Erpuin the anxious guardianship of his blooming daughter the ardent Judith, the twice widowed widow of sixteen, Charles marched to the field of action, perplexing the Northmen by devices, policy, energy. Bribes were very useful—he set the Danes at variance amongst themselves: their progress was checked by the intrenched armaments stationed on the banks of the Marne. Jarl Welland settled in the Gauls,

became the homager of King Charles, accepted a Benefice or Fief, and was baptized, together with his family and followers.

851—855

861

But these advantageous results of policy are trivial, compared to his success in gaining over the chief of the adverse conspiracy. By some negotiations, which the Chroniclers neither explain nor attempt to explain, Charles-le-Chauve attracted Robert-le-Fort once and for all into his service. Henceforward Robert lived and died as the most exalted and most energetic amongst the lieges of the Carlovingian crown. This remarkable transaction seems to be shunned by the contemporary annalists. A paragraph, inserted in the confused narrative belonging to a subsequent year, merely discloses that a defection had taken place amongst the confederates, begun by the intriguing and doubly faithless Guntfrid and Gozeline, through whose intervention Robert-le-Fort was reconciled to his Sovereign. No praises are bestowed upon Robert-le-Fort for his newly-awakened loyalty: no blame imputed to the partizan, who, deserting his associates, leaves them to their fate, and earns the most proud and ample reward.

Robert-le-Fort abandons the confederacy, and enters the service of Charles.

Solomon and the Armoricans, and all the Prelates and Counts with whom he had co-operated being abandoned, we behold ROBERT-LE-FORT kneeling before Charles-le-Chauve at Melun,

861

Robert-le-Fort becomes the homager of Charles-le-Chauve.

851—855

862

861

Marquisate
of France
and Anjou
granted to
Robert-le-
Fort.

becoming his homager, greeted and honoured.

Soon after, a Placitum or Great Council was held at Compiègne. In this assembly, and by the assent of the *Optimates*, the Seine and its islands, and that most important island Paris, and all the country between Seine and Loire, were granted to Robert, the Duchy of France, though not yet so called, moreover the Angevine Marches, or County of Outre-Maine, all to be held by Robert-le-Fort as barriers against Northmen and Bretons, and by which cessions the realm was to be defended. Only a portion of this dominion owned the obedience of Charles: the Bretons were in their own country, the Northmen in the country they were making their own: the grant therefore was a license to Robert to win as much as he could, and to keep his acquisitions should he succeed.

Influence
of the
Danes
upon the
Frankish
population.

§ 31. A very alarming symptom attending the Danish invasions was the encreasing moral and material power which the Northmen were acquiring in the Gauls. The left bank of the Seine was nearly abandoned by the inhabitants, and consequently such of the invaders as chose to remain had ample room to colonize; neither does it appear that the people, especially the peasantry, were always averse to them. The Northmen plundered and ravaged; but there are always a great many who have nothing to lose by being plundered and ravaged, and who are much in-

clined to ask the question put by the horse in the fable,—can the new master ride me harder than my old master has done?

851—877
 862—864

Three of the fiercest Pirates who assailed the Gauls are respectively called “Hastings” or “Alsting” in the Chronicles; and one of the three was a peasant from the neighbourhood of Tours, who, enlisting amongst the Pirates, distinguished himself lamentably by his renegade ferocity. A monk who joined the Danes was captured and hanged; but Pepin of Aquitaine, by adopting the Danish rites and customs, afforded the most illustrious or most disgraceful example. It may not be necessary to infer that Pepin ate horse-flesh or swore by the holy bracelet, nevertheless he united himself thoroughly with the Northmen.

The abdication of his own national usages caused Pepin to be detested as a Pagan. Sancho Sanchion’s cruel treachery had not destroyed Pepin’s confidence in his friends: betrayed into his uncle’s power by the enticement of Count Rainulph, Pepin was condemned to death—a sentence scarcely mitigated when commuted into perpetual imprisonment. Pepin’s apostasy, political if not religious, was punished by perfidy, and perfidy was rewarded by sacrilege; for Count Rainulph received, as a guerdon for his good services, the noble Abbey of Saint-Hilary at Poitiers, which he united to his lay honour and dignity. The young king Charles, on his part,

Pepin of Aquitaine having joined the Danes, condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

851—877 had occasioned great vexation to his father. He, at the age of seventeen, married the widow of a Count Humbert. Charles-le-Chauve was very strict in asserting his paternal rights, and this marriage, possibly connected with some political intrigue, deeply offended him. The quarrel became so serious that Charles-le-Chauve marched an army against his son. Charles of Aquitaine submitted to his father: displaying much courage, he defeated the Northmen, and gave good promise,—when his death ensued miserably in consequence of his half-drunken scuffle with Alboin.

868.
His death
Chap. II.
§ 53. p. 391.

As for Robert-le-Fort, his adhesion to Charles-le-Chauve was unqualified and complete. He devoted himself entirely to the king's service, without scruple, without hesitation and without reserve. Robert's military talent and fortitude materially retarded the Northmens progress. Whilst Charles pressed them hard by land, Robert dispersed the Danish squadron in the Loire, bribed away other of the marauders; and the Breton confederacy was on the point of dissolution.

862.
Louis-le-Bé-
gue re-
bels against
his father.

§ 32. A dangerous enemy thus converted into a firm and useful ally, the adversaries of the Crown and Kingdom humbled, the rebellion headed by his brother suppressed, Charles might expect to rid France of the Danish marauders. However another enemy arose exactly where an enemy might have been anticipated, from the bosom of his own family. Louis-le-Bégué's

grudges against his father encreased. Charles dealt with the abbeys exactly as they did in Scotland when John Knox was preparing to pull them down. The Abbey of Saint-Martin of Tours, that most sacred sanctuary, was granted to Louis-le-Bégué as an appanage; but this concession did not satisfy him. Judith, through the aid and connivance of Louis, eloped from Senlis with the sturdy, handsome forester. We shall have more to say about this amour, so fraught with political consequences. The Counts Guntfrid and Gozeline, who betrayed the associated Frankish and Armorican chieftains, now reverted to the party they had deceived, and machinated against Charles—and by their persuasions Louis deserted his Regency, evaded from the Court, joined the Breton alliance, and carried on the warfare against his father with unmitigated pertinacity.

Louis-le-Bégué took the command of a host of Bretons, with which he invaded Anjou, wasting the country as much as any Northman could have done. Robert-le-Fort advanced unhesitatingly, and completely defeated the rebel heir-apparent. After this, Louis-le-Bégué returned to his obedience, and a surly reconciliation ensued. When Louis absconded, Charles had granted the Abbey of Saint-Martin to Count Hubert, Hermentruda's brother, also abbot of the royal Abbey of Saint-Maurice in the Valais, so that this preferment

851—877

862—864

He is defeated by Robert-le-Fort.

851—877 could not now be restored to Louis; but, as a
 862—864 compensation, he received the county of Méaux
 and the abbeys of Saint-Crispin and Marmoutier;
 and with respect to the title of King of Neustria,
 which Louis had assumed, the assumption (in the
 first instance prohibited) was neither acknow-
 ledged nor denied. The kingdom of Aquitaine
 was subsequently bestowed upon him. But
 Charles-le-Chauve compelled Louis to divorce his
 Ansgarda, the mother of two sons, and family
 concord was imperfectly restored. Carloman his
 brother, who for many years had been in revolt
 against Charles-le-Chauve, sometimes in open hos-
 tility, sometimes secretly conspiring, persevered
 in his evil course, until, as before noticed, he
 sustained a dreadful punishment, and died, a
 blinded fugitive and mendicant.

Carloman's
 punish-
 ment and
 death. See
 p. 392.

863—864
 The North-
 men con-
 tinue their
 invasions.

§ 33. Danes and Northmen continued their
 invasions: the young Rollo was about to embark,
 and commence that adventurous and devious
 course which, when twelve years had elapsed,
 brought him to the Seine. The attacks which
 crippled, and ultimately ruined the Anglo-Saxon
 Empire continued against England, though the
 crisis was long retarded by Alfred's wisdom.

The Northmen encreased in numbers and in
 confidence, and their devastations extended wider
 and wider. Charles-le-Chauve employed active
 and intelligent exertions for the defence of the
 kingdom. It was decreed that fortifications should

be erected throughout the country, but entrenchments and walls cannot make loyal hearts.

851—877

863—864

Charles-le-Chauve trifled too much with the conscience of his subjects. The dilapidations of Church-property contributed to the discouragement and prostration of the national feeling. Church-fees were granted universally to the nobles and soldiery, and the people believed that the gift brought misfortune upon the lay intruders. Count Hubert, the lay Abbot of Saint Maurice in the Valais, was wretchedly killed within a short time after he obtained Saint-Martin-de-Tours. Saint-Hilary at Poitiers, the Abbey profaned by the secular misappropriation, was burned, and the conflagration construed as the punishment of the profanation. But this did not concern Count Rainulph, the stout soldier Abbot. If the monks were dispersed, the charges of the establishment were saved, and he fattened upon the Abbey's lands. The citizens paid a Dane-geld: the city was spared for the nonce, and the Danes laughed in their sleeves when they touched the money.

Scandal excited by the grants of Abbays as lay-fecs.

Robert kept the Northmen in check, yet only by incessant exertion. He inured the future kings of France, his two young sons, Eudes and Robert, to the tug of war, making them his companions in his enterprises. The banks of the Loire were particularly guarded by him, for here the principal attacks were directed. Two battles ensued.

Robert-le-Fort and his sons.

851—877 In the first he defeated the Northmen; but the
 defeat called for a reinforcement, and the call
 864—865 was answered. In their turn they assailed Robert, who was wounded and compelled to retreat.—Neither Count, Duke, Marquis or King, nor the whole force of France, could clear the Loire country of the Danes.

Northmen
 again in
 the Seine
 and Loire,
 defeated by
 Robert.

§ 34. During all these transactions the Seine country continued much harassed, Paris put under contribution, the casks rolled out of the cellars into the Danish barges, and the monks of Saint-Denis groaned whilst the roistering Danish men were living at free quarters in the Monastery. A fierce battle raged in central France. Bourges and Clermont were occupied by the Danes, the littoral of the Loire again and again devastated, Fleury burned, Orleans burned, Poitiers burned. The citizens who had seen Saint-Hilary on fire now took their share in the common calamity.

865.
 Robert's
 triumph.

Robert concentrated his forces, encountered the Danes in battle, defeated them, and sent their raven-banners and arms to Charles-le-Chauve as trophies of victory: an act performed with a degree of emphasis and display unusual in that age, when war was a dull and bloody business, rarely attended by pomp and pride, the main excitements of the warrior being the expectation of plunder or the dread of danger. But Robert was, in fact, pursuing the war on his own account; and it was the policy of Charles-le-Chauve to

give the first of the Capets a greater stake in the game. More dignities and territories were bestowed upon him, the Counties of Auxerre and Nevers.

851—877

864—865

Confidence being partially revived, the government of Charles-le-Chauve displayed considerable vigour. Amongst the marchings and traversings of the Northmen, one particular region, nearly corresponding with the antient kingdom of Soissons, had chanced more than any other to be exempted from their devastations. Here the Northmen were out of sight and in a measure out of mind. It was the lurid tranquillity enjoyed by the quarter of a besieged town beyond the range of the shells. Here alone Charles-le-Chauve can be properly said to have ruled: here he diligently pursued his favourite studies, corresponded with the learned and penned his verse, here his Court retained an antique brilliancy, whether that Court was held in forest-encircled Compiègne, salubrious Senlis, pleasant Epernay on the Marne, or in the magnificent tower which crowned the rock of Lâon.

Government as exercised by Charles-le-Chauve.

Portion of the kingdom exempted from the Danish invasions.

Charles-le-Chauve attempted to exemplify the principles of his namesake and grandsire. A dignified and friendly intercourse with the Saracens was renewed. Mahomet of Cordova presented his tokens of respect, perfumes and aromatics and silken pavilions. The Counts who failed to discharge their duty against the Northmen were

851—877 degraded, and their benefices forfeited. Good
 laws were enacted, and Capitulars promulgated
 864—865 worthy of Charlemagne, wise, well-considered
 and practical, if the state of the kingdom had
 allowed them to be put into practice.

Conspiracy
 of Bernard
 of Septi-
 mania.

But that one condition was wanting: the incurable unsoundness of the state frustrated all efforts to avert the evil. Treachery was on every side. Bernard, Count of Auvergne, the son of the too-celebrated Bernard by the affectionate Doduana, conspired against Charles, lying in ambush to slay him, thus seeking to avenge the death of his own father. Bernard was also inveterate against the two commanders in whom the king placed the greatest confidence, Rainulph Count of Poitiers, and Robert-le-Fort. The plot being discovered, Bernard fled from justice, and his county was given to Robert, henceforward a Prince ruling on both sides of the Loire: moreover the Duke or Marquis of France received the Abbey of Saint-Martin, still the most coveted piece of preferment in the Gauls, and which was now treated by Charles-le-Chauve without any reminiscence of its ecclesiastical character.

865.
 Robert-le-
 Fort de-
 feated by
 the North-
 men.

§ 35. Robert's exertions were more needed than ever; but his fortunes began to decline: the Northmen rose refreshed after the chastisement they had received. Robert had stationed himself at Melun: he assembled the Frankish forces: with him was vigorous Eudes—Eudes the first-born

and disciple of the matured warrior; but on this occasion the father and the son, the Duke of France and the defender of Paris, her future King, were eminently unfortunate. The Northmen landed and offered battle. Robert and Eudes fled, and the Northmen re-embarked upon their vessels, carrying off their prey:—the Danes had won trophies in their turn. Great consternation ensued. Charles was compelled to submit to a Dane-geld. The money was raised by an impost partly in the nature of a land-tax, fairly assessed, and not so heavy as on previous occasions, but the tribute was accompanied by degrading conditions. The captives taken by the Danes and who had escaped from them were to be restored, or their value compensated; and in like manner the Franks were to pay the were or blood-fine for every Dane who had been killed; a strange stipulation, explicable only upon the supposition that troth plighted to the Northmen had been broken by the Franks, who now sustained the penalty.

§ 36. Robert's mischance was followed by the necessity of competing with a very formidable individual enemy—Hastings or Alsting, one of the three who bear this dreaded name. It is a doubtful point whether this renowned chieftain can be the Hastings who held the County of Chartres in the time of Rollo; for, as previously noticed, three pirate chieftains answer to the appellation of Hastings; and though the com-

851—877

864—865

865—866

Hastings in
the Loire.
War be-
tween him
and Robert.

851—877 mencement and the conclusion of Rollo's career
 are precisely ascertained, much uncertainty at-
 tends the intermediate chronology.
 865—866

Hastings had already for many years infested the Gauls: he pillaged Rouen, and his activity perhaps obtained for him the repute of devastations committed by others; or he may have been confounded with his namesakes.—Rouen, Nantes, Angers, Tours, Orleans, Beauvais, Nimeguen, Poitou, Saintonge, Perigord, Limoges, Artois and Auvergne, are all enumerated amongst the places and countries which Hastings ravaged. Like Cromwell in Ireland, Hastings became a semi-mythic character, accumulating upon himself the current anecdotes of cunning, skill and ferocity, so as to gain the reputation of the most destructive amongst the invaders.

The Dane-geld, and the concessions paid and rendered to the Northmen, incited them to pursue their attacks with more alacrity: co-operating with the Armoricans, they again pillaged Mans. Hastings re-entered the Loire, and whilst the Danishmens fleet, their floating camp, occupied the broad estuary, they ravaged the Armorican Marches, Nantes, Anjou, Poitou and Tours, devastating Robert-le-Fort's country on either side of the river. Robert took his station about fourteen miles from Angers, in a species of peninsula formed by the confluence of Maine and Sarthe, where he was joined by Rainulph

Count of Poitou. Both had increased in power, but their followers were discouraged by the popular sentiment prevailing against their usurpations of the ecclesiastical possessions. Bad luck was augured:—it was a shame and a scandal that the Abbot of Saint-Martin and the Abbot of Saint-Hilary should be heading the soldiery in the field.—Robert and Rainulph determined to be the assailants. The Danes were inferior in numbers, and also were in danger of being cut off from their ships; and therefore retreating, they fell back upon the town, now a small village, of Pont-sur-Sarthe, then called *Brise-Sarthe*—the Brig of Sarthe.

851—877

866

866.

Count-Abbot Robert and Count-Abbot Rainulph advance against the Northmen.

The Franks gained ground so rapidly upon the Northmen, that the latter could not avoid a battle. Hastings prepared for defence as readily as he had attempted to escape fighting, and he immediately availed himself of the capabilities which the site afforded. The Church was large, built strongly of stone—massy walls, offering no other openings except tall narrow loop-hole windows, and these only on one side; as appears from an unaltered portion of the still-existing nave. The “Basilica,”—thus it is termed by the Chronicler,—was, from its construction, a strong hold, having possibly been intended for that purpose, as is frequently the case in border countries. Hastings with his picked men threw themselves into the Church: the remaining Danes, not so

The fatal affair of Pont-sur-Sarthe.

851—877 protected, were cut down and slaughtered by the
 Franks. A good day's work—thought Robert-
 866—870 le-Fort;—but the work was not half done. The
 Church was filled with its fearless garrison, quiet,
 defying the enemy by their silence. Robert
 commanded his men to pitch their tents, and
 prepare the artillery for the assault on the fol-
 lowing day.

The then present day had been a day of
 great exertion and trial. Count Robert, Abbot
 Robert, heated, excited, exhausted, doffed his
 armour, threw helmet here and hauberk there,
 and stretched his stalwart body and sinewy limbs
 on the grass. Count Rainulph, Abbot Rainulph,
 stood further off, carefully examining the Church :
 he had a foreboding of danger. Both commanders
 forgot that keen eyes were marking them, and
 keen weapons pointed at them from behind the
 unglazed loop-hole windows. Forth darted the
 Arbalest-bolt, mortally wounding the Count of
 Poitou: the doors of the Church opened, the
 Northmen rushed out, shouting and yelling, slew
 the Marquis of France, and dragged his dying
 corpse into the Church. Rainulph lingered three
 days, the Frankish forces dispersed, and the swag-
 gering Northmen returned safely to their ships,
 and sailed away.—Thus died the first of the
 Capets.

866.
 25 July.
 Robert-le-
 Fort killed
 at Brise-
 Sarthe.

866—870
 Transient
 improve-
 ment in the
 State of
 France.

§ 37. Whilst Robert-le-Fort had guarded the
 Loire, Charles was co-operating quite as effi-

ciently in the defence of the Seine. Although the Northmen who had quitted their free quarters at Saint-Denis were still cruising in the river, Charles kept the command at Pistres, superintending the works which he proposed to construct, wains and wagons arriving with materials. These works were continued at different periods, the most enduring as well as the most useful being the pier-bridge or break-water which he built across the Seine for the defence of Paris, and which entirely answered the purpose of closing the river against the Northmen.

Many circumstances contributed to encourage Charles. The Danes relaxed in their attacks upon the Gauls, for they were concentrating their forces in England. Northumbria, East Anglia, Mercia, tell the story,—colonized, conquered, and becoming the Danelaghe. The chief Vikingar were drawn off upon this great enterprise: they were posting their armies across our island, and occupying the best situations on the sea-coast; and until they had accomplished their intent, they could not spare many of their vessels or men for France. When they had completed the conquest of Mercia, and deposed Ceolwulf, their mock King, they still had much to do, therefore the Gauls enjoyed somewhat longer intervals of rest, the attacks were less continuous, yet very sharp when they came, and encreasing towards the conclusion of the reign.

851—877

866—870

851—877

866—870

Robert-le-Fort's hon-
ors and be-
nefices
treated as
escheats,
and granted
to Hugh
l'Abbé.

§ 38. Robert-le-Fort's death was an astounding state-event. Charles-le-Chauve seemed to be endowed with new power. From Witikind the stranger, Robert-le-Fort had not inherited honours or possessions, counties or benefices, land or fee. So far as depended upon Charles-le-Chauve's wishes and intentions, the sons of Robert-le-Fort, Eudes and Robert, would have shared their Grandfather's poverty, and the family have relapsed into primitive obscurity. The law of beneficiary or feudal succession fluctuated rather undeterminately between favour and equity, the Senior's gratitude or inclination supporting the claim which justice might unimpeachably but ungraciously deny. A Sovereign could always delay, and not unfrequently withhold, the expectancies of the heir, more especially an infant heir.

To constitute a strictly legal right, descent during three generations was required. Had Charles-le-Chauve entertained any love for the memory of Robert-le-Fort, owned to owning any thanks for Robert's services, the sons would have received their father's domains, instead of which he treated the whole as lapsed or escheated. The church-fees and the lay-fees, the dukedoms, marquisates and counties held by Robert-le-Fort, were all resumed by the Crown.

Robert-le-Fort, dead, was in a manner completely forgotten—a dead man out of mind : no memorial was ever raised to celebrate his fame :

no monument records his death except the fragment of Brise-Sarthe church-wall: not even an *obit* founded at Brise-Sarthe for Robert's soul's repose. His place was taken by a new favourite, a new Commander-in-Chief, a new Prime Minister, one whom Charles could well trust—his cousin Hugh, third son of the Guelphic Conrad, the Empress Judith's brother, the lay-clerk, the soldier-priest, the Abbot-Count, Duke and Commandatory of Auxerre. Count Hugh obtained all the possessions which Robert-le-Fort had enjoyed, abusively or rightfully, according to law, or against law, and he now appears as Abbot of Saint-Martin of Tours, Abbot of Saint-Vedast of Arras, Abbot of Saint-Bertin, Count of Burgundy, Count of Anjou, Duke or Marquis of Neustrian France—titles accompanied by solid power.

851—877

Robert's
honours
granted to
Hugh the
Count-
Abbot. See
p. 236.

§ 39. Charles-le-Chauve prosecuted his attacks upon Armorica. His interferences—hostile and pacific—ultimately amalgamated the political existence of the Celtic provinces and the fortunes of Capetian France. Brittany was engrafted upon Normandy, and Normandy linked Brittany to England. The Danes also are actively and passively involved in the Breton affairs, which become elemental in French history.

864—874.

Affairs of
Armorica
or Brittany.

From this period our knowledge of Brittany, though still vague and imperfect, begins to emerge from obscurity. Armorican historical au-

Obscurity
of early Ar-
morican
history.

851—877

864—874

thorities, in the proper sense of the term, exist only in hagiological narratives, and a few fragmentary monastic annals. Some information has been very recently gathered from ballads and legends preserved amongst the Breyzad peasantry; but the knowledge thus proffered cannot be accepted with much satisfaction or confidence. Oral traditions have been irretrievably denaturalized by the machine-manufacture of modern romantic literature. Copy-right spoils the native aroma of the popular tale; Border Minstrelsies and Waverley novels have soiled the lustre and quenched the spirit of national poesy and patrimonial story. Where charms and incantations are practised, it is said that a Spell never works if learned out of a book: the living tongue must address the living ear: the disciple's eye must meet the master's glance, and his hand be touched by the teacher's hand: the words of power are powerless, unless the embodied soul has communed with the embodied soul. Legendary lore becomes lifeless when laid on the drawing-room table. It is the sincerity of the narrator, the honest credence of credulity, which alone imparts worthiness to the narration. The æsthetic garb, the affectation of belief, the patronizing condescension of superior knowledge, the kind allowances made for superstition, or the philosophic sneer, are all equally stifling to tradition's true vitality.

The history of the Breyzad race must be ex- 851—877
 tracted from the evidence of their opponents. 864—876
 Grievous dissensions subsisted between the Frankish and Celtic clergy, Dôl, contesting the Primacy with Tours, rival Metropolitans and rival Bishops frowning upon each other with the jealousy of Kings. More Christian charity might assuredly have been displayed; yet such unhappy contests were neither ambitious nor trivial. Upon jurisdiction depends discipline, and upon discipline the welfare of the Church and her spiritual prosperity. Angry excitement in such a cause deserves excuse, though it be unsusceptible of justification. The Armoricans wavered in their antipathies: hard pressed occasionally by the Franks, the Breyzads were sometimes inclined to coalesce with the Danes. Their king, Solomon, made peace with the Northmen, and helped them to gather in the vintages of Anjou. But Charles-le-Chauve and the Franks acted more vigorously than heretofore. The Roman fortifications of Le Mans, still so perfect, were energetically defended—Tours equally so.—Hugh the Abbot routed the Northmen. Charles-le-Chauve and the Armorican Sovereign were conjoined, notwithstanding their enmities, by a common interest and exposed to common dangers; and the Bretons concluded an alliance with the Franks. Maine, afterwards the pride of the Norman Conqueror, was fully recovered from the Danes through So-

851—877

848—1390

lomon's energy, Anjou, cleared of the enemy. In return, Charles sanctioned the royal title assumed by the Celtic monarch; and the Breton historians believe, or relate, how Solomon sent his golden statue to the Roman Pontiff, how he wore a golden crown and coined golden money.—No specimen of this mintage has however been recovered by the most diligent numismatic collector.

874
Solomon
killed by
Pasquитай
and Gur-
vand.

§ 40. Solomon had murdered Herispoë his kinsman: the crime was visited upon the criminal in similar guise. A cousin and a nephew, Pasquитай and Gurvand, conspired against him. As Herispoë had taken refuge in a Church, so did Solomon. He anticipated the Sanctuary's desecration by a voluntary surrender; but his victorious kinsmen caused him to be blinded. The king was cast into prison, where he lingered and died; and Breyzad recollections have canonized his memory.

Gurvand
and Pasqui-
тай died
874.

877—907
Alain-le-
Grand.

These successful chieftains shared Armorica. Mutual enmity was fostered by good fortune. Gurvand, sinking under a grievous malady, was borne to the battle-field in a litter: his troops gained the victory, but their royal general died of exhaustion. Pasquитай was murdered before the end of the same year. Alain, brother of Pasquитай, obtaining the supremacy of Armorica, recovered Nantes from the Northmen: his exploits earned for him the epithet of "the Great," "Alain-le-Grand." But the Danes returned again and

again; and his daughter's son, Alain-barbe-torte, 851—877
no unworthy competitor of Guillaume-longue-épée, acknowledged the second Norman Duke as 912—1390
his lawful Suzerain. 937—952
Alain-
barbe-
torte.

§ 41. Considerable enlargement of dominion was obtained by Solomon:—he gained the March-lands, inhabited by a mixed population, much Romanized, especially in the cities, where the powers of government had been contested by or divided between the Carlovingian and Armorican Sovereigns. These territories were, during the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, unequivocally placed under Solomon's national authority, and permanently united to Brittany. Cession or force gave him also various districts in Maine and Anjou, and in future Normandy, the Avranchin, and the whole County of the Côtentin. Charles-le-Simple authorized Rollo to conquer these last-mentioned territories: Rollo would have done so without permission; and they became integral portions of his Duchy. Historical Brittany settled into four great counties, which also absorbed the Carlovingian march-lands, Rennes, Nantes, Vannes and Cornouailles, rivalling and jealousying, snarling and warring against each other for the royal or ducal dignity, until the supremacy was permanently established in Alan Fergant's line, the ally, the opponent, the son-in-law of William the Bastard. But the suzerainty or superiority of all Brittany was vested in the Conqueror's and the

912—1390
Territorial
organiza-
tion of Brit-
anny. The
Counts of
Britanny,
Earls of
Richmond
in England.

861—877 Plantagenet's lineage, till the forfeiture incurred
by King John, an unjust exercise of justice.

840—870

1390
14 Rich. II.

Nevertheless the loss of Normandy did not sever Brittany from England. Breton Dukes continued Earls and Peers of this realm : the royal house of Dreux, the sons of France, rejoiced in this conjunction of honours ; nor was the connexion finally dissolved, until Richard of Bourdeaux's Parliament inflicted a statutory deprivation upon the valiant Jean de Montfort. Few historical symbols are more suggestive than the single shield over the Altar table of the Yorkshire Richmond, the pane corroded and darkened by the blast, the shower and the sunbeam, displaying in obscurely-transparent tints the chequée of gold and azure with the bordure of gules and the canton ermine—the token of that union.

876, &c.
Transac-
tions in the
Loire
country.

§ 42. Many important dispositions were effected by Charles in the Loire country. It was the policy of this unfairly depreciated Sovereign, to recruit the failing ranks of the false and degenerate Frankish aristocracy, by calling up to his Peerage the wise, the able, the honest and the bold of ignoble birth. It is a moot point to what extent the aristocratic principle originally extended amongst the antient Franks ; but Charles-le-Chauve was very obviously inclined against the exclusiveness claimed by the noble lineages. We know that Louis-le-débonnaire incurred much odium by equalizing gentle and simple through

the medium of the Church ; and we believe that Charles-le-Chauve attempted a similar levelling in the civil hierarchy. The implacable opposition raised against him, the slanders and vituperations heaped upon him by the Chroniclers, most probably result from this cause. He sought to surround himself with new men, the men without ancestry ; and the earliest historian of the House of Anjou both describes this system, and affords the most splendid example of the theory adopted by the king.

851—877

840—888

Pre-eminent amongst these parvenus was Torquatus or Tortulfus, an Armorican peasant, a very rustic, a backwoodsman, who lived by hunting and such like occupations, almost in solitude, cultivating his “ quillels,” his *cueillettes* of land, and driving his own oxen, harnessed to his plough.

Origin of
the Planta-
genets.

Torquatus entered or was invited into the service of Charles-le-Chauve, and rose high in his Sovereign’s confidence : a prudent, a bold, and a good man. Charles appointed him Forester of the forest called “ the Blackbird’s Nest,” the *nid du merle*, a pleasant name, not the less pleasant for its familiarity. This happened during the conflicts with the Northmen. Torquatus served Charles strenuously in the wars, and obtained great authority : another Cincinnatus, according to the old-fashioned classical comparisons much employed by the monkish Chroniclers.

Torquatus
the Fo-
rester.

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Tertullus,
son of Tor-
quatus,
married
Petronilla,
daughter of
Hugh
l'Abbé.

Tertullus, son of Torquatus, inherited his father's energies, quick and acute, patient of fatigue, ambitious and aspiring; he became the liege-man of Charles; and his marriage with Petronilla the King's cousin, Count Hugh the Abbot's daughter, introduced him into the very circle of the royal family. Château-Landon and other Benefices in the Gastinois were acquired by him, possibly as the lady's dowry. Seneschal also was Tertullus of the same ample Gastinois territory.

870—888

Ingelger,
son of Ter-
tullus, the
first heredi-
tary
Count of
Anjou.

Ingelger, son of Tertullus and Petronilla, appears as the first hereditary Count of Anjou Outre-Maine,—Marquis, Consul or Count of Anjou,—for all these titles are assigned to him. Yet the ploughman Torquatus must be reckoned as the primary Plantagenet: the rustic Torquatus founded that brilliant family, who, encreasing in dignity, influence, and power, afford a most remarkable exemplification of ancestral talent, perpetuated from generation to generation. When the monk of Marmoutier dedicates his *Gesta Consulum Andegavensium* to king Henry, who ruled from the furthest border of Scotland to the Pyrennees, he invites his royal patron to exult in his plebeian progenitor's original humility. That such an appeal could be made to Henry Fitz-Empress, affords a noble proof of his intellectual grandeur.

County of
Chartres.

§ 43. Thus arose one of the greatest *Grands-fiefs* of Capetian France. Chartres, afterwards

united to Blois, was created by an analogous though not identical process: the builder was compelled to deal with such materials as he found, and Charles-le-Chauve sought to profit equally by the Northmens depression and by the removal of Robert-le-Fort. The occasional national apostasy of those Franks who conformed to the ethos, if not the religion, of the Northmen, enrolling themselves in the pirate ranks, was much more than compensated by the influence which the Romanized Franks and Gauls,—French men in fact,—exercised upon the invaders. Many of the Northmen were wearied of their piracy. The Romane tongue fascinated the Northmen: the comforts of France attracted them, religion subdued them. Their disposition was pliable, adaptable, cheerful, and though fierce, not inherently blood-thirsty. However dilapidated the old venerable Rœmerige might be, that effete Empire held a station in dignity and honour, higher beyond all compare than the more vigorous Jarldoms, Isles, and Kingdoms of the North. Rome perpetuated her monarchy by vanquishing her conquerors: the gift was not withdrawn from her.

A considerable portion of the Danes, consenting to be baptized, settled themselves in the land; and these converts, multiplying in the Northern parts of the Empire, and stigmatized as “pseudo-christians,” were viewed with more anxiety than edification. Facts and presumptions support the

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870—888

Pacific settlement of the Northmen encouraged by Charles-le-Chauve.

851—877 inference that they married with the French
 875—877 women,—they could scarcely find any others,
 for it was impossible that their vessels could
 bring over many female passengers. From the
 beginning, Rollo and his kinsmen always took
 consorts or companions from French families,
 or those Danish families who had received a
 thoroughly French education. Such alliances
 are evidences of the general usage; and the rapid
 extinction of the Norsk or Danish language, must
 be accepted as the consequence and cause of the
 intermixture of races, by which the Scandinavians
 were so speedily absorbed in the general mass of
 population. Hastings, otherwise Alstingus, ob-
 tained from Charles-le-Chauve the county of
 Chartres. He did not, however, remain there;
 for not having any children, and being otherwise
 troubled, he returned to Denmark, having sold
 his Benefice to Gerlo, also called Thibaut, Rollo's
 kinsman, father of Thibaut the centenarian, Thi-
 baut Count of Blois, who is moreover sometimes
 called "le Vieux," but whose conduct earned for
 him the more odiously characteristic epithets of
 "le Tricheur," or "le Fourbe," by which he is
 generally known in history; though his father, if
 we are to judge from the only anecdote preserved
 concerning him, deserved them quite as well.

890
 Gerlo,
 otherwise
 Thibaut,
 Count of
 Blois and
 Chartres,
 died about
 918.

875—876 § 44. In Charlemagne's lineage gifts became
 Transactions in Italy. As-
 sumption snares, talents were unprofitable, noble tenden-
 cies refracted from their right direction, and

designs, laudable in the world's opinion, rendered the means of worldly degradation and shame. Charles-le-Chauve, sapient, energetic, his mind strongly tending towards good, was involved during his life in encreasing disappointment, trouble and misery.

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of the Imperial dignity by Charles-le-Chauve.

His ambition of renown and dominion, his earnest seeking to imitate the prowess of Rome's heroes, and to emulate the fame of that grand-sire whose name he bore, could only be gratified at the expence of his nearest relations. Indeed, the Carlovingsians were absorbed in a Serbonian bog of destructive discords. All were correspondingly insatiate: their constant enmities, open violences, secret treacheries, almost justified them respectively in their mutual aggressions—each might plead the necessity of self-defence—self-defence, the most insidious temptation to self-deceit; and thus Charles, in particular, disguised to himself the odious features of the desires in which he indulged.

We have seen how each death, each misfortune which befel his brethren or his nephews, had been eagerly seized for profit; but now there was presented to him the highest prize. Louis the Emperor buried in Sant' Ambrogio, the imperial dignity fell into abeyance—and to whom now belonged the most exalted station in Western Christendom?

Prospects opened to Charles by the death of the Emperor Louis (Chap. II. § 49,) p. 345.

Had the Carlovingsian theory been fully de-

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 875—877
 veloped, a Cæsar always installed in the lifetime of Augustus, there never would have been an interregnum. Had the yet maiden Hermengarda been married, the husband of the Emperor's daughter would unquestionably have been the presumptive successor; but the postulation made by the Lombard nobles sought to divide the realm between Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve, both being invited to share the Kingdom of Italy, the porch conducting to the Imperial throne. Louis-le-Germanique appeared by his sons, Charles, or Caroletto, and the bold Carloman. Charles-le-Chauve came in person: Charles Fitz-Louis was deluded by him, and Carloman induced to desert his father's and his own cause by his uncle's bribes.

25 Dec.
 875
 Charles receives the
 Imperial
 crown from
 the Pope.

Charles proceeded triumphantly to Rome, welcomed as Charlemagne's successor,—the successor of Augustus. Senate and people, the *Gens togata*, opening their itching palms, legitimate successors of a venerable name, not the less legitimate on account of their degeneracy, inheriting the baseness inseparably combined with their ancestral and national glories, saluted him as Cæsar; and the Pontiff placed upon his brows the Imperial diadem. The venal city, tainted to the core, never even sought the concealment of her shame, patent, as of old, throughout the Roman world. Learned men extracted from Sallust the apt commentary upon the events of

their current day, scoffing at Charles as Jugurtha's imitator: the Franks sneered; and the affronted and yet envious Germans contemplated the transactions with feigned disgust and unconcealed enmity.

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The Lombard aristocracy had offered their kingdom to Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve conjointly. Berenger, his nephew, son of his sister Gisella and the Friulian Count Everard, co-operating with Boso, induced prelates, nobles, and people, to renounce the scheme of dimidiated authorities and accept Charles, now the Roman Emperor, without a partner on the throne. A Diet was held at Pavia, unequalled for solemnity and splendour. Charles was invested with the iron crown, whilst Boso, Richilda's brother, the newly-created Duke of Lombardy or Milan, sat below, wearing on his brows a golden coronal, the proud insignia bestowed by the unsuspecting bounty of his brother-in-law.

Charles accepted as Emperor by Lombardy and the Gauls.

A third confirmation was needed. Charles-le-Chauve returned to the Gauls, accompanied by the Papal Legate: a synod assembled at Pont-yon in Champagne—sometimes mistaken for the more familiar Pont-sur-yonne. France, Burgundy and Aquitaine, Neustria, Septimania and Provence, represented in the assembly by their Bishops, and unanimously consenting, acknowledged the glorious Emperor "Carolus Augustus" as their protector and defender. Charles, with the title of Emperor, assumed the state apper-

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 876—877

taining to that transcendant dignity, the arched diadem, the eagle-crowned sceptre, the golden belt and purple buskins, the ample dalmatica, the habit of Imperial royalty, permitted only to an anointed Sovereign. Unquestionably such grave magnificence delighted his imagination; nor can we condemn the policy which induced him to adopt the pageantry proclaiming the authority legitimately his own; but his Frankish subjects in some degree, and the Germans even more, were inclined to take offence. Reports were spread that he threatened to depose his brother Louis.—“My armies shall drink up the Rhine,”—was the speech attributed to him,—“and we will cross as on dry land.”

Wars between Charles-le-Chauve and Louis-le-Germanique's family.
 (See Chap. II. § 43, 47, 48, 50, pp. 371, 382, 385.)

28 Aug.
 876

Death of Louis-le-Germanique.

§ 45. Louis-le-Germanique, the old man, never having resigned his precedence as *Senior* of the family, resented any pretensions which the Imperial dignity might inspire. The antipathy between the Germans and the French continued unmitigated. In Louis, personally, encreasing age enhanced the bitterness of animosity: his mild and benign disposition irretrievably perverted, strife was more grateful than peace, and he prepared to advance with his army against his brother, the step-mother's son whom he had hated from the day that the babe was born; but he dropped into the grave before the commencement of hostilities.

Yet these démonstrations on the part of Louis

were not unnecessary. Charles had no feeling ^{851—877}
 whatever of good faith, he never pretended to ^{876—877}
 have any—the sentiment was unknown in the
 Carolingian breast. Events immediately testi-
 fied that the plans of aggrandizement entertained
 by him, were entitled to all the praise or all the
 blame which a conqueror can expect or deserve.
 The Emperor assembled a numerous army, the
 Northmen not more apt or eager for plunder.
 He claimed all German Lotharingia, and all the
 other German dominions on the left bank of the
 Rhine. The antient Frankish Sovereign fully
 asserted the pretension, that France was entitled
 to the free German stream as her natural bound-
 ary. Richilda, great with child, accompanying
 him, he set out from Compiègne, intending to
 receive the Lotharingian homages at Metz; and,
 once in Lotharingia, he might be aided by Franco
 Bishop of Tongres, who had assisted in his coro-
 nation, an able and most influential friend.

But unpleasant reports circulated: Danish
 squadrons, heretofore well known on the English
 coast, were disturbing the Empire; and Charles
 directed his route to Cologne.

Court and army there received alarming but ^{16 Sept. 876.}
 not unexpected intelligence. On the Feast-day of ^{The North-}
 Saint Cornelius, the Northmen, after plundering ^{men, com-}
 the Scheldt country, again entered the Seine. ^{manded by}
^{Rollo, enter}
^{the Seine.}
 They committed their usual mischiefs in Belgium,
 carrying off prey and captives; and an hundred

851—877 of their largest barks—"quas nostrates *bargas*
 876—877 vocant," says Archbishop Hincmar—filled the
 Neustrian river. Their forces landed, and the
 country was desolated far and near and around.
 All the troops Charles could muster would not
 have been over many to match these invaders.—
 If during any period of the Danish wars his
 presence was needed to encourage and direct
 the soldiery, it was now, for the Danish com-
 mander was Rollo.

Sept.—
 Oct. 876.
 Louis occu-
 pies Ander-
 nach.
 Charles en-
 deavours to
 circumvent
 him.

But Charles could not desist—reputation,
 desire, heart and soul, were engaged in the
 enterprize: he continued his hostile progress.
 Louis the Saxon (who had succeeded to his
 father) was alarmed at his uncle's approach, and,
 proposing terms, solicited grace and favour; never-
 theless Louis the suppliant was undismayed,
 and crossing the Rhine during the night, he
 reached Andernach, whose fortifications still tes-
 tify its pristine strength. Charles-le-Chauve
 planned to conquer his enemy by deceit. The
 Carolingian princes were deadened to any con-
 sciousness of conscience, honesty or honour in
 political affairs, however good and worthy they
 might be in other social relations: not by any
 means a singular case, whether individually or in
 the "masses."—Has King, Prince of the Blood-
 royal, President of the Republic, or President du
 Conseil, Ministre d'état, Member of the Chamber,
 Legitimist, Doctrinaire or Red Republican, Parti-

prêtre or Socialist, ever suspected any injustice or cruelty in the captivity of Abdel-Kader, the hecatombs of Zaatcha, or the holocausts of Ouled-el-Dahra ?

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Burthened Richilda was sent to that antiently honoured Carlovingian palace, Heristal on the Meuse, under Bishop Franco's care. Charles entertained the offers made by Louis the Saxon, and sent envoys to him, ostensibly for the purpose of negotiating a truce, but really in order to throw him off his guard.

On the very day when the Emperor despatched these pacific negotiators, he was preparing to resume his march. At midnight the trumpets sounded, and the Imperial army was in motion, followed and accompanied by a vast train of suttlers, camp-attendants and baggage. The heavy, misty autumn rain came down in torrents, and continued pouring incessantly all through the night and the following day; the tracks, miscalled roads, were trampled into deep mire. In this condition the Imperial army drew nigh Andernach, when the intelligence of their advance was conveyed to King Louis. He and his army immediately sallied out, and charged the Imperialists. Dismayed, fatigued, wet through and through, the soldiers and their equipments were so drenched that their swords clung in the soaked scabbards, and the jaded horses stood stock-still when the spurs were struck into their

8 Oct. 876.
The army
of Charles-
le-Chauve
routed at
Andernach.

851—877
 876—877 steaming sides. They were thrown into irretrievable disorder : the rout was complete, and the flight shameful. The fugitives blocked up the ways. Some few escaped, saving their lives at the expence of their reputation, but the majority were taken prisoners. A knot of the principal commanders, amongst them Gauzeline, Abbot of Saint-Denis, and afterwards Bishop of Paris, ineffectually endeavoured to conceal themselves in the woods. They sustained the disgrace of falling into the power of the peasantry, who plundered their plunderers—arms, armour, garments, all became the Villein's prize. Counts, Abbots, Bishops and Knights, were stripped stark naked, so that for decency's sake they tried to cover themselves with wisps of herbage or hay.

Richilda fled from Heristal, and, in the very course of her most distressing journey, early in the dawning, when the cocks were crowing, she was delivered of her child. No sister-woman had the labouring Empress to serve or aid her in her hour of anguish : a groom carried the newborn babe, afterwards baptized "Charles:"—the infant lived till the following year, when its feeble life was closed ; but the parents honoured the little child's memory by causing its body to be interred at Saint-Denis. Charles-le-Chauve rejoined Richilda at Attigny : had Louis the Saxon continued the war, the Emperor would have been wholly lost.

§ 46. During these disastrous conflicts, the Empire's forces wasted, and the Sovereigns and their people consumed by exasperation, Rollo and his Northmen, uninterrupted or feebly opposed, were continuing their coast-devastations and occupying the Seine-country. Charles-le-Chauve, harassed, and declining in health, was compelled to temporize and adopt the expedients, which, under similar urgencies, had previously procured a transient respite. He despatched certain Magnates to treat with the invaders. Count Conrad is named as the head of this legation:—the consequent proceedings indicate that the well-trusted Franco, Bishop of Tongres, was also included in the embassy. They were empowered to conclude a pacification with the Northmen upon any terms—peace at any price; the result to be reported to the Sovereign and his legislature in the great Placitum summoned to be held at Samoucy—a royal residence near the rock of Laon.

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876—877

876

Negotiations with the Northmen attempted by Charles-le-Chauve.

§ 47. We are now fairly confronted with ROLLO, and adopting the words or verse of the Norman Trouveur, we shall begin, and, in beginning, shorten the lengthened story.

Rollo, his history grounded upon family traditions, corrected by the Frankish Chroniclers.

*A Rou sommes venu, et de Rou vous dirons
La commence l'histoire, que nous dire devons.
Mais pour l'œuvre exploitier, li vers abrigerons;
La voie est longue et grief, et li labour creignons.*

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The Northern Sagas concerning Rudo-Jarl, and Hrolf-ganger, however fondly we may once have listened to them, we here renounce:—no injustice will such rejection inflict upon the inventive talents of the Scalds, or upon Rollo's honour.

Three generations elapsed before any portion of Rollo's personal history was committed to writing in Normandy. The recollection of his deeds and exploits was vividly impressed upon the memory of his grandchildren and great grandchildren, through whom we learn them; but the details were rendered involuntarily inaccurate, equally by knowledge and by want of knowledge. It is a constant error in the conversational narrator, thoroughly imbued with his subject, to presuppose in his hearers the information which he himself possesses. The most truthful general reminiscences concerning an ancestor, are quite compatible with very defective perceptions, of the attendant circumstances,—times and places, friends or enemies.

Rollo's career was prolonged through the reigns of a first, a second and a third Charles—Charles-le-Chauve, Charles-le-Gras, and Charles-le-Simple. Five or six Counts Bernard and Counts Berenger flourished during the same era. Two prelates, each bearing the somewhat unfrequent name of Franco, were successively empowered or necessitated to treat with or for the Northmen.

Rollo's exploits in England connected him with an Anglo-Saxon Athelstan and a Danish Athelstan—that is to say Guthrun, King Alfred's foster-son, so called upon his baptism. Nor can we be surprized if the Pirates who landed upon the North-sea coast, failed to distinguish between a Regulus or a King actually domineering over Bernicia or East-Anglia, with whom they were immediately in relation, and the distant Basileus of Britain.

These circumstances involved the order of events, as detailed by Dudon de Saint-Quentin, the family historian, in a confusion which can only be rectified by comparison with the Frankish chroniclers. But their notices are scanty and grudging: the subject was unpleasant to them. If Archbishop Hincmar, whose annals (soon about to be cut short by the Northmen) furnish the basis of French history during this period, had heard of Rollo, he hated the odious name; and, to the last, amongst the Carovingians, the Normans were only known as the Pirates. Necessity might compel the Frankish monarch to recognize the Northman as a Count or "Patrician;" but the Franks secretly protested against their own acts, and were always prepared to treat the same Northman as an intruding enemy. Nevertheless a tolerably satisfactory chronological adjustment of the main incidents, is not impracticable; for the unquestionable facts of French history

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876—877

Dudon de
Saint-
Quentin.
Confusion
of his fami-
ly narra-
tive.

851—877 enable us to moor the floating traditions near the proper points of the shore.

876—877
Adventures
of Rollo,
previously
to his ap-
pearance in
France.

Rollo, the son of a Chieftain, a Norwegian Jarl may be, whose name, however, was forgotten in the family, and his brother Gorm, quarrelled with their King or "Over-king;" and, the younger brother being slain, the elder embarked as a Viking-chief for England—an ordinary and an accustomed voyage, yet it was reported that he had been directed thither by a dream. Much were the Northmen influenced by visions of the night: Rollo, it is said, sought the advice of some Christian priest, who counselled him to obey the warning. The English could only see an enemy in Rollo: sharp conflicts took place, but he was ultimately received into the *Grith* or peace of the English, who assisted him in refitting his vessels. The usual fortunes of the seas impelled or conducted Rollo to the Belgic coast. Walcheren was attacked by the young hero, about the period when the Lotharingian war between Charles-le-Chauve and Louis the Saxon was breaking out: an auspicious moment for the invaders. The coasts and ports of Belgium and France were now thoroughly familiar to the Dansker-men; and Rollo, following the career suggested to every Northman who chose to adopt the guidance of Osker and Lodbrok and Biorn and Sidroc and Godfrey, sailed up the oft-visited Seine. Rollo

stayed his fleet at Jumièges : humanity or incipient devotion induced him to spare the dilapidated monastery, where remnants of the dispersed flock had reassembled. He landed hard by the chapel of Saint-Vedast, and, entering the deserted sanctuary, reverently deposited before the Altar the relics of Saint-Himeltruda, removed from a Belgian Shrine.

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In the meanwhile Bishop Franco arrived at Rouen. John the archbishop, first of this name in the ecclesiastical Fasti of the City, was away. The fortifications had been dismantled, the sacred edifices ruined ; and the Archbishop's absence denotes that the other influential personages had equally abandoned their charge. The impoverished and defenceless inhabitants were extremely alarmed, more particularly the traders, the bargemen, whose small commerce was stopped by the hostile occupation of the river. The citizens determined to capitulate, and Bishop Franco—whom the Northmen erroneously believed to be the local Prelate—consenting and aiding, Rollo was invited to a peaceful occupation of Rouen, terra firma and islands. He stayed his vessel's course at the foot of the rock upon which he beheld the insular Church of Saint-Martin, and according to tradition he there anchored his bark. The fertile country, devastated and thinly peopled, invited a new inhabitan-
ancy : encouraging examples had previously been

16 Sept.
876.
Rollo sails
up the
Seine.

Rollo
lands at
Rouen.

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876—877

Rollo occupies Rouen and the adjoining country, and demands a Danegeld.

afforded to the Northmen, Godfrey's followers were already quietly naturalized there, and Rollo may then have formed the plan of substituting permanent colonization for periodical plunder.—His Host, his Men, his "Baronage" ultimately took possession of the country, measuring and dividing their lots, according to the Danish custom, by the rope.—Bishop Franco negotiated, and a Danegeld of five thousand pounds was demanded by Rollo as the price of forbearance from hostilities.

876—877

Charles-le-Chauve submits to the terms, and prepares to resume operations in Italy.

§ 48. Hard terms;—but Charles, intent upon the consolidation of his Imperial authority whilst he was losing his Kingdom, dared not resist Rollo. The intelligence of the treaty was conveyed to the Emperor-King at Samoucy, and he prepared to fulfil the conditions; nevertheless he despatched troops for the purpose of presenting a respectable front against the Northmen. Anxiety, labour, exertion, were wearing him out and destroying his constitution; and though only fifty-four years old, he was yielding to premature decay. Pleurisy attacked him: despairing of his life, the discouragement of mind increased the danger. His favourite and trusty body-physician was the celebrated Zedechias the Jew, who had been so successful in his practice, that the beneficial results produced by Arabian science and the energetic medicaments which the East supplied, were represented by his competitors as

the effect of magic—nay, that the apparent cures ^{861—877}
 were only portentous delusions; but if the leech- ^{867—877}
 craft of Zedechias failed, then Zedechias was a
 wilful murderer, his pharmacy was poison.

The royal patient did recover, and opportunely:
 exertion was called for, and his energies responded
 to the call. The Danegeld must be paid: the
 Saracens had resumed their invasions of Italy.

Salerno, Gaeta, Amalfi and Naples, after <sup>877.
April to
June.</sup>
 maintaining a treacherous neutrality, combined <sup>The Imperial
authori-
ty recog-
nized in the
Gauls.</sup>
 with the Moslems; and the presence of Charles <sup>Charles-le-
Chauve
proceeds to
Italy.</sup>
 was required at Rome, equally for the defence
 of Christendom's capital, and the ratification of
 his own imperial dignity. The clergy had not
 yet fully concurred in synod, neither had the
 beloved Richilda received the imperial Crown.

The Clergy and laity of "France" and of
 "Burgundy," thus distinguished in the acts and
 proceedings, were convened, separately and after-
 wards conjointly; and all ranks and orders bore
 their share in contributing the subsidy to Rollo.
 Two very important capitulars of manifold tenor <sup>877
14 and 16
June.</sup>
 were enacted at Kiersy. Various regulations <sup>The Ca-
pitulars of
Kiersy.</sup>
 are made for the purpose of protecting the
 tenant-right of the beneficiary or feudal vassals;
 amongst others the clause so often quoted,—and
 misunderstood almost as often as quoted,—for
 preventing the usurpation of an "honour"
 during the minority of the customary heir—
 the abuse by which Robert-le-Fort's children,

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876—877

Louis-le-
Bégué ap-
pointed
Regent.

Eudes and Robert, had been deprived of their inheritance.—Charles appointed a Council of Regency to assist Louis-le-Bégué in his government. The councillors are to take their turns in attendance: first amongst the Counts is named Theodoric of Autun, the High Chamberlain of the kingdom. The Statutes were read and proclaimed to the people by Gauzelin, the learned and warlike Abbot of Saint-Germain, the prisoner of Andernach, who, upon his liberation, had been appointed to the office of Chancellor. These urgent affairs completed, Charles-le-Chauve and his Consort departed, accompanied by trains of horses and mules laden with treasure. Boso, the duke of Lombardy, Hugh the Abbot, Bernard Planta-Pilosa, or Plante-velue, Count of Auvergne, and Bernard Marquis of Septimania, were to join him with reinforcements. The Roman synod had been convened, their approbation given, and the Pontiff met the Sovereign in the Lombard Palace of Pavia.—Was the maiden Hermengarda present, she who had declared that she would not live otherwise than as the spouse of a crowned King?

Defection
of the no-
bles.

Unwelcome rumours disturbed the Court festivities. Charles-le-Chauve knew that he was surrounded by danger and treachery; therefore, quitting Pavia, the Imperial Court progressed homewards to Tortona, the scene of his mother's humiliation. The hurried and anxious ceremony of Richilda's coronation was performed by the

Pope, but uneasiness increased. Charles sent the Empress across the Mont-Cenis with the treasure—nor was she thought in safety till, reaching Maurienne, she awaited the bursting storm.

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876—877

Charles-le-Chauve and Richilda fly from Italy.

Charles expected the aid of his brother-in-law the new duke of Lombardy, Hugh the Abbot, Bernard Plante-velue and Bernard Marquis of Septimania, but none came; each had his own selfish or separate concerns and plans, but all conjoined against Charles and his authority.—Hermengarda must answer for the absence of Boso.

The panic became intense—Carloman approached, heading a large army of dreaded Baioarians, and more dreaded Slavonians. The Pope retreated to Rome, and Charles abandoned Italy, hastening after the loved and fugitive Richilda. Fever seized him, and he could not continue his journey beyond the foot of the Pass. The prescriptions of Zedechias availed no further, and the hand of death was upon him. He had not much need to take thought for the succession to the Empire. The brilliant Charles of Aquitaine was dead: the pious and affectionate Lothair was dead: the blinded Carloman was dead: all his children by Richilda, Pepin, and Drogo, and the second Louis, and the poor hunted babe Charles, were dead:—none left except Louis-le-Bégué. He therefore delivered to Richilda the Writ empowering her step-son to take possession of the king-

851—877 dom, together with the time-honoured symbols of
sovereignty, sceptre, robe and royal crown, and
876—877 the sword of state, known by the name of Saint
6 Oct. 877. Peter's sword; and he expired, Richilda by his
Death of Charles-le bedside, in a wretched hovel. They would have
Chauve. borne his corpse to France, but the loathsome
decay which ensued prevented the removal of
his remains, and seven years elapsed ere his bones
were deposited at Saint-Denis.

CHAPTER IV.

FLANDERS, FRANCE, AND THE NORTHMEN, TO THE DETHRONEMENT AND DEATH OF CHARLES-LE-GRAS AND THE FINAL DISMEMBERMENT OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

862—888.

§ 1. It is anything rather than a vulgar error or a fondness for paradox to trace great events from causes, which, in common parlance we denominate “small”—“small,” merely because the human intellect is utterly incompetent to grasp the truth, that all secondary or occasional causes are equally essential in the series decreed by Eternal Providence. If any one appear greater than another to our imperfect sight, this comparative difference in magnitude is only a deception, occasioned by the larger visual angle which they subtend in consequence of our position upon this sublunary sphere. When the Lights were set in the firmament of the heavens to divide the light from the darkness, then and thenceforth each future beat of the second became as necessary to complete our time-reckoned centuries as the minute, the hour, the day, the month and the year: not one could be wanting. The relations of the events composing man’s universal destiny, have, by the Eternal Will, been rendered as unalterable as the laws of numbers, each and all compose the immutable aggregate. Collective humanity is governed through the laws imposed

862—888

862—919
Great
events produced by
small
causes.

862—888 upon individual humanity; you can no more ima-
 862—919 gine away any one pulsation of your heart, or
 any one thought you have entertained, or any one
 feeling you have felt, or any one thing during
 the whole course of your life, within memory, or
 beyond memory, in which you have been active
 or passive, than you can fancy that two and two
 minus one make four.

No leaf could have developed but from its specific spray, no spray could have been propelled but from its specific branch, no branch could have ramified but from its specific stem. Nor could the stem have attained its organic growth except upon the specific spot where the seed-fruit was cast—planted on the soil where the root could strike and the waters nourish—where the tender germ breaking through the ground should be defended from harm, the canker-worm curl away, and the cattle forbear to browse, the treading foot of man be averted and his hand restrained, where the wind should not wither, and the sun should shine.—From the day when the earth brought forth the tree yielding fruit, not a single tree upon the face of that earth could have been according to his kind, or yielded fruit according to his kind, otherwise than through the concurrence of the appointed conditions, physical, vital, and spiritual, all immutably necessary—numbers without number.

One unerring Justice, unbounded Love, and infinite Wisdom pervades all worlds, material and

spiritual. Had not each and every one of your ⁸⁶²⁻⁸⁸⁸ ancestors, from the first created out of the dust of ⁸⁶²⁻⁹¹⁹ the earth, been conceived and born, breathing, living, and dying, as they were conceived and born, and breathed and lived and died, your present existence, as you now exist, would have been impossible. All the co-operating destinies of all your parents have produced yours, they have entered into your flesh and blood, they were chosen for you : you cannot repudiate any one of them : all have made you what you are—their haps and their hazards, their healths and diseases, their virtues and vices, their rewards and inflictions, their weal and their woe. The rock is a combination of atoms, and human society's whole contexture results from individual fate, individual responsibility, individual obedience, individual disobedience, individual necessity, and individual free will.—

MARRIAGE opens many chapters in the world's ^{Political consequences of Marriage.} history. As in the most humble families, so in the most exalted, as in the families of the hearth, so in the families of nations—the Novel's catastrophe is the commencement of the reality. The world's government is carried on through human passions and affections. Science cannot analyze nor philosophy reach them in their commencement, manifest as they become in their course, and potent in their close.

That "Love is Lord of all" must be received

862—888 as an aphorism not the less incontrovertible on
 account of the phrase's poetical inanity. The most
 862—919 important political changes and revolutions have
 resulted from marriage—or what ought to have
 been marriage—the bond, its neglect, or viola-
 tion. When the rights or traditions of royalty
 are deduced through the *spindleside*, marriages
 accomplish the most radical of revolutions: that
 is to say, the introduction of a dynasty subject-
 ing the nation to a new Sovereign-line. The
 people are then conquered by the marriage-
 ring—often happily; nevertheless they are con-
 quered. The fortunes of the State are included
 in the nativity of the State's Founder, and in the
 nativities of all his ancestors: the fall of the
 Empire is determined by the Conqueror's horo-
 scope, and the horoscopes of all his progenitors.
 Let alone Rowena's wassail-cup, fair Helen and
 the siege of Troy town — Arletta's pretty feet
 twinkling in the brook made her the mother
 of William the Bastard. Employing astrolo-
 gical dialect, the planetary aspects ruling Hubert
 the tanner's natal hour, designated him to be
 the grandsire of a King. But for the tanner of
 Falaise, Arletta's father, Harold would not have
 fallen at Hastings, no Anglo-Norman dynasty
 could have arisen, no British Empire.—

Charles-le-Chauve attempted a deep, but un-
 successful policy. Generally, the Carlovingian
 princes selected their consorts under the influence

of fancy or affection, seeking to please the eye ^{862—888}
 or the heart, without reference to the collateral ^{862—919}
 advantages resulting from family alliances: Louis-
 le-Débonnaire chose Judith, like a Sultan throw-
 ing down his handkerchief before an Odalisk. Had more provident caution been exercised, we should not find so many Queens and Empresses whose lineage remained unknown till the latter days, when heraldic decorum suggested the expediency of providing them with fitting ancestry. Charles-le-Chauve, sensitively alive to the advantages attainable through matrimonial policy, made it his design to aggrandize his family by marriages of state; but it was his destiny to have those designs crossed by marriages of inclination. Indeed, he set but an indifferent example of prudence; for his scandalous second marriage accelerated the great calamities of his reign. Louis-le-Bégué disappointed him: Charles of Aquitaine disappointed him; but with his daughter, “Madame Judith,”—we take a pleasure in calling her as we find her denominated by the worthy Pieter Van Oudegherst, the Lieutenant-bailli of Tournay, in whose history her adventures are most amusingly, if not most veraciously told—there appeared every prospect of success.

Ever since Charlemagne’s days a respectful, friendly, and not unfrequent intercourse had subsisted between the Western Emperor and the Basileus of Britain. Charlemagne addressed Offa

862—888 upon equal terms Britain gave the Gauls the
 } great teacher Alcuin; and, notwithstanding the
 862—919 devastations of the Northmen, their common
 enemy, England still excelled in opulence, and
 retained a most distinguished station in the West-
 ern Commonwealth. An alliance between En-
 gland and France might enable both countries
 to resist the Danes; and the opportunity arose
 for cementing such a union. Ethelwulf, journey-
 ing with his son, the child Alfred, from Rome,
 was splendidly received by Charles-le-Chaue at
 his palace of Verberie. A royal visit thus paid, pre-
 supposes a royal invitation; and, for a purpose.
 Betrothed in July, the grey-headed Ethelwulf
 and the precocious Judith, then perhaps fourteen
 years of age, were married in October. Arch-
 bishop Hincmar pronounced the benediction, not
 entirely identical with the modern Roman usage;
 and this antient ritual, some portions whereof
 may be heard in our Liturgy, possesses singular
 dignity and impressive solemnity. Moreover,
 Judith was crowned as Queen, gifts and guer-
 dons were bestowed with unsparing kindness;
 and Ethelwulf and his bride repaired to England.

856.
 Judith,
 daughter of
 Charles-le-
 Chauve,
 married to
 King Eth-
 elwulf.

858.
 Judith
 after the
 death of
 Ethelwulf,
 marries her
 step-son
 Ethelbald.

The nuptial rejoicings speedily shaded into
 discomfort, unhappiness and sin. Judith is the
 Frenchwoman concerning whom our Anglo-Saxon
 chroniclers speak so sullenly and spitefully.
 Ethelwulf, in order to make way for her, had
 repudiated Osburga, Alfred's mother. Judith's

coronation affronted the English. Queen Ed-
 burga's crimes had brought the dignity of Queen
 into disrepute: no consort of an English Sove-
 reign had subsequently assumed that title, or sat
 as Queen by her husband's side. Judith's con-
 duct confirmed the antipathies entertained against
 her. After Ethelwulf's death, she contracted an
 incestuous and disgusting marriage, espousing
 Ethelbald, her step-son;—an action contemplated
 by the English with unmitigated aversion and
 horror.—Instructive warnings against national
 prejudices are afforded by the calumnies of the
 French chronicler, who assumes that the mis-
 deed which the English nation universally de-
 tested was quite indifferent to them, and quotes
 their apathy as a proof of England's spiritual
 darkness and moral contamination. Ethelbald's
 inglorious reign being speedily terminated by his
 death, Judith sold her English possessions, and
 returned to her father.

Previously to her marriage with Ethelwulf,
 Judith had been courted by Baudouin Bras-de-fer,
 or *Boudewyn-den-Yzeren*, one of her father's
 foresters:—strenuous, as his name imports, fair,
 well-favoured in countenance, pleasant in speech,
 prudent and wise. That such a tender, though
 twice-married, widow would be easily accessible
 to a third admirer might be anticipated; and
 Charles-le-Chauve was prepared to give her away
 again, but in due time, and when a fitting suitor

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863
 After Eth-
 elbald's
 death, Ju-
 dith re-
 turns to
 France.

862—888
 862.—863
 should offer. Judith was therefore entrusted to Bishop Erpuin, at Senlis, that pleasant and healthy abode, the royal nursery, where the kings of France were accustomed to send their children : some Romane arches of their palace, inclosing a wild fragrant garden, were standing a few years ago.

Widows were peculiarly protected against violence, actual or constructive, rude force or gentle persuasion, by Saint Gregory's canon,—“ *Si quis viduam in uxorem furatus fuerit, ipse et consentientes ei, anathema sint.*”—It was a Crown prerogative amongst the Franks that no female of the royal family could marry without her parents' assent ; and Judith was to remain under the *Mundbyrd* or wardship of Church and State, till she should either resign herself to widowhood, or relieve her guardians by the imposition of their anxiety upon a third husband. We have seen how Charles-le-Chauve, when called away to oppose the Danes, delegated his authority to Louis-le-Bégué as Regent. The brother made common cause with his sister, and becoming, according to the plain-spoken Archbishop Hincmar, the go-between, she eloped in disguise with her first love, the Forester.

862
 Judith elopes from Senlis with Baldwin the Forester.

Legendary history of the Foresters of Flanders.

And who was this Baldwin the Forester?—Toison d'or, King-at-arms, would read out Baldwin's history most currently from the shields in the choir of Bruges, or the canopied imagery decking the delicately-traceried Town-hall. The

founder of the family, as many said, was Lyderic of Harlebec in Charles Martel's reign ; and this Lyderic, marrying the Princess Flandrina, became Lord of the Country, in whose geographical denomination she has been commemorated. The Dean of Saint Donat's might perhaps demur, and maintain that Flanders was so called from Flanbertus, expelled with his brother Flaminus from Beauvais by Andromedes king of the Belgians, which same Flanbertus and Flaminus, afterwards founding the once splendid city of Bailleul, established the new colony ; the names of the founders being perpetually commemorated in the appellations of the country and the people. Flanders took her name from *Flanbertus* ; and from *Flaminus* were the Flemings called.

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Some, however, were rather inclined to believe that the real progenitor of this truly illustrious family was another Prince Lyderic, who flourished in King Dagobert's days. His father was the noble Salvaert, a Burgundian prince, who, married to the Princess Ermengarda, daughter of Gerard de Roussillon, and fleeing from the Franks, took refuge in the forest of Harlebec near Lisle, very unfortunately, for there they fell into the power of a most ill-conditioned tyrant, the gigantic Phinaert, who murdered Prince Salvaert and drove the Princess into the forest, where, according to custom, she was delivered of her child Lyderic, so called from the good anchorite

Prince Ly-
deric and
the Prin-
cess Er-
mengarda.

862—888 who became his godfather. Lyderic, coming to
 862—863 man's estate, after many adventures—including
 a voyage to England, where he married the Princess Gratiana—released his mother from captivity, and was installed in the dignity and honour of first Count-Forester.

Ingelram
and Odoacre,
ancestors as-
cribed to
Baldwin.

Historians, who are contented to leave the earlier traditions of Flemish history undetailed, insert Baldwin in their genealogies as the son of Count Odoacre, son of Count Ingelram, both hereditary Counts-Foresters, whose epitaphs were to be seen in the last century cut on stone at Bruges. An Ingelram, the *Missus*, the Justice in Eyre of Charles-le-Chauve, had certainly authority over some of the Districts constituting Flanders. Making, however, every allowance for archaeological uncertainties, it is impossible to find a place in history for Baldwin's assumed father. They sculptured his effigy on the façade of Bruges' Stadthuys, but cotemporary chronicles and unaccommodating charters leave no room for him. Hence erudite and honest Vredius, chief amongst the critical genealogists of Flanders, has converted "Odoacre" into a word of command—"Houd-u-macker"—*Hold thyself stoutly*—the admonition which, as he conjectures, either Ingelram or Baldwin, or both or either of them, would diligently address to the soldiery employed in guarding their shores.

Historical pyrrhonism may become more detri-

mental to historical truth than historical credulity. 862—868
 We may reject and reject till we attenuate history 862—863
 into sapless meagreness,—like the king of France,
 who, refusing all food lest he should be poisoned,
 brought himself to death's door by starvation.

In the present instance, however, we are relieved from the difficulties which often embarrass such enquiries. The fanciful tales we have noticed are palpably recent, not older than the thirteenth century, if so old: they must be ascribed to the *Menestrels* who flourished during the golden age of romance poetry. The Walloon Trouveurs were excellently fluent and skilful: French poetry, the poetry of the Langue d'oïl, was nurtured in the Border Provinces of France; and the successors of Rollo and of Baudouin fostered the talent, which, in maturer growth, illustrated the Romane tongue. Some *Chanson-de-Geste*, perhaps still to be recovered amongst the piles of manuscripts, the treasured yet neglected stores constituting the pride and the lumber of museums and public libraries, may reveal the primary source of the adventures narrated by the standard historian denominated the Flemish Livy.—Yet these legends, though unquestionably fictitious, are very convincing, when contrasted with more genuine evidence, in bringing out the truth. All the antient and authentic chroniclers now extant maintain an unbroken silence as to Baudouin's ancestry. They do not pretend to discover his father.—Baudouin Bras-de-fer was

862—888 another Robert-le-Fort, a *novus homo*, a man
 without ancestors, triumphing by talent, prowess
 862—863 and energy.

Resent-
 ment of
 Charles-le-
 Chauve.

Under ordinary circumstances, Baudouin was calculated to deserve the utmost encouragement from Charles-le-Chauve, even as he protected and exalted Torquatus the Forester, promoting him out of the Blackbird's nest to dignity and honour; but Baudouin thwarted the Royal Father's will, and Charles-le-Chauve was exceedingly offended by the Forester's presumption. Charles fiercely resented this domestic rebellion. Parental authority, Papal decrees, royal prerogative, the laws of Church and State and his own plans and inclinations, were all equally infringed and opposed. He summoned a council at Soissons, declared to his prelates and nobles how his daughter had absconded with an adulterer and a thief; and Baudouin was outlawed. Furthermore, convening an ecclesiastical council, Saint Gregory's Canon *Si quis furatus fuerit*, and so forth, being duly propounded, excommunication was fulminated against the ravisher and the consenting Judith: King Lothair was urged to concur in the proceedings. Lastly, in a great council or Placitum held at Pistres on the Seine, the civil and ecclesiastical sentences were confirmed, and the lieges generally enjoined against affording any harbour, countenance, or support to the delinquents.

Charles-le-Chauve's anger was more natural

than wise. Could Judith have been recovered from Baudouin, she would have left her character behind her: there would have been no help but to confine the wanton in a monastery. If she continued with the Forester, he, provoked by the father's conduct, had it in his power to become a very dangerous enemy. The forests of Flanders extended over Lotharingian ground: the coasts were open to the Northmen; and there soon became reason to apprehend that he might make common cause with the enemy. But Baudouin though venturesome, was neither obdurate nor perverse. He and Judith sought the mediation of the Holy See. Pope Nicholas interceded earnestly both with Charles-le-Chauve and Hermentruda. To the king, he pointed out the political dangers which might ensue, were reconciliation refused; his appeal to the mother's affection was grounded upon the contrition of the delinquents. Baudouin and Judith repaired to Charles-le-Chauve at Soissons. They were restored to favour, and by his consent they were married at Auxerre; yet he emphatically testified his opinion of their conduct by refusing to be present at the nuptials.

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863
Oct.
Baldwin
and Judith
married
after their
elopement.

Flanders hitherto had no political existence. Previously to Baudouin's era, Flanders or "Flandria" is a designation belonging, as learned men conjecture, to a Gau or Pagus, afterwards known as the *Franc de Bruges*, and noticed only in a

Antient
state of the
territory of
Flanders.

~~the name~~ Popularly the name of Flanders
~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~imposed~~ ~~with~~ ~~respect~~ ~~to~~ ~~a~~ ~~much~~ ~~larger~~ ~~sur-~~
~~rounding~~ ~~large~~ ~~country~~, an extensive district,
~~whose~~ ~~boundaries~~ ~~were~~ ~~indicated~~ ~~by~~ ~~natural~~ ~~or~~
~~peculiar~~ ~~characters~~ ~~rather~~ ~~than~~ ~~constituted~~ ~~by~~
~~these~~ ~~demarcations~~: other examples occur of
~~this~~ ~~indistinct~~ ~~and~~ ~~intelligible~~ ~~though~~ ~~somewhat~~
~~indeterminate~~ ~~surroundings~~—Take for instance,
La Escapée in France or the *Wold, High-Suffolk*,
 or the *Fen Country* in England. The name of
 “Flanders” was thus given to the wide, and in a
 degree indistinct tract of which the Forester Bau-
 drin and his predecessors had the official range
 of care. According to the idiom of the Middle
 Ages the term “Forest” did not exactly convey
 the idea which the word now suggests, not being
 applied exclusively to wood-land, but to any wild
 and unreclaimed region: and Flanders, though
 containing fine and noble wood-lands, also in-
 cluded vast extents of moors and downs and
 plashes and marshes, bordered by the Ocean on
 the North and by the Ardennes on the South,
 of which large portions remained uncleared.

Excellent commencements had however been
 made. Saint Audomerus, Saint Amandus, Saint
 Bavon, and their companions and disciples, guided
 and directed those agricultural colonists, who,
 labouring in the service of their Divine Master,
 and converting the sentence of toil into a peren-
 nial blessing, gave the first impulse to that

industry which has rendered the Netherlands the Garden of the North. But the inhabitants always needed to struggle against the waters; and any etymology of the name of Flamingia, or Flanders, which we can guess at, seems intended to designate that the land was so called from being half-drowned. Thirty-five inundations, which afflicted the country at various intervals from the tenth to the sixteenth century, have entirely altered the coast-line; and the interior features of the country, though less affected, have been much changed by the diversions which the river-courses have sustained: fertile pastures on the sea-board severed and channelled into islands, islands worn into sand-banks, and the sand-banks ultimately submerged by the invincible element.

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862—863

Inunda-
tions of
Flanders,
and their
conse-
quences.

These physical catastrophes produced remarkable political and moral consequences in other countries not touched by the waves. Numbers of the sturdy natives emigrated, seeking new homes, working their way and fighting their way. Some were driven back into Germany, others forward into the British islands. They principally sought or were invited into the territories of the Celtic races, whom they consumed. Scotland, Wales and Ireland bear testimony to the Flemish energy. The plough, speeded by mammon, may become an engine of human destruction, desolating as the sword.

Whatever had been the original amplitude of

877—888 the districts over which Baudouin had any controul or authority, the boundaries were now enlarged and defined. Kneeling before Charles-le-Chauve, placing his hands between the hands of the Sovereign, he received his "honour:"—the Forester of Flanders was created Count or Marquis. All the countries between the Scheldt, the Somme and the sea, became his Benefice; so that only a narrow and contested tract divided Baudouin's Flanders from Normandy. According to an antient nomenclature, ten Counties, to wit, Theerenburch, Arras, Boulogne, Guisnes, Saint-Paul, Hesdin, Blandemont, Bruges, Harlebec and Tournay, were comprehended in the noble grant which Baudouin obtained from his father-in-law. The development of Flanders and her feudal dependencies is an integral portion of European history, requiring the labours of those competent to perform the neglected task.

862
Flanders
granted to
Baudouin
as an hereditary
County or
Marquisate.

Children of
Baudouin
and Judith.
Charles
died an infant.

Baudouin and Judith's first child was named Charles; but the infant died. Judith sorrowed much at his death, which she attributed to the want of mother's milk; and she therefore determined herself to give suck to the next babe, named Baudouin after his father. The Lieutenant-bailli of Tournay expatiates upon the maternal conduct of "Madame Judith," a reproach to the matronly luxury and self-indulgence of his times.

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Baudouin-
le-Chauve.

Baudouin the Second's manly vigour did

credit to his mother's tenderness. When he grew up to man's estate, he assumed the epithet of *le-Chauve*, in honour of his Imperial Grandfather, though his locks were abundant as those adorning any Merovingian King. Judith's first two husbands had in a manner connected Flanders with England. Baudouin-le-Chauve renewed the connexion more creditably, by marrying Elfreda or Elfruda, king Alfred's daughter.

Baudouin Bras-de-fer, once settled in his dominion, almost disappears from notice. His renown may have scared the Northman—at all events, so long as he lived, no important invasions of his honours or territories are recorded. Subsequently to his marriage hardly anything is commemorated concerning him, except useful works and good works, towns and fortresses improved, monasteries endowed, charity abundantly bestowed. In the centre of Ghent we may yet see the dark battered towers surrounding the '*Sgravesteen* or *Petra Comitum*, the castellated palace of Baudouin-Bras-de-fer: the Second Baudouin added the fortifications which defended the birthplace of Charles-Quint.

The eldest son and successor of Baudouin-le-Chauve was Arnoul, who obtained the epithet of *le-Vieux*. Fourth in descent from this Arnoul was Baudouin-de-Lisle, father of the Conqueror's faithful and affectionate Matilda. All these matters are of great interest to us: Normandy scarcely

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Arnoul-le-Vieux, son of Baudouin-le-Chauve.

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 862—888
 proved more influential in the formation of the Anglo-Norman Commonwealth than Flanders, increasing in prosperity rapidly yet steadily.

Feudal relations of Flanders.

The Count of Flanders took his seat as one of the twelve Peers—the Duke of Normandy premier amongst the Dukes, the Count of Flanders premier amongst the Counts, rejoicing in the honour of bearing the sword before the king. Yet the Count or Marquis of Flanders was only imperfectly dependent upon the French Suzerain. In respect of Ghent, and the very important *Ambachten* and other districts known as *Rijks-Vlaenderen*, the Count was a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Baudouin's Castle of Ghent was built on Imperial ground. The feudal relations between the Count of Flanders and France were scarcely more than parchment-texts, efficient enough when the sword's point could engross the commentary, but very inert otherwise. Like the Normandy-Duke, he litigated the question whether his homage should be homage simple, or homage liege. Sometimes he assisted the Capets with his contingent for forty days, and sometimes refused his contingent, and approached so nearly to the condition of an independent Sovereign, that, according to the opinion of Flemish Jurists, Flanders might be truly styled a Monarchy.

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§ 2. Louis-le-Bégué was placed by his father's death under circumstances of peculiar

difficulty: Baudouin Bras-de-fer, from whom he had good reason to expect support, gave him no assistance, and remained aloof, perhaps impeded by bodily infirmity, pending the short but very important contest which ensued. The maxim—*le mort saisit le vif*,—*the King never dies*, was not then accepted as embodying an incontrovertible dogma; on the contrary, we doubt if the doctrine was recognized theoretically in any European Kingdom before the sixteenth century: the royal dignity was in abeyance unless a successor was or had been constitutionally acknowledged. Consequently, during two months after the death of Charles-le-Chauve, France was without a King, although Louis-le-Bégué endeavoured to exercise the royal prerogative, granting Abbeys and Counties, or assuming that he could make such grants: scarcely benefitting those whom he favoured, and encreasing the number of his ill-wishers and opponents.

Richilda, with a step-mother's enmity, was much averse to his succession; and through and with her, a very powerful party was organized against Louis-le-Bégué. It will be recollected that none of the nobles, whose aid Charles had expected when in Italy, came to him according to their promise. Boso, ambitious, acute and enterprising, was maturing important designs. About this time, or perhaps somewhat sooner, Hermengarda, the Maiden, the daughter of the Emperor

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877
July—Dec.
Transactions upon
the accession of
Louis-le-Bégué.

Party opposed to
Louis-le-Bégué.

Boso married to
Hermengarda,
daughter of
the Emperor Louis
(p. 376).

877—888 Louis, eloped with him, and became his consort.

877—879 Boso, according to common fame, had poisoned his wife Engeltruda, in order to make room in his bed for this Princess; but whether he did or did not commit the crime,—whether he carried off Hermengarda, or whether she consented, or whether the future King of Italy, Berengarius, helped the lovers, as Louis-le-Bégue had done, are matters about which historians are at variance. Engeltruda was a woman of bad character. True or false, the facts and the rumours exemplify the popular and prevailing standard of morality.

Clergy and Nobility, intriguers and soundly-minded being equally unanimous in this respect, determined that Louis should not ascend the throne with the power which his father had enjoyed. It was their intention to demand a reform of the real or supposed abuses prevailing under the preceding reign.

877.
30 Nov.
Royal in-
signia, &c.,
delivered
by Richilda
to Louis-le-
Bégue.

On Saint Andrew's Day, Richilda, repairing to Compiègne, reluctantly delivered to Louis the testamentary writ, whereby Charles-le-Chauve had designated him as his successor, together with the tokens of authority, purple robe and arched crown, Saint Peter's sword and the rod of justice, shining with gems and gold. But these were put aside: the Frankish clergy and nobles paid no attention to seal and monogram or royal insignia, hallowed though they might be by the associations of antiquity: they em-

phatically ignored the existence of hereditary right; and Louis-le-Bégué came in as a constitutional, we may almost say as a revolutionary king. Hincmar, another Hubert, conducted the transaction. The Bishops, representatives of the people, interrogated Louis whether he would observe law and justice. Upon his assent, homage was performed: the homagers professed fealty and allegiance to their Senior and King, "Louis, son of Charles and Hermentruda;" and the son of Charles and Hermentruda then signed and subscribed with his own hand the declaration confessing himself King by the choice of the people,—*"Ego Ludovicus misericordiâ Domini Dei nostri et electione populi Rex constitutus,"*—promising to preserve those national franchises and privileges which, in the phraseology of the times, so misinterpreted by modern ideas, were called the rights of the Church; and to govern by the common council of the lieges the people committed to his care. The engagement thus ratified, Hincmar completed the ceremonies of coronation and consecration. Let it be observed how carefully and specifically hereditary right is denied; for though the *Seigneur-Roi* is denominated the son of Charles and Hermentruda, yet this description amounts to nothing more than a personal designation. Acting under the same impression and with the same intent, Napoleon's Senate,

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Louis-le-Bégué receives the homage, and subscribes the Declaration.

6 Dec.
Louis-le-Bégué crowned.

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877—879

when they recalled the Bourbon, as carefully endeavoured to protect themselves against the acknowledgment of any hereditary or inchoate title, by drily accepting "Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier." With equal carefulness "Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier" strove to rebut the inference by reckoning on from his predecessors, and taking the style of Louis-Dixhuit.

Louis-le-Bé-
gue un-
fairly dis-
paraged.

All this was but mournful vanity. A Celtic Seer would have beheld Louis-le-Bégué ascending the throne, arrayed for his funeral, the winding-sheet's white folds wrapping themselves around him: he was afflicted with an incurable disease. After Louis-le-Bégué's death, when it served people's interest to disparage his memory, they called him *le Fainéant*—*Nihil faciens*—*qui nihil fecit*—but he had no time to do anything; and during his short reign, his earnestly-intended exertions were clogged by his subjects' coldness and traversed by adverse destiny. The Northmen were ravaging the Seine-country to such an extent, that stout Hugh the Abbot requested aid. Emeno, a Count in Poitou, rebelled: so also Gosfried, son of Roric Count of Maine. Louis-le-Bégué marched immediately to the troubled country; but at Tours he became so ill that he could not advance any further. His life was despaired of; but having unexpectedly rallied, he negotiated with the Bretons and obtained their homages; and upon his invitation the Pope—Pope John—

crossed the Alps, and after holding a Council at Troyes, bestowed upon him, for the second time, the royal crown.

862—868

877—878

This transaction affords much matter for consideration. Some suppose that the coronation was an Imperial coronation. Others, that the new King sought to establish an absolute authority; but a more obvious explanation can be suggested. Very serious doubts existed, whether the marriage of Louis with Judith the Adeliza could be a lawful marriage. She was a veiled recluse whom he carried off from the Royal Monastery of Cala, or Chelles on the Marne. Founded by Clotilda, this Convent acquired great celebrity, as a normal school and general educational establishment for damsels of Royal blood,—a female College. Here the Anglo-Saxon kings were accustomed to send their daughters. Saint Milburga, Abbess of Wenlock, daughter of the Mercian Merwald, was trained at Cala.—Charles-le-Chauve not only sanctioned but instigated this irregular or even scandalous matrimony, and possibly the Adeliza was (as her title imports) recommended by her relationship to some influential Royal Family. If the Adeliza had taken the claustral vows, her nuptial vow was null: Ansgarda, first espoused by Louis-le-Bégué and the mother of his sons Louis and Carloman, was also still living. We are most imperfectly informed concerning these marriages: according

878.
7 Sept.
Louis
crowned
again by
Pope John
VIII.

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to a widely-spread impression, either might be considered void, and Louis sustained the humiliating mortification of ascertaining, that such was the Supreme Pontiff's opinion with respect to the Adeliza.

Pope John refused to recognize the fair fugitive of Chelles, pupil, novice or nun, as the wife of Louis-le-Bégué. Thrice betrothed, Louis-le-Bégué, according to the average of opinions, never had a lawful consort; and consequently, upon the same average, never any legitimate progeny.

Four Sovereigns
ruling in
the Carlo-
vingian em-
pire.

§ 3. An ill-combined and unharmonious Tetrarchy ruled the Carolingian Empire. Three Sovereigns, descended from the Emperor Lothair, by Louis-le-Germanique, represented the German

(See p. 337). or Senior line. Carloman, Louis-le-Germanique's eldest son, held the Baioarian and Sclavonian States, King also of Italy. Louis the Saxon, the second son, retained the best parts of Northern Germany, Saxony, including the red land of Westphalia, Franconia, Friezeland and much of Lotharingia. Charles, or Caroletto, "Charles-le-Gras" in popular history, the third son, was restricted to a dotation or apanage in Suabia, but aspiring to more extensive authority, and qualified to win, if not to retain, exalted power.—Louis-le-Bégué represented the French or Junior line.

These were the possessors of thrones, but who were to reign when thrones should become vacant? Pepin King of Italy's descendants, the

now prosperous house of Lombardy-Vermandois, ^{862—888}
 had tacitly waived their legitimate pretensions. ^{877—878}
 When any one of the four regnant Sovereigns
 should die, the Seniors or Senior, the survivors
 and survivor might contend for the inheritance;
 but, looking beyond Carloman of Baioaria, Louis
 the Saxon, Charles of Suabia, and Louis-le-Bègue,
 to whom did the reversion appertain?

This was the perplexity clouding the mind of every thoughtful man:—although there might be many claimants, yet there was only one clearly-acknowledged legitimate heir, or *throne-capable* representative of Charlemagne, and this representative was an infant child, Louis the Saxon's sprightly boy. Doctrine and sentiment had much changed upon the subject of connubial legitimacy, since the Merovingian era. Lax in practice, the Franks had improved in theoretical consistency concerning marriage: the teaching of the Church had imparted greater sanctity to the union. Ecclesiastical Canons were prevailing over national customs:—the progeny born of connexions unconsecrated by the Priest were more decidedly lowered in position than before; and, except Louis the Saxon's boy, all the next of kin to the ruling Sovereigns, the Carolingian princes Louis and Carloman of France, Hugh of Alsace, Arnolph of Carinthia, and Hugh the Saxon, were *mamzers*, either by reputation or undeniably.

Only one
 uncon-
 tested
 legitimate
 heir to the
 four Sove-
 reigns.

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The five
reputed
bastards,
viz.
Louis and
Carloman.

A large and influential party stigmatized Louis and Carloman, the sons of Louis-le-Bègue, as illegitimate: their mother Ansgarda was defamed as a concubine, the living witness of their disqualification. We cannot pronounce upon the validity of the reasons, possibly insufficient, which sustained this conclusion; but the adverse opinion subsisted permanently, and a personal dislike was nourished against these princes, strengthening any plausible arguments, if such there were, branding their birth with disgrace.

Hugh of
Alsace.

Hugh, titular Count of Alsace, Lothair and Waldrada's son, stood in the same painfully ambiguous station. Waldrada had claimed to be reckoned a lawful wife; but her son, denied the rights of royal birth, was equally deprived of the respectability resulting from a recognized position in society.

Arnolph of
Carinthia.

Arnolph, Duke of Carinthia, the brilliant son of the heroic Carloman, by the left-handed Sclavonian consort, was prominently known as a bastard: his half-caste rendered the circumstances of his origin the more conspicuous.

Hugh the
Saxon.

Lastly, Hugh, eldest son of Louis the Saxon, though dearly loved by his father, and deserving and returning that love, never forgot or concealed his illegitimacy.

Louis and Carloman were however the least blemished, their inchoate title to royalty, though not absolutely unchallenged, was not strenuously

contested. Their father, and all about the court and the royal family, treated Ansgarda's sons as heirs apparent; but Hugh of Alsace, Arnolph of Carinthia, and Hugh of Saxony, were classed in a definite category—all three marked out as base-born Carlovingians—not one of the three deemed to be genuine, or entitled by descent to a Carlovingian crown.

So far as external enemies were concerned, it chanced that the present moment was one of comparative tranquillity:—the Gauls somewhat spared from Danish invasions: the Danes having enough to do in England:—Alfred driven into Athelney, meekly submitting to his well-known chiding from the Neat-herd's wife;—and the conflict in our island at its fiercest.—The Danish moveable forces were therefore transiently diminished upon the Continent, and the coasts were less disturbed. But France was broken up by the troubles; and there was a general feeling of insecurity, a presentiment of impending danger. Every man knew his neighbour's untruth: every man acted upon the conviction that no trust or confidence could be reposed either in individuals or in general society. The Four Kings were all jealous of each other, each yearning for the dominions of cousin or brother—none of the Four aged, yet each hungry for the other's death. Nevertheless two of the Four, Louis the Saxon and Louis-le-Bégué, whose dominions bordered,

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Presentiment of dangers in the Empire.

862—868
 878—879

were drawn closer by surrounding pressures, and sought to dissemble their animosity. Parental love was strong in both. Louis the Saxon was earnestly anxious that his namesake, his sprightly child, should succeed to the German kingdom—Louis-le-Bégue equally desired to secure his royal rights for Louis and Carloman, the sons of his first love.

878
 1 Nov.
 Treaty of
 Foron.
 Louis-le-
 Bégue and
 Louis the
 Saxon mu-
 tually
 guarantee
 the rights
 of their
 children.

Whatever opinions might have been fostered, no contradiction had, until the death of Charles-le-Chauve, been given to the doctrine that the Sovereignty was inherently and exclusively vested in the Carolingian family, but the rights of the individuals composing that family were not definitely ascertained. It still continued to be a vexed question whether a Senior or a Senior's representative might not demand the dominion of a Junior or Junior's representative, in preference to the issue of such Junior—the son postponed to an elder collateral. This leaven of discord had fermented from the beginning, but now other causes of trouble had arisen, for the hitherto indefeasible supremacy of the collective Carolingian lineage had been impugned by implication. Louis-le-Bégue confessed that he received his throne from the nation's choice. There also subsisted, what must be unfortunately termed a natural antipathy between the German line and the French; both were, however, now compelled to seek co-operating aid.

The sovereigns, Louis-le-Bégué and Louis the Saxon, met at Foron in Lotharingia, not far from Maestricht, and concluded the articles of a treaty to be thereafter confirmed in a solemn Diet, Carloman and Caroletto being summoned to attend. The object which both parents had most at heart, a mutual guarantee for their children's security, they effected in words. Louis-le-Bégué covenanted and swore to defend the hereditary right of the infant Louis. Louis the Saxon on his part covenanted, should he survive, to defend the sons of Louis-le-Bégué and any other children whom he might have, in the secure and quiet possession of their paternal kingdom, as their counsellor and protector. Never were the antagonistic theories and consequences of self-subsisting legitimacy and elective or constitutional monarchy, more distinctly contemplated and understood by any political reasoners, than by these kings.—The compact concluded, each departed to his own dominions.

The illness of Louis encreased: his bodily strength declined rapidly. In the wilds of the Ardennes there was a renowned monastery dedicated to the hunter's legendary patron; there Saint Hubert's votary lingered. No longer stinted in his sport by a father's grudging behest, the jealously preserved forest was his own; but the poor beasts were now very effectually protected against their tormentor, by the feebleness

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Nov.—Feb.
Louis-le-
Bégué
detained
by encreas-
ing illness
in the Ar-
dennes.

862—868

878—9

of the royal huntsman's nerves and the anxiety of his mind:—no power had Louis to slip the hound, no care to dart the spear. A rebellion broke out in Burgundy. Bernard, Count of Autun, had been recently deprived of all his honours, which were divided between his namesake Bernard Plante-velue, and the High Chamberlain, Theodorick, the great intriguer. Some authorities assert that Theodorick was the father of Boso, or may be father-in-law, or may be his step-father, anyhow closely allied to Boso, and a prime mover in the little world of agitation disturbing the Gauls.

879
Feb. Mar.
Revolts in
Burgundy.

The deposed count Bernard insurrectionized the country. Louis-le-Bègue, in nowise content to compromise his rights, determined to march against the revolters, and would have headed his troops, but at Troyes he sunk into a state of hopeless debility. His eldest son, the young Louis, was sent away under the care of Hugh the Abbot, Count Boso, and Bernard Plante-velue. Theodorick the High-Chamberlain was to have continued with them, but the narrative is much confused; and when the obscurity dissipates, we find that Theodorick had separated himself from the rest—and for a reason.

Louis crept on, and with great difficulty reached the humble monastery of Jouarre, near Compiègne. He was now thoroughly exhausted, and feeling himself at the last gasp, he entrusted

to Odo, bishop of Beauvais and Count Alboin, the crown and robe, the sceptre of mercy and rod of justice. The expiring Monarch charged these friends and ministers that they should deliver the royal insignia to his son Louis, together with a Writ, or precept, addressed to the council of regency, directing the inauguration and consecration of the boy as his successor. On the following day the winding-sheet shrouded over the king's closed eyes. He died on Good Friday, and on Easter Eve they buried him.

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10 April,
879
Death of
Louis-le-
Bègue.

§ 4. Great constitutional importance was attached, by usage and custom, to the regalia. According to ancient traditions, the delivery of these symbols actually conveyed the royal authority. Analogies may be found to this opinion. The Lord High Treasurer of England, were there one, would receive his appointment by delivery of the Staff. The Lord Chancellor, as is well-known, is created by the delivery of the Seals. Bishop Odo and Count Alboin took leave of their dying master, and set out upon their journey, with the full intention of retarding or defeating the Will which he had declared; for as soon as they heard of the King's death, they, instead of executing their commission, surrendered the tokens of sovereignty to the High Chamberlain Theodorick, investing him with whatever influence might result from possession of the insignia; and a revolutionary interregnum ensued.

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Interreg-
num after
the death
of Louis-
le-Bègue.

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}

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17 Sep. 879.
Birth of
Charles-le-
Simple.

Besides Louis and Carloman, another heir might be expected. The Adeliza Judith was pregnant. She brought forth her babe (whom the mother called Charles, in honour of his ancestors) on Saint Lambert's feast day, five months after the death of Louis-le-Bégué. We do not hear anything more concerning the Adeliza: perhaps the Nun of Chelles, repenting her broken vows, returned to monastic seclusion. The child was first protected by Hugh the Abbot: he then disappears, until we ascertain that he had passed under the care of Rainulph the second, the son of Bernard of Septimania, Count of Poitiers; but anyhow the political existence of "Charles-le-Simple" was ignored during his early infancy, and when he afterwards was produced on the scene, uncharitable doubts were raised concerning his status, extending beyond the questions occasioned by the circumstances of his mother's marriage.

Parties or
factions
supporting
or opposing
the children
of Louis-le-
Bégué.

§ 5. Three parties, or factions, now arose, by or through whose exertions or persuasions the succession was to be determined. All the great men, clergy and nobles, had been fully preparing themselves for the vacancy of the throne, and all had determined to improve the contingency for their own advantage. Hugh the Abbot was pre-eminent in the party which supported the claims of the young princes Louis and Carloman. Others spurned the "concubine's sons." Gauzeline, the

brave Abbot of Saint-Denis, subsequently Bishop of Paris, who had persuaded the distinguished and experienced Count Conrad the Guelph to join him, laboured to bring in Louis the Saxon. Taken prisoner, cuffed and stripped at Andernach, the Royal victor could not help pitying Gauzeline's rueful plight and treated him kindly; and an intimate friendship then arose between them which now fructified. The benefices Louis the Saxon could bestow offered strong temptations; yet amongst his partizans some may have been influenced by less selfish motives. The divisions and morcellings of the Carlovingian territories among so many disputing *Roitelets*, or *Reguli*, were destructive of national strength; and the encreasing misfortunes of the empire enhanced the unavailing regrets entertained by those who, through their faithlessness, had aggravated the prevailing evils. There were many who were ready to adopt any measure for the purpose of restoring the antient unity; and the reconsolidation of the Carlovingian empire under one Sovereign, appertaining to the Senior line, would be a glorious consummation. Chief amongst these, in learning, dignity and station, was—as subsequent events disclosed,—Archbishop Hincmar, embued with the traditions of the old time; but he does not appear openly amongst the *Meneurs*, though we discern his intentions just visible through the turbid narratives.

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Parties
favouring
Louis the
Saxon.

Parties
favouring
Boso.

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A third party would have been willing to discard the Carlovingian line completely, and to introduce Count Boso; but he rejected the proposition, possibly having already considered how he might establish himself more securely by adopting another scheme. Theodorick the Chamberlain transferred the County of Autun to Boso, who in exchange surrendered certain abbeys held as lay fees; and Boso, Count of Autun and Provence, and Duke of Lombardy, advocated the children of the late Sovereign.

The Gauzeline party therefore acted resolutely, and addressed their invitation to Louis the Saxon and his wife, proud Luitgarda, who ruled with her husband, and ruled him also; for historians speak of the masterful Queen as being highly influential in public affairs.

Louis the Saxon invades the territories of Louis and Charlemagne.

There seemed no conception amongst these Carlovingian princes that any promise was made to be kept. Louis the Saxon, anticipating the invitation, had determined to seize the French dominions. As soon as the death of Louis-le-Bégué occurred, the Saxon Louis marched his army and prepared to gain Lotharingia and then win the whole kingdom. What had become of the treaty of Foron? Six months had scarcely elapsed since Louis the Saxon had solemnly covenanted and sworn to the dying Louis-le-Bégué, that he would support and defend the young children in the quiet possession of their paternal kingdoms,

he their counsellor and protector; and now he did not give a thought to his engagement. Covenant and oath signed and sworn in winter, oath and covenant broken and violated in the spring. The German army reached Metz and Verdun, perpetrating as much mischief as the Pagan Danes could have done. The German chroniclers excuse their disorders by alleging that the people refused to supply provisions at a fair price to the soldiers, so they helped themselves.

There was full room for the play of parties; and Theodorick, the practised politician, Hugh the Abbot, and Count Boso disconcerted their adversaries' game, inducing Louis the Saxon to retreat, which plan they effected by surrendering to him that portion of Lotharingia recently ceded to Charles-le-Chauve, also the abbey of Saint-Vedast, or Arras, as a make-weight: the abbatial demesne and abbatial seigneuries of Saint Vedast, would, as in other abusive examples, be annexed to the King-Abbot's crown-lands. Louis agreed without consulting his supporters, Abbot Gauzeline and Count Conrad, and returned to Frankfort, where he had to bear with Queen Luitgarda's extreme disgust. "Had I been with you, Sir King, you would have got and kept the whole kingdom."—But Louis the Saxon had sufficient reason for the conduct he pursued. The news reached him how his brother Carloman was stricken with the palsy, and that his death,

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Louis is bought off by the cession of Lotharingia.

879

Louis the Saxon obtains the administra-

862—888 though the event might be somewhat protracted,
 was certain, whilst the Duke of Carinthia, Arnolph the Bastard, would probably endeavour to assume the supreme authority. Therefore Louis hastened to Baioaria, where he compelled his almost speechless brother to admit him as Regent or Administrator of the Kingdom, the actual dominion being only postponed till death should release the sufferer.

879—880
 tion of his
 brother
 Carloman's
 German
 dominions
 (see p. 383).

§ 6. Louis the Saxon having thus suspended his pretensions upon France,—for he had not abandoned them, —Hugh the Abbot and his party obtained the ascendancy. We have seen how Louis-le-Bégué appointed his eldest son, reckoned by historians as “Louis the Third,” to be his successor; but without pronouncing upon the rights of Carloman or of any future children he might have. Hugh the Abbot and those who acted with him, construed the late king's bequest into a recommendation which they would neither rudely reject nor implicitly obey. They therefore bestowed the distracted, diminished and divided kingdom, from which some of the most important provinces had just been detached, upon Louis and Carloman conjointly. The boys were inaugurated, but with maimed rites. Hincmar, to whom, as Archbishop of Rheims, the high office of bestowing the benediction appertained, did not assist.

879
 Louis IV.
 and Carlo-

It is not certain whether any other Metro-

politan gave the sanction of his presence, by which substitution the irregularity could have been palliated. An obscure monastery in the Gas-
 tinois was the place selected for the undignified ceremony, a transaction involved in doubt and obscurity. Some short time afterwards, the young kings, meeting at Amiens, amicably divided their dominions, Louis taking Neustria and the Marches, Carloman, Aquitaine and Burgundy and their Marches, and so much as he could regain.

§ 7. "So much as he could regain"—for, during the preceding events, the finest portion of *la belle France* had been torn away.—"I will not live," said the maiden Hermengarda, "if I, an Emperor's betrothed and an Emperor's daughter, do not make my husband a king."—No aspiration could have been more congenial to the ambitious spirit of Count Boso, the crowned duke of Lombardy, who won her: no contingency more inviting than the present confusion of affairs: no season more favourable than the disturbed interregnum: no era more cognate than this, when the doctrine, teaching that the Crown is bestowed by the choice of the people for the wealth and safeguard of the people, had been so recently and emphatically acknowledged, and Louis-le-Bégué the son of Charles-le-Chauve, the son of Louis-le-Débonnaire, the son of Charlemagne, his hereditary authority disclaimed, inaugurated by the people's will.

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man
crowned at
Ferrières.

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Boso
founds the
new king-
dom of
Provence,
afterwards
the king-
dom of
Arles.

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Leaving contending kings to their chances, and other partizans to their own devices, Boso repaired to Provence, where the country, extremely exhausted by the incursions of Saracens and Northmen, needed a defender. Six metropolitans, Besançon, Lyons, Vienne, Arles, Aix and Tarantaise, eighteen Bishops, and the chief nobles of the respective provinces, assembled in Council on the plain before the royal Castle of Mantaille, nigh the rushing Rhone.

15 Oct.
879.

Boso elect-
ed king in
and by the
Synod of
Mantaille.

The Prelates, taking up the speech as Princes of the Church and representatives of the people, declared that the countries committed to their charge were without a king or protecting chief, and by unanimous consent they raised the "serene prince, the Lord Boso," to the royal authority—recording their motives in the constitutional Act they subscribed. No specific territory is assigned, no boundary named; and it should seem that Boso might rule as king wherever he could command obedience. The realm which actually obeyed him was sufficiently noble and extensive. All the countries which then had, or subsequently obtained, the denominations of Provence, Dauphiné, Savoy, the Lyonnais, and Bresse, and some other districts of Burgundy, accepted Hermengarda's husband as their Sovereign, and he was anointed and crowned, with the ceremonies appertaining to an ancient monarchy. Thus arose the kingdom called, under Boso's successors, the

kingdom of Arles and Burgundy, and afterwards subdivided into Counties and Dukedoms, which exercised the most powerful influence in France and the Empire.

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§ 8. The affront resulting to the Carlovingians damaged them more than the loss of cities and provinces. Boso's successful usurpation dispelled the prestige hitherto consecrating the Carlovingian Crown. We use the term "Crown," because all the Franks and Germans, and even all the inhabitants of Gaul who had been ruled by the great Emperor, maintained, notwithstanding their enmities and divisions, a union of political sympathy, priding themselves upon the importance the Empire possessed in the Christian commonwealth, and therefore resenting any diminution of that importance. Since the Lombard dynasty expired in the person of Desiderius, no crowned and anointed kings had ruled within the Carlovingian Empire or its dependencies, save and except the sovereigns of Carlovingian blood. It was an unheard presumption, that a stranger should aspire to such a dignity. Boso's elevation destroyed the exclusive family monopoly, and renewed the recollections of the times when Pepin-le-Bref was only a noble example of the *gros vilain*. All the Carlovingian sovereigns and princes, and all who in any degree identified themselves with the Carlovingians, were therefore direfully offended; whilst their per-

Great political detriment occasioned to the Carlovingian interests by Boso's elevation.

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 —————
 879—880

sonal enemies, severed from the Carlovingian interests like Hugh the son of Waldrada, or the Slavi, were correspondingly gratified.

Boso's me-
 rits and
 talents.

Whatever pacifications were simulated with Boso, his Carlovingian cotemporaries only sought the intruder's destruction. Endued with extraordinary talent, activity and ingenuity, and supported and comforted by Hermengarda's valour and love, Boso defeated his opponents, and was as constantly employed in assailing them.

After his accession, of which the full and authentic protocols are extant—and very interesting they are—we hardly know anything concerning Boso directly and personally, except what we collect from two or three Charters, in which he serves himself heir to his Carlovingian predecessors, and the help afforded to the imagination by the characteristic groupe, believed to have been copied from an antient painting in Vienne Cathedral, representing him and his crouching lion, held by a silken bridle. Nevertheless, we have every reason to conjecture that Boso, concurrently with his own success, encouraged the most dangerous enemies of the Empire, the Northmen, and that he acted conjointly with Hugh, Waldrada's son.—Humiliated as a bastard, any birthright denied, the arguments in favour of Hugh's legitimacy might almost compete with those adduced in favour of Louis and Carloman. But all the Carlovingians had been inveterate

Hugh, the
 son of Wal-
 drada,
 heads an
 insurrec-
 tion in
 Lotharin-
 gia.

against Hugh, and he rejected them in his turn. Prosecuting a Robin-Hood insurrectionary warfare in Lotharingia, he was contriving to act against Louis the Saxon, or Louis the Saxon's brothers the Baioarian Carloman and Suabian Charles, or against Louis and Carloman of France, with any who might assist him, whether Christians or pseudo-Christians, pirates or pagans.

§ 9. Since Charlemagne's death, never had circumstances been so opportune, or offering the like encouragement to the Danes, or they so competent to avail themselves of the opening. Wisely and energetically as Alfred had defended his realms and people, he was nevertheless glad to purchase tranquillity by presenting Guthrun at the font, and legalizing his rough-hewn godson as King of the East-Anglian Danelaghe. Hastings commanded the Loire-country, and the dreaded and half-converted Danes, dispersed as colonists in various regions of Northern Gaul, were ready to join in the hurrah. Rollo was preparing to revisit Rouen; and the whole body of the Northern nations, encouraged by their British triumphs, were busily fitting out a series of expeditions, armada following armada, clearly displaying their projects of effecting a territorial conquest. Hitherto the Northmen had rather avoided the genuine Teutonic countries on the Continent, where they encountered purer races than the Romanized Franks and more like themselves.

862—898

879—890

Renewal of
the Danish
invasions
upon a
more ex-
tensive
scale.

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 879—880

The English acquisitions, though laboriously won, taught them that they need not dread any kindred enemy. Combining naval and military operations, their attacks again extended on either side of the Elbe, and westward and southward from Elbe to Meuse, from Meuse to Somme, from Somme to Seine, from Seine to Loire, the Danish settlers in the Gauls co-operating with the new comers, their old friends.

Danish
 Command-
 ers: fierce-
 ness and
 continuity
 of their
 invasions.

Fierce, bold and experienced were the chieftains who now simultaneously or successively assaulted the Carolingian Empire. Sigfried or Sigurd, King of South Jutland and son or grandson of Regner Lodbrok, Godfrey, son of Harold, Gorm or Orm or Worm, Hardacnute's son, King of Lethra, and Oskytel or Auscatil or Ketil, probably he who had desolated Croyland and murdered good Abbot Theodore, whose slaughter called for vengeance; and Gormund, Hals and Rollo, and Rollo's wily kinsman Gerlo, and Bontho, afterwards Constable of Rollo's host, well provided with artillery, animated by a new spirit, bringing all their wit and weight to bear on the regions they ravaged. The attacks, movements, sieges and engagements, by and with or between the Northmen and the Carolingians, now became so incessant, that any period when the Gauls, Belgium or Northern Germany were free from the Danish ravages, was merely exceptional. The Northmen might be defeated, but the very shed-

ding of their blood made the fire blaze more fiercely. The multitudes of troops they raised, fully evince that they intended to establish their dominion within the Empire's boundaries, according to the plans which they were accomplishing in England. Had they subdued the Frisic and Saxon coasts, together with Belgium and the Picardy of modern times, they would have created a "Danelaghe" corresponding to East Anglia and Northumbria, rendering the German Ocean a Danish ocean, their territory extending round and round, and from land to land.

§ 10. Sovereigns so young as Louis and Carloman had never heretofore reigned;—boys, literally,—unsupported, slandered, betrayed, nay, worse than betrayed, abandoned to their own wild energies. But in other respects the situation of the Kingdom was also unexampled: though the royal authority might be divided, Louis and Carloman were conjoined in affection.—For the first and the last time in the sad Carlovingian annals,—from the hero Charles-Martel to the Fainéant in whom the line expired,—the family exhibited two brethren sincerely loving each other—free from envy, jealousy, — co-operating as loving friends, between whom not the slightest quarrel or dissension is recorded.

These lads were the only Carlovingian Sovereigns who appreciated the simple truth, that concord is strength: Louis and Carloman never

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Louis and
Carloman
—amiabi-
lity of
their cha-
racters.

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 879—881
 entertained the idea of profiting by enmity. Their mutual confidence they extended to their cousins, the German Princes, scheming, treacherous, always working underhand. Moreover, Louis and Carloman were handsome, vigorous and healthy, warriors in body and mind: had there been any loyalty left amongst the Franks, they might have cherished these last blossoms of the cankered stem as giving hope of the Empire's revival.

The conference of Orbe.

The same cause which diverted Louis the Saxon from his attacks upon France, Carloman's illness—the opportunity of profiting by a brother's affliction—sent Caroletto or Charles of Suabia to Lombardy. Orbe, where the sons of Lothair whilome assembled in angry discussion, again became the scene of a congress, but a peaceful one: even had there been no better motives, self-interest dictated union. Here the Kings of France, Louis and Carloman, met their cousin: measures, which proved unavailing, were concerted for suppressing the Provence revolution. Louis promised that he would abstain from occupying any territory which might revert to Charles: the latter proceeded to Lombardy, and obtained the Iron and Imperial crowns. The Frankish Sovereigns returned to their kingdom, where the Northmen had savagely resumed their warfare.

880—881
 Charles-le-Gras King of Italy and Emperor.
 (v. p. 387.)

Another atmospheric cycle of inclemency was in course, the rivers frozen, the earth parched with cold, the season impeding military opera-

tions. Young Louis nevertheless marched to the Loire and attacked the Northmen, who were extending their settlements and ravaging the country. Loud was the triumph of the Franks on Saint Andrew's mass-day—the young Warrior, leading on his troops, completely routed the Danes, whose carcasses choked the shallow Vienne. But this victory was only an incident in the great campaign, now commencing with raging violence in the North.

862—888
879—881
879.
30 Nov.
Battle of
the Vi-
enne.

§ 11. Baldwin's iron arm rested in the coffin, and the whole Northern coast was covered by the Danes, whose combined forces had landed,—national and individual hostility or rather treachery, co-operating amongst the Franks in their favour. Strong suspicions support the accusation that King Boso and Count Hugh had concerted their schemes with the Northmen. But amongst the meisené of domestic traitors, Isembard, the Seigneur of La Ferté in Ponthieu, obtained the pre-eminence. Isembard's castle-garth now constitutes a suburb of Saint Valery. He was also Avoué of Centulla or Saint-Riquier. We have full notice that the parties which distracted France were malignantly active. Gauzeline and Conrad invited Louis the Saxon again to Lorraine: he advanced a second time with his Bellona, in the full purpose of extending his conquests over the whole Frankish kingdom. But these designs received signal frustration:

880—881
Danish in-
vasions
proceed
with en-
creased
vigour.

Louis the
Saxon in-
vited again
by Abbot
Gauzeline
and Con-
rad against
Louis III.
and Carlo-
man.

862—888

880

the Danes, excited to the highest pitch by the Carlovingian dissensions, overspread the North-sea and channel territories with their forces. Godfrey, entering the Elbe, landed and advanced to the Somme country, which he overwhelmed by his multitude. Abbot Gauzeline and Count Conrad could not afford to Louis the Saxon the support they expected: their insurrectionary power was below their will.

Louis the Saxon, Queen Liutgarda consenting, made peace with Louis and Carloman; and he might well rejoice in the pacification, for his kingdom was in the greatest danger. Saxons and Thuringians fought desperately: they had good reason, they were fighting for their lives. The Northmen occupied Ghent, where they wintered. Louis the Saxon was perplexed by the encreasing perils; nevertheless he placed himself at the head of his army, assisted by Hugh, his brave and affectionate son. The first battle was the battle of the Ardennes, a desperate conflict. The Danes began to give way: Hugh, yielding to his ardour, was lost among the Northmen. Louis the Saxon immediately stayed his troops: could he but save his child, what mattered renouncing the advantage? he hoped that Hugh had been taken prisoner, and that a ransom might be accepted,—he would give any sum of money to redeem the captive; but Hugh never reappeared alive, Godfrey had slain him. The battle was over: five thousand North-

880
Battle of
the Ar-
dennes.
Danes de-
feated, but
Hugh, son
of Louis
the Saxon,
killed.

men are said to have fallen,—a victory gained by Louis at the price of an irreparable loss ! The Northmen retreated to their vessels, having previously burnt their dead : the last known instance of funeral cremation. The King sought his son's body : the corpse was found and buried at Lauresheim.

862—888
880—881

§ 12. Then followed the most calamitous battle of Luneburg Heath, otherwise the battle of Ebbsdorf, wherein the Danes avenged, and more than avenged, their disgrace in the Ardennes. Godfrey is supposed to have been again the conquering leader. The Germans were thoroughly routed and cut to pieces. Bruno Duke of Saxony, Queen Liutgarda's brother, the Bishops of Minden and Hildesheim, Theodorick and Marquard, eleven Counts and eighteen other of the King's chief Barons or vassals, were killed, and nearly all the survivors captured and swept away as prisoners by the Northmen. The slain had perished gloriously:—defending their country and faith they died the martyrs' death, and received the martyrs' honours ; and their commemoration was celebrated in the Sachsen-land churches till comparatively recent times.

880
Feb. 2,
Battle of
Ebbsdorf.
The Ger-
mans de-
feated by
the Danes
—greatness
of their
loss.

An unexampled sorrow was created throughout Saxony by this calamity, which, for a time, exhausted the country ;—Scandinavia and Jutland and the Baltic isles resounded with exultation. But there were others who rejoiced in the

862—888

880—881

retribution which afflicts an enemy through the means of an enemy: nations who hated the Danes hailed the Danish victory: the oppressed and enthralled Sclavonians, Daleminzians, Bohemians, Sorbs, who immediately retaliated upon their tyrants, and wasted Thuringia and Saxony with fire and sword.

Sorrows, vexations and misfortunes accumulated upon the head of Louis the Saxon, each succeeding year more dreary. Yet one consolation remained to him, his lively boy; and for the child's sake as well as his own, his despondency was cheered by a great accession of good fortune, the pleasurable zest being heightened by the patience with which he had waited during nearly three years for the full enjoyment of the inheritance. Carloman, upon whom the Germans and Italians had fixed their hopes neither presumptuously nor unworthily—the courteous, the brave, the learned Carloman, in whom, the moment before the stroke had fallen upon him, no bodily or mental talent required for the defence and honour of the throne was wanting,—after lingering so long in distressful languor—now expired. Carloman's talents were inherited by the Sclavonian concubine's son, who had been named Arnolph by his father in honour of Arnolph of Metz, the patriarch of the Carolingian dynasty. Probably Carloman had bestowed the appellation with some hope of designating the

Death of
Carloman
of Bavaria
—Louis the
Saxon ob-
tains the
kingdom.

22 March,
880.

Prince as his successor, but the bold and popular youth was not yet able to assert his claim,— he must content himself a while with his Carinthian Duchy.

862—888
880—881

Upon receiving the intelligence of his brother's death, the sufferer's happy release, Louis, with his Queen and only child, his heir, hastened to Ratisbon. Arnolph secured himself in his castle of Mosaburch, surrounded by impassable marshes. The Baioarian nobles hailed the arrival of King Louis and the boy Louis, submitting themselves with extreme alacrity to his sovereignty. Arnolph also became a homager, and thereby maintained his position, being confirmed by Louis in the Duchy of Carinthia. And thus Louis had obtained his heart's desire, his brother's kingdom for himself and his child; but the active child, brought to witness his father's inauguration, fell from the palace-window, his skull was fractured, his brains were dashed out.—Never afterwards had Louis the Saxon a gleam of brightness; and his cheerless life was soon brought to a close.

880
Death of
Louis the
Saxon's
child.
(see p. 385.)

§ 13. It was the constant complaint of the Romane Franks, that they had no chieftain around whom they could rally. An idle and factious pretence,—chieftains they possessed, fully competent to have enabled them to concentrate their national forces and energies; but the one thing was wanting—truth. Louis and Carloman the young royal brothers,—very young,—were endued with

Treachery
and disloy-
alty of the
Franks.

862—888 remarkable gifts and talents, both of body and
 mind : unshaken, energetic, active, faithful to each
 880—881 other, faithful to all with whom they were concerned ; and they were guided and aided by the most experienced surviving warrior of the era, Hugh the Abbot. In the experience of this military counsellor, the Franks ought to have placed full confidence. Loyalty should have bound them to their young Sovereigns ; but that sanctifying gift, that unselfish, natural affection,—which, after all, is the truest support of monarchy, as well as the source of the greatest comfort and ennoblement to a people,—was taken away.

The Emperor Charles, his increasing influence.

The Tetrarchy was re-established : there were now again four reigning Carolingian Sovereigns. How long could or ought this Tetrarchy to endure ? Charles the Emperor, the exalted representative of the Senior or German line, had won universal confidence.—His reputation increased in proportion to his successes :—Louis the Saxon was evidently drawing nigh his end, and all the countries of the Teutonic tongue would naturally seek for Kaiser Karl as their sovereign : Louis and Carloman, the representatives of the French line, might be considered as minors,—were they reduced to dependance, France would once more be incorporated with the Empire ?—These considerations revived Archbishop Hincmar's political enthusiasm for the restoration of Carolingian unity ; and he exhorted and advised the Emperor

to treat the two young French kings as his wards, and to take order for the due and regular government of their kingdom—in other words, to dethrone them, the preparation for captivity and death.

882—888
880—884

The advice was bestowed exactly at the time when the Brothers were displaying extraordinary boldness, merit, and talent and giving the greatest promise of excellence. Archbishop Hincmar was a sound theologian, upright in his conduct, a wise man and a good man : but political casuistry stupifies the conscience of the wise and the good. Hincmar's conduct towards the grandsons of Charles-le-Chauve was, from the beginning, equivalent to a prophecy of evil: therefore he tried hard to make his words come true. No immediate step was taken by the Emperor to follow the Archbishop's suggestions; but the influence of Louis and Carloman was sensibly diminished, and their subjects continued to betray their kings, their country and themselves, by apathy and treachery.

§ 14. The Danish invasions, the exploits of Sigfried and Godfrey, excited the apprehensions and energies of the young French Sovereigns. The Northmen continued stretching and speeding over the country. Corbey and Amiens had been pillaged, Cambrai taken, Arras occupied and the Northmen stationed in the Abbey of Saint-Vedast. They burnt the city but spared the Churches:


880—881
Louis of France, his operations against the Danes.

^{882—888}

^{880—881} in other respects their devastations were merciless. Plunder, which they had reaped so abundantly, no longer satisfied the bloody Danes; they slew the inhabitants indiscriminately. Whether the people submitted or not, they sustained the same fate. All about Courtrai, where they established their winter-quarters, they exterminated the inhabitants.

Evidently calculating upon subduing the country by terror, they succeeded to a considerable extent. Abbot Gauzeline summoned his troops, but when they had to face the Danes they ran away, and the people generally gave themselves up to passive despair. Carloman could not withdraw from Burgundy, and Louis, returning to Neustria, had to fight the battle singlehanded. Unexperienced in the art of war, the youth's acuteness and daring compensated for his deficiencies. Nay more, so far as his dastardly and unprincipled subjects were susceptible of the inspiration, he excited them to quit themselves like men.

The Danes were masters of the Seine and Loire districts. Gormund and his companions commenced movements for the purpose of gaining a tract offering a very strong position, adjoining the future Norman Duchy. This is the Vimeux constituting subsequently a bailliage of Ponthieu, a compact peninsula, enclosed by the Somme on the North-East, and on the South-

West by the river Bresle,—which river Bresle, 862—888
 skirting the walls of Eu, falls into the sea at 
 the well-known Tréport, and subsequently con- 880—881
 stituted the boundary between Ponthieu and
 Normandy. A classical land is the Vimeux in
 our English history. The Vimeux contains Azin- The Vimeux
 court's battle-field: on this coast was Harold territory—
 shipwrecked: here is Saint-Valery, the embark- its con-
 ation port of the Conqueror. nexion with
 English
 history.

Gormund and his Danes, the recreant Isem-
 bard guiding them, having plundered Beauvais
 and all around, advanced sea-ward and encamped
 in the Vimeux, readily accessible to their vessels
 on the extended coast. Isembard's castle of la 881
 Ferté gave them cover when needed on the sea- Feb.
 side, whilst on the opposite frontier they were Gormund
 protected by the expanded estuary of the Somme, and the
 Danes
 occupy the
 Vimeux.
 rendering the whole territory unusually defen-
 sible. Laden with booty, they halted between Eu
 and the locality where Abbeville now stands,—
 for, as yet, the *Abbatis-Villa* was not built,—in
 and about the hamlet of Saulcourt. Louis, whose
 spies had diligently marked their movements, here
 surprized them. The Danes, probably feasting Battle of
 and getting drunk, expecting any thing rather Saulcourt.
 than the onslaught, were put to flight. Louis de-
 feats the
 Danes.
 Gormund
 and Isembard were killed, the latter, according to
 tradition, fell by the sword of Louis. A tumulus
 still called the *Tombe-d' Isembard* marks the spot
 where the traitor perished; but the sepulchral

862—888 mound wastes away beneath the ploughshare,
 which turns up the relics of the conflict.

880—881

Antient
Teutonic
song com-
memorat-
ing the
victory.

Far and wide spread the intelligence of the victory, the numbers of the slain encreasing in proportion as the fame receded from the scene of slaughter. Popular lays transmitted to posterity false Isembard's felony and the Pagans' chastisement; and the battle of Saulcourt was equally commemorated in a song constituting a remarkable specimen of German poetry—being amongst the earliest examples of Teutonic rhyme. The versification is inharmonious, lacking the dulcet rhythmic melody which sounds in the ballads of Scotland, or in the parents of the Scottish ballads, the marvellous *Kiæmpe-riser* of the Dane, but spirited, and breathing life and power; telling how "Ludwig" takes shield and spear, and leads on his troops, chaunting *Kyrie eleison*,—and how the blood rose in the cheeks of the Frankish soldiers, enjoying the sport of war.

Bad con-
duct of the
Frankish
troops after
the victory.

The folly, however, of the Franks,—vain-glorious cowards,—neutralized the success. They relapsed into disreputable disorder, emulating the Danish debauchery without possessing the Danish sturdiness and Danish sagacity. A body of Northmen who escaped the general dispersion sallied forth, and attacked these rascally troops. The Franks scattered and gave way—many were killed: had not young Louis alighted from his horse and rallied them, fighting furiously and

exerting himself beyond his bodily strength, they ^{862—888}
 would have sustained the disgrace of a total de- ^{881—882}
 feat from a defeated enemy.

The Vimeux slaughter did not produce any perceptible effect upon the general fortunes of the war.—Reckless of loss, the Northman's resources seemed inexhaustible. All the Scandinavian and cognate nations were enthusiastic for conquest, and they re-entered France. Louis, on his part, was worked up to corresponding energy: the young hero fully prepared himself for all emergencies, and determined to repel the enemy. Abbot Hugh still continued to be a trusty adviser in counsel, a wise and fearless warrior in the field; but the young King was virtually deserted by his subjects, who, whenever they could, displayed their incorrigible recreancy. He was constantly spurring them on; and they, as constantly, falling back. They acted as though they were seeking occasions to degrade themselves. About two miles from Arras, at Estreuns or Etrun, above the confluence of the Scarpe and the Ugy, is a *Camp de César*, one of those numerous antient fortifications, circled and guarded by deep trenches and grassy ramparts, which, scattered throughout the Gauls, are universally ascribed by popular tradition to the Roman conqueror, thus rendered memorials of his might and the lasting domination bestowed upon his Empire.

881
 Louis adds
 additional
 fortifica-
 tions to the
 Camp of
 Caesar at
 Estreuns
 nigh Arras.

Louis strengthened this fortress by outworks

862—888 and stoccades. If not Cæsar's, the camp is worthy
 of Cæsar. So advantageous is the position, and
 881—882 so firm and fresh the foss and rampire, that
 Marshal Villars availed himself of the protection
 the station afforded, when Marlborough marched
 to invest Bouchain. But the strategic talents of
 the young Louis were rendered wholly unprofit-
 able by the cowardly baseness of the Franks.
 Cowardice of his nobles. The fortifications being completed, he could nei-
 ther persuade nor compel any of his nobles to
 undertake the perilous command of the Post—
 shame they had none, all sense of honour was
 bartered or scared away; and then they raised
 the cry that the measures Louis adopted were
 burthensome to the Franks, and advantageous
 only to the enemy.

20 Jan. 882.
 Death of
 Louis the
 Saxon.

Louis of
 France re-
 fuses the
 offer of
 Lotharin-
 gia.

§ 15. At this juncture the heart-broken, child-
 less Louis the Saxon, died, brought to the grave
 by grief. Whilst the Romanized Franks were
 despising their young King, the Germans had
 been favouring him, planning to raise him to the
 throne. The Teutonic song of Vimeux, the Song
 of Victory, as the lay was designated by learned
 Dom Mabillon, is not unreasonably conjectured
 to be a political ballad: a specimen of party
 minstrelsy, prompted or purchased by those who
 had sought to array the young hero Louis, the
 Frankish Louis, against their decayed unpros-
 perous Sovereign. The idiom of the composition
 supports this conjecture—such a pure Franco-

Theotisk language as the song exhibits, was no longer spoken in any portion of the dominions which the son of Louis-le-Bégué then actually ruled.

862—888
881—882

The nobles of German Lotharingia therefore immediately turned to Louis, and offered homage. According to the prevailing usages, they were justified in making the proposal. Louis, on his part, had he adapted his conscience to the standard of public morals sanctioned by his kinsmen and progenitors, would have been fully authorized in accepting the proffered kingdom. But, unlike any other Carlovingian Sovereign who had hitherto reigned, Louis remembered the oath he had sworn at Orbe to his cousin Charles the Emperor, and the sincere and honest youth refused the homages. Nevertheless he was willing to give all the aid in his power, and he despatched detachments to resist the Northmen then harassing the country.

Affairs summoned Louis to the Outre-Seine district. He presented himself to receive the submission of the Armorican Sovereigns, and then advanced to Tours. Hastings and his Danes were commencing hostilities, but Louis pacified them by display of force and employment of policy; and it is possible that at this time Hastings was confirmed in the county of Chartres.

His successes in treating with the Armoricans and the Danes.

If any were now rightminded amongst the Franks, the most joyful anticipations ought to

882—888

882

have prevailed. Thankfulness might be well inspired by the bright character of the two young Kings. Sincere affection conjoined them, living examples of boldness and courage, faith and truth. But no renovation could be imparted to Charlemagne's blighted race. Louis met with his death ingloriously, casually, and in a manner, foolishly,—a frolic killed him. Pursuing in dalliance a fair damsel, probably of Danish lineage, Gurmund's daughter, she fled into her father's house. His horse dashed him through the low, narrow portal, galloping merrily after the girl. Bowing forward to save his forehead from the blow, the eager rider gave himself the harm he tried to avoid; he could not stoop enough to clear the transom, which crushed him against the pommel of the saddle; and the severe bruises he received, concurring with an inward injury occasioned by his desperate exertions in the Vimeux battle, became mortal. Dying, Louis was removed to Saint-Denis, where he expired.

5 Aug. 882.
Death of
Louis III.

Attempts seem to have been made to conceal the cause of his death, the accounts of the circumstances being perplexed, and contradictory. Those who loved Louis, deplored the loss of the kingdom's hope: his enemies slandered him as a young ruffian, distinguished only by vice and absurdity, employing language so coarse and uncharitable that the charges refute themselves: the character given by his revilers could scarcely

have been merited during a long life of inveterate profligacy.

§ 16. Carloman, at the age of sixteen, succeeded to his brother's dominions, troubles, courage and fatal destiny. Louis the Saxon's death, followed by the death of his namesake the young French King and the encreasing confusion of the Empire, imparted a fresh impulse to the pertinacious activity of the Danes: the country literally burning from Rhine to Scheldt, from Scheldt to Seine, and far in the interior, where they had never hitherto penetrated.

These renewed attacks had commenced during the last months of Louis the Saxon's reign, when the Northmen established themselves in Charlemagne's imperial fortress at Nimeguen. They were temporarily subsidized away, but they re-entered the city, and continued afterwards in possession for many years, and burned Charlemagne's Roman palace, second only, if second, to Ingleheim. The circular Church, the "Capella" or "Cupola," alone escaped, and still exists: the name borne by that remarkable structure, the *Heiden Kapelle*, bears record to the occupation of the sanctuary by the Pagans. The devastation spread extensively into Lotharingia and Rhenane Germany. The whole of the Hespengau, or Hasbay, was ravaged, and all as far as the Moselle; and the antient Roman cities, hitherto spared, and the Burghs, which flourished round the Monaste-

862—888

881—882

882

Carloman
succeeds to
the entire
kingdom.

881-882

The great
Danish in-
vasion of
the Rhine,
Scheldt
and Meuse
country.

862—868 ries, were involved in the same destruction. Car-
 881—882 loman, at the time of his brother's death, was
 employed in besieging Vienne, where he was
 energetically attacking Boso; but the sound of
 the Danish hurrah reached him there, and the
 Neustrian nobles earnestly invited the young
 King to meet them, receive their homage, and
 undertake the defence of the country. The boy
 rejoiced in the war, and assumed the command
 with determinate energy.

The ravages of the Northmen had indeed
 been desperate. Trèves burnt, Cologne burnt,
 Maestricht burnt, Tolbiac burnt, Liege burnt, Ton-
 gres burnt, Cambray burnt, Coblentz burnt, Bonn
 burnt, Juliers burnt, Cornélien-Munster burnt,
 Malmedi burnt, Aix-la-chapelle burnt. Metz
 was defended by her Roman fortifications and the
 valour of Bishop Wala; but Wala was afterwards
 killed in a chance skirmish, having fought brave-
 ly. The Netherlandish country suffered dread-
 fully. Aldenburgh, Rodenburgh, Furnes, Alost,
 Oudenarde, Comines, Bailleul, Harlebec, Torholt,
 Antwerp, Poperingues, Cassel, Nuys, and very
 many other opulent towns, whose names are first
 commemorated by their calamities, were ravaged
 and destroyed. Thus did the Danes pollute, pil-
 lage and ruin the great Roman cities of the
 North, the strongest, the richest, the most ho-
 noured by tradition and piety—schools of learn-
 ing, monuments of art, seats of luxury, imperial

grandeur, some dating from the earliest periods, ^{882—888}
 but many more which had arisen silently under ^{882—888}
 the genial protection of the monastic communities,
 and whose healthy and prosperous existence we
 ascertain from their misfortunes.

§ 17. Germany, like France, was filled with
 consternation : Franconians, Thuringians, Bava-
 rians, Saxons, Frisons, now all conjoined in
 imploring Kaiser Karl to sustain the falling
 Empire. A grand Diet was held at Worms—
 Here the homages were rendered. All the lieges ⁸⁸²
 of the late kingdom of Louis the Saxon, and all <sup>The Emperor Charles
 invited by
 the Ger-
 manic na-
 tions.</sup>
 the lieges of the Baioarian kingdom and the
 appurtenances thereof, became the Kaiser's men.
 Arnolph, confirmed in his Duchy of Carinthia
 by the Kaiser, submitted with the rest. If Ar-
 nolph, coming forth from Mosaburch, unwillingly
 saw his father's realm bestowed upon his uncle, if
 his jealousy had been suspected, means were
 taken to obtain a greater hold upon his con-
 science : he was either required to give a stronger
 and more binding pledge than the ordinary cere-
 monies—now mere forms—afforded, or he pro-
 fered a more solemn adjuration. And upon the
 holiest relic, a particle of the true cross, he took
 the oath, which, if violated, might bring upon his
 head the direst vengeance.

The German nations thoroughly confided in
 the Emperor's prowess. Placing themselves wil-
 lingly and gladly under his protection, they be-

862—866
 862—863
 lieved that Kaiser Karl had inherited Charlemagne's valour; and, when guided by such a commander, never would they fear an enemy. On either side of the Alps equal enthusiasm prevailed. Troops from Lombardy joined the musters which flocked in from Alemannia and Saxony, Franconia, Suabia and Frisia: a most imposing army assembled, and a splendid muster at Andernach promised transcendant victory to the Emperor.

Oct. 882.
 Battle of
 Condé be-
 tween Car-
 loman and
 the Danes.

Carloman, on his part, fully took his share in the perils and exertions of the war. The Northmen established themselves in modern Picardy, near Condé, a name so familiar to us from the title which it imparted. Carloman gave them battle, the Danes were worsted, upwards of a thousand were killed; but the Pagans quitted Condé, nothing daunted, pursuing their hostilities beyond the Oise. For the thousand Northmen killed, thousands re-entered the country: corpses strewed the roads and highways, clerks and laymen, nobles and peasants, women and children and infants at the breast.

As usual, no trust, no honour.—The nobles who invited young Carloman to defend them refused to participate in his dangers: he had scarcely any means of opposing the invaders except through his own courage and personal exertions. The antient kingdom of Soissons had been hitherto singularly spared, an oasis of tranquillity;—possibly owing some portion of that

Districts
 hitherto
 spared,
 Soissons,
 &c. ravaged
 by the
 Danes.

tranquillity to the awe which the veneration rendered to the patron saints inspired even amongst the Danes. But the protecting influences now failed, and the exempted regions tasted the scourge. For the first time, the rock of Lâon was insulted: the Pagans occupied Soissons and invested hallowed Rheims. Bearing with him Saint-Remi's relics, Archbishop Hincmar fled by night. He died soon after: with the year, his chronicle suddenly ends: it is supposed that he dictated the last paragraphs; and we henceforth lose the coeval testimony afforded by the ablest and best-informed witness of this doleful era.

862—888

882—883

Nov. 882.
Flight and
death of
Arch-
bishop
Hincmar.

Hincmar, the chiefest statesman, knew more of the events connected with the leading partisans than any other chronicler; had he continued his task he might possibly have instructed us how and in what manner Eudes, the son of Robert-le-Fort, Eudes Capet, Count of Paris, attained his great celebrity. All memorials concerning Eudes are lost until we come upon him by surprise, when, supported by Abbot Gauzeline, who during these transactions became Bishop of Paris, we find the hero defending the future Capital against the Northmen, and turning the fortunes of France.

§ 18. Kaiser Karl began gloriously; but difficulties thronged rapidly round him, and the cry of jubilee, so loud at Worms, and swelling louder at Andernach, suddenly dropped and became faint

The Emperor Charles.
Difficulties
of his situation.

882—888 and fainter. Italy was disturbed, dissensions prevailed in the Western borders, wasting the national strength. Poppo Count of the Suabian Marches and Egino quarrelled—Saxons against Thuringians. These local feuds occasioned great trouble; but Henry, Poppo's brother, who held a county or benefice in the Rhine country, remained faithful to Charles, a ready and earnest partizan. Few names of North-German chieftains are mentioned during the present crisis of Carolingian history: so many were felled down on Luneburg Heath, that the old aristocracy seems to have been nearly extirpated: the Danes cleared the soil for the growth of new families. Moreover, the Emperor Charles was not treated honestly: Liutward, Bishop of Vercelli, the Emperor's prime minister in Italy, enjoyed his master's confidence; but heavy charges are preferred against the Prelate. He was accused of undue familiarity with the Empress Richarda. This noble lady, said to be daughter of a Scottish king, held the station of consort, but Charles did not cohabit with her.—Charles lived with an obscure concubine, by whom he had Bernard, the child upon whom he doted, his only child.

882
The Emperor Charles
baffled by
the Danes,
compelled
to make
peace upon
disadvan-
tageous
terms.

Charles became depressed:—probably the morbid affection, whatever the disease may have been, which rendered his aspect so woefully conspicuous,—was gaining upon him. *Caroletto*, the name the Italians gave him, implies delicacy

of form: and we may therefore conclude that his youthful appearance had suggested the endearing diminutive, and his general conduct until this campaign displays much activity as well as talent; but henceforward, we observe his spirit declining, and the malady occasioning more distress.

§ 19. Sigfried, Godfrey, Worm or Orm, and Hals, the four wary and sturdy chieftains, entrenched themselves at Esloo on the Meuse. The Danes had acquired sound experience in war: ingenious handicraftsmen, they profited by the arts and contrivances of the Romanized nations amongst whom they were thrown. They carried their skill to Normandy, they did not learn it there. Esloo was a strong fort, and ably defended: an assault being impracticable, Charles commenced a regular blockade. The Northmen were straitened by deficiency of provisions, and considered themselves in peril; yet the Emperor's operations did not prosper: the sultry weather set in, the locality was insalubrious, an epidemic broke out in his camp. The heart of Charles sunk within him, his discouragement was manifest; and, agreeing to the terms proposed, he accepted a very disadvantageous compromise, through the faithless bishop's evil counsel, as the Franks asserted,—false Liutward, bribed by Danish money.

Godfrey demanded all the benefices whilome held by his Danish predecessors on the North Sea

862—888
882—883

Unsuccessful blockade of Esloo—Friesland ceded to Godfrey, and Danegelt paid to Sigfried.

862—888 coast, and more than they had held, all Frieze-
 land, Friezeland East, and Friezeland West, from
 883—884 Weser to Meuse, and all the islands, a territory
 so extensive and important, that the cession was
 considered as rendering him the Emperor's part-
 ner, a compeer in the realm.

Gisella.
 daughter of
 King Lo-
 thair, mar-
 ried to
 Godfrey
 the Dane.
 (See p. 394.)

Other conditions accompanying the treaty gave him a still further claim to such a designation. Godfrey was baptized; and, at the neophyte's request, Charles bestowed upon the Dane in marriage his kinswoman Gisella, the outlaw Hugh's own sister, daughter of the late king Lothair and Waldrada. She was no longer in the bloom of youth, five and thirty years old at least. Gisella seems to have been an affectionate wife to Godfrey during the brief term of their marriage; yet unless that marriage had been suggested to the brave Dane, he could scarcely have sued for the mature Princess of his own accord; and we are left to conjecture who may have been his adviser. This marriage between Godfrey and Gisella bears upon one of the most perplexing points in Norman history: it has been alleged, and not without ingenious plausibility, that Rollo's marriage with Gisella, Charles-le-Simple's daughter, is only a mistaken traditional version of the transactions we are now recording. But the name-coincidence must be considered as merely accidental, or, to speak more precisely, resulting from the circumstance that *Gisla* or

Gesellin might be either a baptismal name, or a conventional or family-circle appellation. 862—888

Sigfried had no objection to baptism, he was also bought off, and receiving gifts in gold and silver to the amount of somewhat more than two thousand and eighty pounds or livres—"we reckon the pound at twenty sols," says the analyst—he departed for Paris. 883—884
Sigfried
baptised,
and tri-
bute paid
to him.

§ 20. Carloman was not included in this armistice: the Northmen had not touched his money, therefore after the Esloo proceedings they crossed the Meuse, no one daring to raise a finger against them, spread themselves over the country, and occupied Amiens as their winter-quarters. The Frankish nobles, instead of supporting their valiant young king, abandoned all plans of defence; and holding a great council at Compiègne, opened negotiations with the Danes. The Primores treated in Carloman's name, but without consulting him: their counsel, to have pleased the young warrior, would have been of another sort. The Danes
re-enter
the Somme
country.

It might be thought that the Franks could not render themselves more vile than by such cowardice, yet they contrived to place themselves a stage lower than mere cowards: they exhibited an utter want of common sense. Needing a negotiator fit to manage a treaty with the cunning, greedy Danish chieftains, they, for this purpose chose a fellow-Dane, a born enemy, an The Frank-
ish nobles
negotiate
with the
Danes.

862—868 enemy who knew their weakness, who had profited
 by their dissensions and their disloyalty, Sigfried,
 883—884 the pseudo-Christian. Whilst the Danes were
 merry-making at Amiens, and the Frankish nobles
 in anxious session at Compiègne, Sigfried jour-
 neyed backwards and forwards, hither and thither,
 as the mediator, bearing and returning demands
 and replies, proposals and answers, spinning out
 the tedious negotiation, the Danes however, not
 staying proceedings, but marauding or levying
 black-mail all the while.

884
 Feb. 2.
 Tribute
 imposed
 by the
 Danes.

At length came Candlemas-day: a dark day
 for the Franks, when the Danes declared the
 amount of the geld they imposed—twelve thou-
 sand pounds, at twenty sols to the livre—for
 which they would grant a truce till October.
 The money was raised with extreme difficulty:
 shrines stripped of their gold and jewels and
 pillaged sacristies, furnished some portion of
 the funds. Between Danes and Franks, Pagans
 and Christians, enemies and friends, the Church
 fared miserably; all drew upon her, all spoiled her.

At length the last geld-instalment was paid;
 but the Franks did not thereby purchase any
 exemption from disquietude. Beyond the Scheldt,
 in Lotharingia, the Danes continued plundering;
 nor were the Franks by any means certain that
 after the Danes received the money, they would
 keep to their bargain. However, they evacuated
 Amiens, and marched and boated towards the

coast, the Frankish troops following them quietly and at a respectful distance. The Franks could not be sure that the Danes would not turn back again; nor were they relieved from their apprehensions until they heard how the Pagans had fairly embarked at Boulogne. As usual, however, the compromise was ineffectual, some of the Danes may have crossed over to England, but the greater part cruised in the Channel: their carnivorous instinct taught them that they would soon be able to fall again upon their prey.

862—888
884—885

Carloman, the immediate pressure removed, rode for pastime to the forest of Baisieux in the *Corbiois*, between Arras and Amiens, still recognizable in the scrubby woodlands crossed by the chaussée. The sportsman never seems to be deterred by the Nemesis so frequently avenging the wantonly causeless destruction of God's creatures, the answer to their call of agony. Carloman having chased a wild boar, the animal in self-defence turned round and attacked his unprovoked enemy: Berthold, the king's companion, trying to save his master's life, ended it. His spear pierced Carloman's thigh, the wound festered and became incurable: they buried the king at Saint-Denis. As soon as the hovering Northmen, bought off from the Somme, heard of Carloman's death, their raven banners pounced again upon the French territory. They had well chosen their time: Hugh the Abbot, hitherto so

884
Dec. 6.
Death of
Carloman.

^{862—888} stout, lost his wits: the French were without
^{884—885} government, courage or wisdom.

Yet, could Hugh the Abbot and the Primores who composed a species of irregular Regency have broken the spell of terror, they were fully competent to defend the country; but instead of resisting the enemy, the Frankish nobles tried to reason and argue him away, remonstrating with the Northmen against the breach of the treaty.—Had not twelve thousand pounds, at twenty sols to the livre, been paid to them within the year to withdraw their forces? and now they were there again.

⁸⁸⁵
 The Danes
 renew their
 invasions
 on Carlo-
 man's
 death, and
 demand
 another
 Danegelt.

Not so, quoth the Dane—According to the beneficiary or feudal system, a *gersum* was rendered to the Seigneur upon the Vassal's death, but also in some cases upon the death of the Lord—a life-bargain. This principle the Northmen applied to their transactions with the French: their engagement expired with Carloman's life, they had concluded their bargain with him, and not with the kingdom. If Carloman's successor or the French, wished to renew the treaty, the Danes must have the same amount of tribute repeated, sol for sol, livre for livre, the same in weight or the same in tale—on no other terms would they allow the kingdom peace or rest.

⁸⁸⁵
 The Empe-
 ror Charles,
 invited to
 the Throne
 of France.

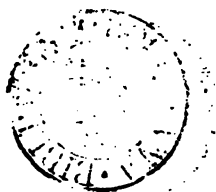
§ 21. Who was to succeed Carloman?—the child of the Adeliza Judith, of whom she was delivered five months after Louis-le-Bégué's

death: from whose birthday, the feast of Saint Lambert, the foul-mouthed gossips reckoned back to the season when Louis was sinking under mortal illness, and spitefully whispered their conclusions? The child probably continued under the care of Rainulph the second, Count of Poitiers; but had any party been inclined to think of such an infant, a regency must have been appointed to govern in his name; and he was silently passed over.—Kaiser Karl, at this time in Italy, was therefore the only competent legitimate successor to the kingdom. Notwithstanding the reverses he had sustained, his reputation still stood high,—if they excluded the Kaiser, whom could they elect, unless they repudiated the Imperial lineage, and elected the half-caste Arnolph, or some gros-vilain, some stranger?

Theodorick, the High Chamberlain, was, for the fourth time within seven years, called upon to perform the duty of inviting a Sovereign to ascend the throne. Destiny seemed to have accomplished the end which patriots sought. The injurious severances might be terminated, the rents closed, the dissensions healed, no longer a divided, but a united Empire. Charles, king of Germany, Charles, king of Italy, Charles, king of France, Charles the Emperor—Charlemagne's magnificent inheritance again subjected to a Charles, under whose auspices all the former prosperity of the Franks might be restored.

862—888

885



Apparent
reunion of
the divided
Empire.

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885
The French
tender
their ho-
mages, and
immedi-
ately neg-
lect their
duty.

Yet this was a mere delusion, the Carlovingian empire was an effigy destitute of a soul: the organic spirit had for ever departed. Emperor Charles hastened from Italy, and on his arrival in France, the French with corresponding alacrity hastened to greet their Sovereign. Kneeling before him, they placed their hands between his hands, and became his men.—It is a weariness to be constantly remarking upon the perfect faithlessness of these generations, yet it is right to recollect, that whenever the solemn oaths and engagements binding Seigneur and Vassal by mutual promises of protection, trust and truth, were violated by either party, the delinquents set at naught religion, honour and morality.

French allegiance was not more lasting than the familiar notion of the lover's vow. The Emperor, accepting the Crown, undertook an anxious task: the Northmen were ravaging Lotharingia desperately: they entered and held the strong cities: amongst others they thus occupied Louvaine. Charles summoned his army for the purpose of expelling the enemy: ruefully scanty was the reluctant *arrière-ban*, Hugh the Abbot had the gout, and sent his *essoign*. The besieging army dispersed disgracefully—the jolly Northmen, as the Franks retreated, crowded on the Louvaine walls and shouted out their jeers, scoffing against the dastards.

§ 22. Dangers gathered apace on the further

confines. The cession made by Charles to Godfrey the Dane was a transaction of dubious import, a refined and wily policy, and therefore liable to be defeated by contingencies, so nicely weighted in the balance of argument, that the scales were as nearly as possible in equilibrium. Godfrey's County of Friezeland extended from the æstuary and æstuary islands of the Meuse unto the Weser: a territory which, according to more recent political demarcations, contained Holland and the largest portion of the Dutch Netherlands, the Duchy of Oldenburgh, the Duchy of East Friezeland, and very many Seigneuries and Communitities.—Here were the seven Sea-lands, the Commonwealth whose representatives assembled under the oaks of Opstal-boom. Here were and are the Theel-lands, amongst whose happy and contented indwellers the Agrarian law, elsewhere a phantom either lovely or terrific according to the spectator's mind, has been fully recognized, even to the present age. Hence, according to the traditions of the country, came Hengist and Rowena;—a valuable and opulent territory, but constantly exposed to the raging ocean as well as to the pirate.

Therefore it was the duty of each Frison to raise and strengthen the doughty dyke, which, in the words of their antient doom-book, "encircles the land like a golden ring; and the Frison was to defend his dear Father-land against the sea with the spade and with the fork and with the

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Friezeland and Lotharingia, Godfrey, and Hugh.

Godfrey's County of Friezeland: its extent.

The Frisons. Their love of liberty.

862—888
 885
 hod; and against the Southern Saxon and the Northman, against the tall helmet and the red shield and the unrighteous might, with the point of the lance and the edge of the sword and the brown coat of mail.—And thus shall we Frisons defend our land within and without, if they will help us, God and Saint Peter!"

Difficulty
 of reducing
 the Frisons
 to subjec-
 tion.

So spake this energetic race, when they fully asserted the patriarchal liberties which rendered their commonwealth as truly illustrious as the fondly favoured republics of Italy, though denied the capriciously bestowed reward of historic fame. But the Frisons had to endure many trying vicissitudes: they were repeatedly attacked and partially vanquished by the Northmen: they were compelled to shelter themselves under the Imperial eagle. Thrice had the Carolingian Monarchs, in the assertion of their supremacy, granted Friezeland as a Benefice to Danish chieftains, but none of these Counts had remained in the country; and one cause, without doubt, which obstructed the establishment of Danish supremacy, had been the sturdy independence of the native tribes.—"The men," says an English writer of the fifteenth century, "be high of body, strong of virtue, stern and fierce of heart: they be free, and not subject to lordship of other nations, and they put themselves in peril of death by cause of freedom, and they had liever die than be under the yoke of thraldom."

Such was the character which the Frisons earned when they had vindicated their independence; and the Emperor Charles effected, politically speaking, a Machiavellian *tratto doppio*, by bestowing this territory upon Godfrey. The surrender satisfied the claims which previous possession of the country had given to the Northmen, and also found full employment for the new Count in maintaining his rule. If Godfrey rendered Friezeland a tranquil Imperial Province, well.—If the Frisons could despatch Godfrey, better—But Godfrey succeeded in coercing the natives, and according to the traditions of Friezeland, they, the Frisons, were so completely (though temporarily) reduced, that, in token of subjection, Godfrey compelled every man to go about with a halter round his neck, which was immediately tightened upon the slightest token of disobedience to his power; a significant and instructive myth, insomuch as it explains the principle so generally enabling the few, or the one, to coerce the multitude. Each individual brings home to himself his own chance of danger, and individual fear pulverizes resistance.

§ 23. When Godfrey demanded Friezeland and Gisella, had her beauty charmed him? Gisella was King Lothair's daughter, and sister of Count Hugh the son of Waldrada: of that Hugh who was so determinately opposing the legitimate branches of the family, all inimical to him, all

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Count
Godfrey
gains the
mastery of
the Fri-
sons.

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Godfrey
and Hugh
combine
against the
Emperor
Charles.

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scoffing and scorning him, all agreeing to keep him out of any share of his father's dominions. And we doubt not but that the transactions immediately subsequent to the marriage, disclose the suggestions upon which the Suitor spoke as well as the Adviser.

Godfrey and Hugh combined : the latter exhorted his brother-in-law, the Dane, to co-operate with him. If Hugh regained his inheritance, he would share Lotharingia with Godfrey. Godfrey should be confirmed in half that kingdom.

Godfrey combining with Hugh of Alsace demands from Charles an encrease of territory.

Godfrey commenced by deputing ambassadors to the Emperor, soliciting additional territory, the whole Rhine-land from Sinzig to Coblenz. Fertile Friezeland abounded with cattle and crops, grain and flesh-meat, butter and cheese; but though barn, larder and dairy were well stored, the cellar was scantily supplied, and therefore he craved a country which (as he alleged) would supply him with wine—that Rhine-country where Charlemagne's practical sound sense and judgment covered the sterile rocks with garlands of green. Godfrey's policy, however, was perfectly sober; and the requisition, though it sounds to us roughly worded, was in substance justified by the expansive arguments of diplomacy. He claimed a Danish land : the Rhine-benefices had been granted to Harold by Louis-le-débonnaire, and his pretensions were warranted by a sufficient shew of reason. Had the Dane pre-

vailed, he would have established himself in the heart of the Empire. Cologne, and all the Ripuarian country between Moselle and Frisia, would have been amalgamated into Godfrey's kingdom; and Godfrey the husband of Gisella King Lothair's daughter, might, like Rollo, the husband of Gisella King Charles-le-Simple's daughter, have founded a flourishing dynasty.

The Emperor Charles was equally clearsighted, and devised a scheme for ridding himself of the enemy. Three were his counsellors, all entering heartily into his views—Willibert, Archbishop of Cologne, who must have quailed at the very thought of the Danes fixing themselves within a morning's march from Cologne—Count Henry, whose title to the Rhine-benefices would be most inconveniently disturbed by Danish suzerainty—and a Count Everard, whom Godfrey had evicted. —Count Henry took the lead in council. To dispossess Godfrey by force was impracticable. In Friezeland, protected by his rivers and swamps, he was unassailable: no army could march thither. "We must draw him out," quoth Count Henry:—they therefore spoke fairly to Godfrey's ambassadors, giving him good hopes that his demand should be granted, and invited him to a conference with the Bishop and Count Henry, who would offer terms on the Emperor's behalf. Godfrey came unsuspectingly, accompanied by his wife Gisella. An island at the confluence of the rivers

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885

Scheme devised by the emperor, the Archbishop of Cologne, &c., for ridding the empire of Godfrey.

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Godfrey
killed by
Count
Henry.

Rhine and Waal was proposed for the conference.

Godfrey was received by a small, but apparently hospitable party—good Bishop Willibert, Count Henry, and Count Everard. The whole day passed in discussion: from humanity or other causes, they did not like to murder Godfrey before the eyes of his wife, so the Bishop helped, and by his intervention Gisella was induced to quit her husband, and leave him with Henry and Everard upon the island. The discussions were renewed between the Northman and the two German nobles. Count Everard complained of the injury he had sustained from Godfrey. Rudely preferred, Everard's complaints were answered angrily by the Dane—Count Everard drew his sword, and cut the unarmed Northman down at one blow: Everard will perhaps appear again performing a similar safe service. Few in number, the German soldiery were well equipped, and they made the matter sure, stabbing Godfrey through and through: others who were dispersed about in the vicinity, dealt similarly with all the Northmen by whom Godfrey had been escorted to the place of slaughter.

Godfrey thus had been successfully removed, yet the work was only half done—the other half remained to be performed. Hugh, Waldrada's son, continued powerful as ever, and when he should know how his friend, ally and brother had perished, would he not become a more inveterate

and dangerous enemy than before? The outlaw Prince, sheltered in his forest-country and supported by his affectionate retainers, was beyond the grasp of Charles: further wiles were therefore needed to accomplish the desired end, neatly and speedily. Ere he could receive the intelligence of Godfrey's assassination, the kind and friendly promises of Count Henry invited Hugh to Gondreville, on the Moselle. Count Hugh, nothing suspicious, repaired to the appointed place of meeting. There the confiding prince was seized.—“Put out his eyes, Count Henry, when you have him,”—was the command which the Emperor Charles had given. Count Henry most willingly obeyed the mandate. Hugh's companions, cruelly and shamefully mutilated, also sustained their doom. Blind Hugh was sent far away, to the Abbey of St. Gall. After a time they transferred him to doleful Pruhm in the Ardennes, and there he was shorn as a monk by Abbot Regino, who inserts in his chronicle the narration of these dealings, without affecting any compunction for his share in the transaction, or any regret or sorrow for the victims whose fate he records.

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885—886

Hugh of
Alsace
treacher-
ously seized
and
blinded.

Regino was truthy and honest, he saw no wrong in such transactions: how could he? nor should we, had we been in Regino's place; nor would Regino do worse than we do, were he in ours. There are fashions in wrong, but wrong

862—888 abides: the stuff is identical, though make and
 pattern change. The world's progress gratifies
 885—886 mankind with varieties and modifications of in-
 justice, but the progressing world's injustice re-
 mains indestructible. The Danes and those who
 companied with the Danes were well served—
 they were beyond the pale of Carolingian civi-
 lization.

885
 Danish
 warfare
 recom-
 mences
 more in-
 tensely.

§ 24. The Northmen again directed their operations towards Central France through the Seine-country.—Paris stands in the way, and Paris must be gained or subdued.—Like all amphibious creatures, they took most naturally to the water, and therefore they determined, as during previous invasions, to render the Seine their highway. Reinforcements swarmed in from Lotharingia, from Belgium, from the British Islands: the Danes were intoxicated with success, they had measured their strength against their enemies, and they could appreciate that strength. How thoroughly had they overcome the stout Germans on Luneburgh Heath: how had they baffled the craven Franks, tricked them, drained them, pillaged them, disgraced them, defied them!

The Danish battle-axe, gisarme and arbalest, had always been the terror of the foe: the Danes had always been fearless warriors, but threescore years of incessant warfare had disciplined the desperate Berserkers into a skilled soldiery.—Jarls and Vikings now added excellent general-

ship to personal bravery: obsidional devices, ^{882—888}
 whether for attack or defence, had become fami- ⁸⁸⁵
 liar to the Northmen: the Teutonic and Scandi-
 navian nations were clever carpenters: born in
 the forest or the forest-glades, the hatchet was
 the first plaything in the hand of the boy. The
 Burgundians so fierce in war, who now appear
 so awfully mysterious, the spectres of the Nibe-
 lungen Lied, used to travel the country, and get
 their honest living by working at their timber-
 trade. Norsk ingenuity is the admiration of
 every traveller at the present day.

Sigurd or Sigfried is the acknowledged leader ⁸⁸⁵
 of the enterprize, he alone is honoured by the ^{July 25.}
 title of King. Rollo acts concurrently though in- ^{The North-}
 dependently, and reoccupies Rouen.—This move- ^{men re-}
 ment was made before the main body of the North- ^{occupy}
 men had come up: the French were therefore ^{Rouen.}
 encouraged to resistance. Hard fighting ensued,
 both in the advance and about the city. Ragnald,
 whom the French chroniclers call Duke of Maine,
 while the Northmen exalt him to a higher rank,
 “Prince of all France,” was the chief French
 commander. So imperfect are our historical ma-
 terials for this period, that it is impracticable to
 identify Ragnald, though so distinguished in sta-
 tion. Ragnald endeavoured to play Hastings off
 against Rollo, but did not succeed. He then col-
 lected a large army from Burgundy and Neustria,
 and prepared for battle; but, on the other hand,

~~see an~~ the French not unfrequently favoured the enemy.

~~Some~~ Some dreaded the consequences of resistance.

385

Who could forget the horrors of the cold year?

The events of the former invasion, the corpses floating in the river, or swinging from the branches, had left a warning remembrance; and others gladly placed themselves under Danish protection. This assimilating process, which had been going on more or less through all the periods of the Danish invasions, aided the Northmen, but assisted in extinguishing their nationality. A

885
Aug.
Ragnald
duke of
Maine killed.
Rollo
proceeds
to Paris.

fisherman or boatman, who entered Rollo's service, saved his new master all trouble from the Duke of Maine: he killed Ragnald, probably by stealth: he ran him through. Ragnald's army dispersed.—“And now, my men, on to Paris!” *Age nunc, navigemus Parisius*—Rollo's words, which we give in Dudo's Latin, were preserved traditionally in the family.

The main
fleet and
army of
the Danes
advance to
Paris.

§ 25. “On to Paris!”—This was the general cry amongst the Danes. Sigfried was coming, and Sigfried came. So mighty a fleet had never been seen: for two leagues in length the broad river was covered with Danish craft, great and small, boats and wherries, barks and barges: their forces were reckoned at forty thousand.

Pontoise
taken.

Pontoise, strongly and judiciously fortified, surrendered by capitulation, without offering any opposition: the garrison retired to Beauvais—a transaction raising suspicions of collusion: the

Northmen entered the town, burnt and destroyed as usual; and, rejoicing in their success, prepared to attack Paris. On all previous occasions Paris had been the easiest of conquests: long before Regner Lodbrok had carried away the big iron bar of Paris gate, Paris gate stood open to them; for the inhabitants had no heart to defend their homes. Counts and Bishops, monks and merchants, landsmen and seamen, had been always ready to purchase safety by flight or ignominious submission; but amidst the Empire's decay, an unexpected element of strength was disclosed.

Old travellers tell us how the matchless Damascus steel is prepared by burying worn-out horseshoes in a damp cellar: the metal's weaker portion perishes by oxidation, and the bright particles are discovered, shining amidst the brown rust, and in them is concentrated the essence of the trenchant ore. This Arabian process typifies a moral process not unfrequently occurring: misfortunes eliciting virtues or powers unknown or unused.—The wisdom of Charles-le-Chauve's plans of fortification now became apparent. Gaily coloured, and therefore called the Pons Pictus, his breakwater bridge, stretching across the river, completely prevented the advance of the Danish vessels: his castles, particularly the Grand-Châtelet, having been recently protected by additional bulwarks and superstructures, could only be reduced by a regular siege: on every

882—888
885

Utility of
Charles-le-
Chauve's
fortifica-
tions of
Paris.

862—888 side was the island carefully defended. And let
 885 us be here permitted to wander into the regions
 of poetry for the description which most vividly
 enables us to look down upon the scene.

*Siede Parigi in una gran pianura,
 Nel' ombilico di Francia, anzi nel cuore
 Gli passa la riviera entro le mura,
 E corre e esce in altra parte fuore:
 Ma fa un isola prima, e o' assicura
 De la città una parte, e la migliore;
 L'altre due, (che in tre parti è la gran terra)
 Di fuor' la fossa, e dentro il fiume serra.*

*Dovunque intorno il gran muro circonda
 Gran munizioni havea già CARLO fatte;
 Fortificando d' argine ogni sponda,
 Con scanna-fossi dentro e case-matto.
 Onde entra nella terra, onde esce l'onda,
 Grossissime catene avea tratto,
 Ma fece più ch'altrove provvedere
 Là, dove avea più causa di temere.*

Yet bridges and towers were only secondary protections and defences: the disintegration of the kingdom was bringing out more. Chief in command within the city is Eudes, son of Robert-le-Fort, Count of Paris, the future king; and with him his brother Robert, for whom also is a crown in prospect. We have not the slightest means of conjecturing how and in what manner the sons of Robert-le-Fort had regained their ancestral importance. We have an indistinct perception that this city passed to the Capets from Conrad the Guelph—but many of Robert-le-Fort's ho-

The de-
 fenders
 of Paris,
 Eudes and
 Robert
 Capet, &c.

nours, which upon his death were granted to Hugh the Abbot, had not been restored to the Capet family. 862—888
885

In this event-abounding period, the most important pages of French history are unfortunately lacerated or lost; were they extant, we should know the battles in which Eudes had so signally distinguished himself against the Northmen as to acquire his now pre-eminent fame. Bishop Gauzeline was the compeer of Eudes in military valour and skill: by his side, supporting him in noble rivalry, was his sister's son, Ebles, brother of Rainulph the second Count of Poitiers. This Ebles, Abbot of Saint Germain-des-prés, afterwards Abbot of Saint Denis and Chancellor of the realm, was a sturdy soldier in hand and heart, an excellent marksman.—Abbot Ebles can kill seven Danes at one shot, was the saying at Paris, testifying the opinion entertained of his skill; which Abbo, the antient poetic historian of the siege, expresses so ingeniously in his ambiguous verse, that you may suppose he records the feat, not as an hypothetical but an actual performance. Ebles, a favourite personage with the Monkish Poet, is frequently designated by him as *Martius Abba*, or *Matortius Abba*, thereby misleading a very learned historian into the creation of an *Abbé Mars* as an additional defender of Paris. Rainier Count of Hainault was much distinguished for valour, Eudes Capet pre-eminent above all.

862—888

862

An exceedingly curious narrative of the siege exists in the poem, addressed by the before-mentioned Abbo, the monk of Saint Germain, to his teacher, a great master of verse, from whom, toiling over Virgil, the author learned the art.

Abbo's
Poem "de
bellis Parisi-
acis ur-
bia."

The florid and ample composition, an encomium upon Eudes, commemorating the prowess which conducted him to the throne, narrates the events occurring during the beleaguering of the Capetian Capital: details abound, singularly curious and authentic. Abbo delighted in his toil; yet verse was an ungrateful labour, extorted from an unwilling muse. Perplexed and obscure, his rugged lines are studded by barbarous Hellenisms, many passages almost defying interpretation.

Abbo's poem, notwithstanding its imperfections, is a most remarkable muniment, a textual guide to the historian; but if we seek a picture possessing life and colour, we must contemplate the siege as idealized by the Bard of chivalry. The lays of the Trouveurs readily transmuted the Danes into the more familiar miscreants, the Saracens, and the achievements of Eudes-le-Grand were bestowed upon the greater Charlemagne. The sonorous *Chansons de Geste* acquired a wider circulation in florid prose, and the *Reali di Francia* and the other tales composing the Carolingian cycle, became the most favourite volumes of popular Italian literature. Ariosto adopted the inspiration of these fictions, his re-

Siege of
Paris by the
Danes, ro-
manticized
by Ariosto.

naissance poetry imparting grace and elegance to the rudeness of Gothic romance. Sigfried is adorned by Agramante's plumed casque; and the *Assedio di Parigi*, the most brilliant episode in the Orlando Furioso, may be read with delight as an exalted version of the events which now befel.

The Northmen fully appreciated the difficulties they had to overcome. Paris fortifications, and the front presented by the garrison, opposed formidable, and, as the event proved, insuperable obstacles. The Northmen never wasted their strength, never fought if they could gain their object without fighting, always ready, according to the Italian proverb, to lengthen the lion's skin by the fox's tail. Could the Commanders of the Place be inveigled into a truce, the Seine would be free to the Northmen: Sigfried therefore commenced negotiations. He sought a personal interview with Bishop Gauzeline, endeavouring to obtain the Prelate's assent. The cunning Dane made tempting overtures:—the Bishop and Eudes and the other chieftains, if they acceded, should preserve their dignities and possessions, nay, be the gainers. Sigfried's offers produced no effect: his threats were equally fruitless; and hurling his defiance at the Bishop, the Viking departed.

§ 26. Mournful was Saint Catherine's morn, when the siege began. Eudes and his brother

862—888
885

885
Sigfried demands a free passage up the Seine for the Northmen, and is refused.

885
Nov. 27,
The siege begins.

862—888
 885—896

Robert, and Count Rainier, and Abbot Ebles, and Bishop Gauzeline occupied the Grand-Châtelet, the city-castle. Against this Donjon the Northmen directed their first onslaught; and Bishop Gauzeline was wounded. Urged to the utmost fierceness, the Danes, provoked by resistance, continued their attacks against the stubborn walls. Terror spread throughout the city: the assault continued from morn till night-fall, the inhabitants were in the utmost dismay.

*Sonar' per gli alti e spaziosi tetti
 S' odone gridi e femminil' lamenti.
 L' afflitte donne percotendo i petti,
 Corron' per casa, pallide e dolenti;*

*Le campane si sentono a martello
 Di spessi colpi, e spaventose tocche:
 Si vede molto in questo tempio e in quello,
 Alzar' di mano, e dimenar' di bocca.
 Se 'l tesoro parasse a Dio sì bello
 Come a le nostre opinioni sciocche,
 Questo era il dì, che 'l Santo Concistoro
 Fatto avria in terra ogni sua statua d'oro.*

*S' odon' rammaricare i vecchi giusti,
 Che s' erano serbati in quegli affanni
 E nominar' felici i sacri busti,
 Composti in terra già molti e molt' anni;
 Ma gl' animosi giovani robusti,
 Che miran' poco i lor propinqui danni
 Sprezzando le ragion' dé più maturi
 Di quà, di là, vanno correndo a i muri.*

Strenuously had the Parisians laboured in strengthening their defences; yet the additional

fortifications of the Grand-Châtelet were not quite completed. Eudes and the Bishop therefore employed themselves throughout the night in directing the needful operations, watching whilst the Northmen caroused. With the dawn, the enemy renewed their attacks, and again sustained a repulse. The siege continued with varied fortunes. Sometimes Paris sustained the greatest strait, whilst at others the dangers diminished: intervals ensued during which the Danes merely observed the city. Yet the assailants and defenders, besiegers and garrison, though their powers might fluctuate, were so equally matched, that during the whole period,—first and last nearly four years,—Paris was never at ease, nor the Northmen neglectful of the object which, ultimately, they were reluctantly compelled to resign.

In the course of the early Spring the Danes were favoured by their favourite element: Hnikkar, the Scandinavian Neptune, the tricky water-demon, ought to have been the Norskman's tutelary deity. The Seine swelled to a great height, swept away several piers of the Petit-Pont, and opened the stream for the Danish vessels. Indefatigable Bishop Gauzeline repaired the bridge and manned the adjoining tower, entrusted to twelve citizens, or rather members of the merchant Guild. The Northmen endeavoured to burn the painted bridge; but the bishop's activity frustrated their plans: he sunk the Danish fire-

862—888

886

886
Feb. 6,
Great flood
of the
Seine:
further
attacks
made by
the North-
men.

862—888
 886 ships, and the bridge was saved.—The Northmen also attacked the Petit-Pont tower, heaping combustibles against and around the building. The conflagration compelled the selected garrison who defended the bulwark to surrender, the Northmen promising security of life and limb; but the promise given was immediately violated, and the twelve defenders mercilessly slaughtered. Abbo preserves their uncouth names, and Paris has been invited to commemorate their prowess by a national monument.

Count
 Henry sent
 by Charles
 to relieve
 the city,
 but fails.

Bishop Gauzeline's health was beginning to fail: this last calamity disheartened him; he solicited aid from Charles, King and Emperor. The Sovereign was now in trouble: the Eastern parts of Germany were becoming alienated under an inimical influence, and discontent was increasing in the Gauls. Charles however ordered Count Henry, the treacherous betrayer of the Danish Godfrey, to march for the relief of the city. Had the troops or their commander exerted themselves, the Northmen might possibly have been driven away from their positions; but Count Henry and his Germans were cool. Why should they shed their blood in defending the French, for whom they cared not? Count Henry returned exhausted to Germany without striking a blow.

886
 Death of
 Bishop
 Gauzeline,
 discouragement of the
 Parisians.

§ 27. Bishop Gauzeline exerted his strength to the utmost, became more harassed, and died: his death shed great gloom upon the citizens, who

trusted his valour and his prudence. He had ^{862—888} been endeavouring to treat with the Northmen; ⁸⁸⁶ but the expectations of peace were destroyed, and general depression prevailed.

Provisions became scarce within the walls, the citizens, more and more dispirited. Eudes, secretly quitting the city, repaired hastily to the Emperor, earnestly soliciting further aid, lest Paris should utterly succumb. Charging through the Danish squadrons who attempted to intercept him at the gate, he re-entered Paris safely, reporting a promised reinforcement. Eight months however elapsed ere the perplexed Emperor could fulfil the promise, when he despatched Count ⁸⁸⁶ Henry again, with more confidence than before. ^{July, Aug.} The army under this ill-omened commander was ^{Count} fully adequate, it should seem, to effect the mili- ^{Henry} tary operations with which he was entrusted. ^{despatched} This time Count Henry was active, too active: ^{a second} the Northmen, entertaining an excusable hatred ^{time: slain} against the executioner, if not murderer, of God- ^{by strata-} frey, had prepared a snare for him and his troops— ^{gem.} deep ditches covered with hurdles and grass, a contrivance so stale and common that it should seem as if the simplest tyro would have been able to anticipate and frustrate the device. But astute Count Henry's proficiency in artifice failed to warn him against other men's stratagems: galloping round the Danish camp, he and his horse fell into a pit; and the Danes, rushing out of

862—888 their hiding-places, killed him, carrying off shield
 and sword as trophies—a successful vengeance,
 886—887 dispiriting to the French and Germans, and causing
 corresponding joy to the Danes.

Revolt in
Burgundy.

886
Sept.
Charles
treats with
the Danes,
and com-
promises
by a
subsidy.
Siege par-
tially
raised.

§ 28. Whilst the Northmen were beleaguering Paris, the Burgundians rebelled, refusing obedience to Charles or assistance to their fellow-subjects, probably instigated by Count Raoul, aspiring to independence. The disaffection of Eastern Germany was sympathetic. Charles, though contending against disloyalty and disabled by encreasing infirmities, acted boldly: he assembled his forces, and prepared wisely for action. He conciliated Eudes, restoring to him such of Robert-le-Fort's domains as had been held by Hugh the Abbot, and appeared in person before Paris with a very large army. The Emperor expected to have been supported by Count Henry. Henry had been slain; nevertheless the Imperial General boldly pitched his tents in the face of the enemy. Winter was drawing on, and both parties ready for a compromise. Charles offered a Danegelt, and moreover he ceded to Sigfried,—the transaction amounting to a cession—the revolted Burgundy, thus employing a foreign enemy to suppress domestic rebellion.

The Danes made ample use of the opportunity granted to them, not conceiving themselves under any obligation to keep within a prescribed boundary. Some continued encamped or quar-

tered near Paris, but large numbers dispersed themselves over the adjoining districts. The truce was imperfectly observed by the Danes: the Parisians abstained from positive hostility, but they would not allow the Danish craft to ascend the river, so the Northmen dragged their vessels round: this was thought a wonderful manœuvre. During the movements before Paris, one of their heavy, stout and clumsy boats, the keel hollowed out from a single piece of timber, was swallowed by the silt, and dug up about fifty years since near the Champ-de-Mars.

Beauvais was burned: Rollo helped to kindle the fire. Saint-Médard was burned, Sens besieged; the gigantic, almost cyclopean, Roman walls (yet standing) enabled the inhabitants to resist. Yet Bishop Everard thought it expedient to ransom the city. He probably felt that no fortifications could compensate for the astounding pusillanimity of the Frankish Community. Shortly afterwards the Bishop died; and the Northmen, as on other occasions, considered that the covenant had expired, and spoiled all the adjoining districts of Burgundy.

The Loire and Seine-country was pillaged, Rollo amongst the ravagers: Sigfried returned to his fleet in the following spring, resuming his devastations; but during the autumn he sailed to Friezeland or Holland, where he was killed. The Royal general's death did not derange the

862—868

866—867

866
Autumn.
Beauvais,
Sens,
&c. taken
by the
Northmen.

Danish
operations.

862—888 operations of the Northmen: possibly Rollo, who
 886—887 returned to Paris during some of these transac-
 tions, assumed the command. They continued to
 watch the city, making occasional hostile demon-
 strations, until the last penny was paid. The
 King of France who succeeded Charles had to
 discharge the balance.

§ 29. Bitterly was the Emperor reviled for his dealings with the Northmen by his subjects and contemporaries. Modern historians repeat the hootings—" *Cet infâme traité*," says one, no less indignantly than if the Emperor Charles were a living legitimate Sovereign; yet, if we endeavour to form a calmer judgment, the transactions are undeserving of such stern reprobation. They may have proved detrimental: they sound disgraceful; nevertheless Charles was justified by precedent, by policy, above all by necessity.

Wise men recommend making a bridge of gold for a flying enemy. It was no new thing which Charles had done. Louis-le-Bégué, Charles-le-Chauve, our Anglo-Saxon kings, our great Alfred, gladly purchased peace from the Pagans by money or more than money,—grants of territory, provinces or Kingdoms. Charles the Emperor abandoned Burgundy to the Danes—and wherefore?—the Burgundians were abandoning him, and he surrendered them to the chastisement of the foe-man. He bravely attempted to relieve Paris, though Paris was scarcely his. Paris virtually

belonged to Count Eudes, and Charles must have had a presentiment of the Capetian aspirations. 862—888

The unfairness of these harsh censures is peculiarly manifested by the feature, that in the estimates thus formed concerning the conduct of the unfortunate Emperor, no consideration is given to the accompanying circumstances. The subject is discussed and commented upon as though Charles could choose. But he was appalled, and well he might be, by the raging Saracens, and the advancing Magyars. Italy was almost overwhelmed by the Mahometan Hosts—
 from the gates of Rome southward, the country was completely under their power. They were committing enormous devastations: awful sensation was produced by the destruction of the most hallowed sanctuaries, Monte Cassino for example. The political or moral influence of the Saracens was even more to be apprehended than their warlike energy: the Italian nobles and communities often colluded or combined with the Infidels. This was memorably the case with the Republic of Amalfi. Worse than all, they were favoured by the Prelates; and Athanasius Bishop of Naples, supporting them by his alliance, had opened the way further to the gates of Rome. The fierce Magyars were drawing nigh to the Imperial confines. The united, honest, loyal and hearty co-operation of Franks and Germans could alone expel the Northmen. Experience had shewn that

886—887
 Charles-le-Gras, unfairly censured for his compromise with the Danes.

Charles-le-Gras compelled to compromise with the Danes by the pressure of other enemies.

882—888 such a condition was impossible ; therefore weighing evil against evil, the temporizing plan adopted by Charles was the best which could be devised.

886—887
Domestic
troubles.
Empress
Richarda
accused of
adultery.

§ 30. Home and foreign anxieties combined : a troubled household and domestic dissensions discredited the monarch, and contributed to destroy the reverence due to his person, and thereby weaken his sovereign authority. When the spell of obedience is once broken by contempt, the power of command departs. Vices, nay even virtues, incidentally assuming the tinge of meanness or silliness, often damage the earthly divinity of Royalty proportionably more than crimes. Nero the fiddler clenched the deposition of Nero the tyrant. Whilst Henry the Eighth died quietly in his bed, Charles Stuart's awkward fondlings with Henrietta Maria at the banquet, contributed almost as effectually as the High Commission Court or the Star-Chamber in conducting him to the scaffold through the windows of Whitehall.

Charles was on very bad terms with his wife, Richarda. Ten years married, their marriage was childless. She was defamed as an adulteress, Bishop Liutward her reputed paramour. He certainly appears to have been politically untrue. Richarda offered to clear herself by the ordeal, the battle-trial or the labyrinth of glowing ploughshares. But the Empress was not permitted to justify herself ; and she retired to the monastery of Andlau in Alsace, which she

had founded. Charles had other views. He doted on Bernard, his concubine's son, for whom he was most anxious to secure the throne. To promote this earnestly-desired object, Charles negotiated with Pope Hadrian. Rome and Rome's Bishop, and the Roman people, needed the Emperor's protection. The Pontiff was not unwilling to gratify the father's wishes. Hadrian undertook a journey to France for the purpose of sanctioning the proposed scheme of succession, giving such aid as Papal influence might bestow ; but just as he had crossed the Po he died, to the extreme exultation of the Emperor's ill-wishers, particularly in Germany, the centre of disaffection.

882—888

887

Charles labours to secure the succession to his illegitimate son Bernard.

He is disappointed by the death of Pope Hadrian III.

No human prudence could extricate Charles from his position of peril, the more distressingly painful because there were tantalizing possibilities that he might be rescued. He was sliding down a precipice seeming to offer some narrow ridge giving stayhold to his feet, or some branch which might furnish grasphold for his hands ; but the chances kept escaping when he tried them. As far as birthright extended, the legal or constitutional claims of his own Bernard and the Carinthian Arnolph were equal. Ansgarda's infant, if he were the son of Louis-le-Bégué, had disappeared. Could public opinion be made to support Bernard, the youth might reign ; but the tall, magnificent, winning, bold, skilful Arnolph,

887

Increasing perils of the Empire.

882—888 Duke of Carinthia, securely defended in his castle
 of Mosaburch, was already considered by the Ger-
 887 mans as their Sovereign. Hence their malevolent
 delight when the Pope's sudden death deprived
 the Emperor of his support, and frustrated those
 plans in which, not merely Bernard's elevation to
 the throne, but even the preservation of his own
 life, might be involved.

Destruc-
 tion of
 principle
 occasioned
 by the
 general
 conduct of
 the Carlo-
 vingians.

All the sins and errors of his ancestors
 and his own were accumulating upon Charles the
 Emperor. He had been inviting that retributive
 justice which imparts such awful unity to the
 tremendous epic of Carlovingian history. On
 whom, or upon what institution or upon what
 laws, human or divine, had any member of the
 Carlovingian family a right to depend? Their
 good was rendered reprobate by their evil. They
 had destroyed the very notion of truth and ho-
 nour: they had shed blood like water: they had
 confounded the boundaries of temporal and spiri-
 tual authority: they had laid their hands upon
 the Ark: their empire was founded upon political
 and social treason. By their examples, their acts,
 their deeds, they had continually inculcated the
 lesson, that it was right for a servant to depose
 his master, a nephew to rise against an uncle, a
 son to dethrone a father,—for a kinsman to profit
 by any advantage he might gain over a kinsman
 by force or by fraud, by deceit or by violence—
 the adult over the child, the mighty over the feeble,

the cunning over the unwary, and, most odious of all, the sound and healthy over the sick and dying.—When the stalwart Carloman, nerveless, motionless, speechless, fell stricken by the palsy, Charles had galloped away from his brother's bedside, and, seizing the kingdom of Italy, co-operated in excluding Arnolph:—his own turn had come now.

§ 31. The burthensome and loathsome inflation of his miserable body increased fearfully. So swollen that he could not move without assistance, they were forced to lift him in and out of his chair. Notwithstanding this enduring physical affliction, we have seen how he exerted himself in the functions of government and against the Northmen no slackness could be imputed to him, no neglect, no cowardice, a King in council, a King in the field; but his maladies were now gaining upon him so rapidly, that his mind seemed dulled by the oppression of his frame. Irksome to his subjects who were tired of him, those subjects recollecting nothing of the eagerness with which they had courted his authority, a silent but universal and irresistible conspiracy pullulated throughout the empire, for the purpose of anticipating his death. Because he so truly deserved compassion, the people scorned and despised him.

Arnolph of Carinthia advanced as the most exalted of the pretenders, yet scarcely yielding in eagerness to Eudes and Robert, the sons of

862—888

887

887.

The people
turn against
the Em-
peror.

862—888 Robert-le-Fort. Treading close upon Eudes
 887—888 and Robert was the energetic and expectant
 Berenger, Berenger elbowed by Guido Duke of
 Spoleto—Raoul of Burgundy and Boson of Pro-
 vence and Rainulph of Aquitaine, bold, eager and
 designing, pressing onwards, and the Counts of
 Armorica and Sancho Mitarra Duke of the Gas-
 cons, planning to render themselves independent
 of the Carolingian Crown, upon whomsoever it
 might devolve. The Emperor's manifested inten-
 tion on behalf of the bastard Bernard, added more
 point and vigour to the encreasing discontent;
 and the Germans, the Saxons, the Thuringians,
 the Franconians, the Bavarians, the Lombards,
 the Romans, who had so enthusiastically invoked
 Kaiser Karl when prosperously floating on the
 top of the tide, were now most bitterly inimical
 in the day of misfortune.

887. Nov.
 Charles
 deposed by
 the Ger-
 mans, and
 Arnolph
 accepted in
 his stead.

§ 32. All the Teutonic nations solicited Ar-
 nolph to assume the royal authority. Small ex-
 ertion was required; and Charles accelerated the
 crisis by summoning a Diet at Tribur near May-
 ence, in order to promote the object so earn-
 estly, dearly, anxiously sought, his son Bernard's
 enthronization. When the Diet was convened,
 Arnolph, triumphing in the ruddy bloom and bril-
 liancy of health and youthful vigour, presented
 himself at the head of his army: he had sworn
 allegiance to his uncle, and if he believed in the
 doctrines of his age, he perilled his salvation by

the violation of his oath : what mattered ? he was ^{862—888}
 absolved by the legislature of the realm. Teutons ^{887—898}
 and Slavonians, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots,
 Counts, Nobles, Knights, Priests and Laymen, vied
 with each other in hailing the Duke of Carinthia
 king of Germany. They thronged in to perform
 homage, a race who should be foremost :—the old
 story : as in the Colmar camp, so in the Tribur
 council-chamber, the treachery of the Luegen-
 feld acted over again. Ere three days had elapsed, ^{Charles}
 all had deserted the bloated, helpless sufferer, not ^{miserably}
 merely as a Sovereign, but as a fellow-creature. ^{abandoned.}
 Not a human being was left to perform for
 Charles the slightest offices which suffering na-
 ture requires : he might have starved had not the
 Archbishop of Mayence, Liutbert, sent him meat
 and drink. These supplies were so scanty and
 irregular, that all the cares and anxieties of
 Charles were absorbed in the horrid dread lest
 he should die of hunger : he begged his victuals
 from day to day.

§ 33. All the kingdoms, states, dominions, ^{Arnolph}
 prelates and powers subjected to the Carlovin- ^{inaugurated at}
 gian domination, concurred in the sentence of ^{Ratisbon.}
 deposition : Arnolph, inaugurated at Ratisbon,
 was solemnly acknowledged as king by all Bai-
 oaria and Suabia and Franconia and Thuringia :
 indeed by all the nations of the German tongue,
 and all the Slavonian dependencies of the Car-
 lovingian Crown.

862—888

888

12 or 13
Jan. 888.
Death of
Charles-le-
Gros.
Cause of
his death
uncertain.

Charles pitifully besought the new King of Germany to have mercy on him and on poor Bernard, imploring protection for the youth; and the more to move Arnolph, he sent to him the relic, the particle of the true Cross, upon which, as Duke of Carinthia, he had taken the oath of fealty. Arnolph shewed for his uncle some touch of compassion, which cost him nothing: a few inconsiderable demesnes were assigned to the heart-broken, fallen monarch for his sustenance. But when the bounty was granted, king Arnolph knew it could not be needed long: about two months afterwards Charles was dead, having earned great pity and respect by the contrition he evinced, and the patient bearing of his misfortunes. On the morrow, they buried the body at Reichenau: the monks of Saint Gall, of which House the Emperor Charles was also a benefactor, were accustomed to sing his obit on the day of his funeral, the ides of January. But other dates are given, and the proximate cause of his death is uncertain; whether disease killed him, or sorrow, or poison, or violence, no one can tell. It was believed in France that Charles was strangled by his attendants, tired of the profitless and disagreeable care which nursing the cumbered disgusting beggar required.

Many and excellent talents had been bestowed upon him, but he lost their fruits when living, and posterity has denied him the delusive honours

of posthumous renown. The French have erased him from the list of their monarchs : they do not reckon him in. Fame is very truly a breath. Charlemagne's world-wise praise has been permanently sustained by his popular denomination. He was a hero unquestionably ; nevertheless "Carolus Magnus," "Karl der Grosse," "Charles-le-Grand," is pre-eminently indebted to his epithet for his vast celebrity. You cannot disconnect the idea from his name ; but all the merits of his unfortunate descendant have been obscured by the associations involuntarily annexed to the designation derived from his clumsy corporeal disfigurement.—The world's commiserating contempt is poured out upon "Carolus Crassus," "Karl der Dicke," "Charles-le-Gras."

862—888
 888

CHAPTER V.

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE: EUDES AND CHARLES-LE-SIMPLE. ESTABLISHMENT OF ROLLO IN NORMANDY.

888—912.

888—912
Accumulation of misfortunes upon the Carlovingian race.

§ 1. WITH a Charles arose the second dynasty's glory: with a Charles that glory departed. It is a profitable aid to the memory in the teaching of history, when important events coincide with dates rendered distinguishable or remarkable, whether by regular or serial sequences, or by repetitions or by regular combinations of numerals; so that the chronological era assumes a species of concrete identity. Signally is this the case with the thrice-repeated eight, the eight hundred and eighty and eight, which dissolved the Carlovingian Empire.

The mouth speaks the fulness of the heart: hence the similarity of proverbs and proverbial phrases in all languages and at all times, sentiments echoed in various tones, but of one import, passages of one strain, because harmonized by common feelings and universal experience. Hence the deep instruction conveyed in that familiar aphorism often used with irreverent levity or discontent, "misfortunes never come single;" testifying the predetermined consilience of events, when chastisements are specially appointed in anger or in mercy. All things, and all the

relations of matter and spirit, are governed by ^{888—912}
 laws; and human punishments, as well as human
 rewards, are produced by the convergence of
 lines whose first direction proceeds from all eter-
 nity: the arrows wing their flight against the
 flesh, where they are to stick fast.

History, private or public, everywhere abounds
 in such examples; and writers least willing to
 acknowledge the Invisible Presence ruling the
 affairs of man, are enforced to render the extort-
 ed acknowledgment, that the contingencies and
 calamities which destroyed the Carlovingian dy-
 nasty were beyond calculation. The Carlovingians
 were ruined by a glut of miseries. Within twenty
 years, Charlemagne's lineage had possessed fifteen
 Emperors, Kings and Princes, either ruling on the
 throne, or expectant and competent to assume
 supreme authority. In the year Eight hundred
 and eighty-eight, the old and the young, the ripe
 and the immature, were all swept away: some
 according to the ordinary course of human life,
 but many more by strange diseases, by mean,
 trivial, or household accidents, by unexpected,
 and as one might say, unreasonable contingencies.
 Their good angel had departed from them. One
 individual only who could colourably pretend to
 be a Carlovingian, now wore a Royal crown:
 one whom Charlemagne would have blushed to
 acknowledge, the half-caste Sclavonian bastard
 ARNOLPH, who had obtained the supremacy of

888—912 } GERMANY and all the dominions speaking the
 German tongue, together with the Sclavonian
 888—924 } Marches and borders, where he was heartily
 acknowledged and obeyed, and seeking to extend his sway over the whole empire.

Revolu-
 tions of
 Italy.

§ 2. Not so in ITALY—here Arnolph was neglected or opposed; Apulia and Calabria would have scarcely cared had they passed under the Emir or the Soldan; and if the wreck of the old Longobard aristocracy desired a Christian king, they would prefer some sovereign more congenial to them than the semi-Sclavonian Arnolph. Rome, the Roman Senate, the Roman clergy, and the Roman people, exercised their suffrage for their own advantage, and according to their own pleasure. All the interest which Pope Stephen could exert was bestowed upon his adopted son, the bold, active and shrewd GUIDO Count of Spoleto. But in Lombardy and the North, the French interest fostered by the Court of Pavia was preponderating, and the Estates of the kingdom either invited or accepted the grandson of Louis-le-Débonnaire by his daughter Gisella, the “august BERENGER,” worthy of the diadem he acquired.

888—924 }
 Berenga- }
 rius, King. }
 889—893 }
 Guido, }
 King. }

Ere they contested Italy, these two illustrious princes had become good friends, and when the deposition of the unfortunate Charles-le-Gras was impending, they agreed to act in concord and share the spoil: Guido should take France,

and *il Rè Berengario*, the Transalpine Empire. ^{888—912}
 Guido entered France, but, as we shall soon see, ^{889—893}
 yielded to a more popular rival. Tempted by
 opportunity, he broke the compact he had made
 with Berenger. A series of adventurous and
 varied conflicts arose between the competitors
 for Rome and Italy, in which the skill and prowess of the Princes appear as remarkable as the sufferings inflicted upon the people during the lengthened frays. Guido assumed the royal title, whilst Berengarius received the iron crown in San Michele's Basilica. Great celebrity did *il Rè Berengario* earn in Italy, his long reign being full of dramatic vicissitudes. His recollections are still fresh in Lombardy—go to the Treasury of Monza: by the side of Queen Theodolinda's *Ciocca*, the strange plateau representing the motherly hen encircled by her nestling brood, you may yet see the Gospel-book deposited by Berengarius in the Sanctuary, when, after his Coronation, he restored the iron crown to the shrine. As Berengarius left that Gospel-book, so the Book remains, the crumbling leaves enclosed between the ivory tablets. These are quaintly carved and pierced, adorned by the interlacings termed runic knots, according to conventional archæological phraseology; but no Scandinavian sculptured ^{891—893}
 their embossed and graceful foliage: they were ^{Guido Emperor.}
 worked by a Celtic hand.

Civil wars ensued, tediously and destructively

888—912 complicated. Pope Stephen, and Rome, and
 892—901 southern Italy supported GUIDO, and he obtained
 the imperial dignity. And having, in imitation
 of his antient predecessors, appointed his valorous
 892—898 son LAMBERT to be his colleague, the latter upon
 Lambert Emperor. his father's decease received the Imperial name.

ARNOLPH arose as a powerful enemy, and
 896—898 repeatedly led his armies into Italy. The King
 Arnolph Emperor. of Germany acquired the Imperial diadem. He
 reigned with extraordinary splendour; but Lam-
 bert refused to resign the Imperial title, and
 retained a considerable portion of the territory.

Arnolph survived his rival for a few months:
 899 a short interregnum ensued. LOUIS,—of whom
 Louis of Provence invoked to Italy. (See p. 632.) more hereafter—the son of Hermengarda and
 Boso, king of Provence, then entered into the
 conflict, and triumphed for awhile, to his great
 misfortune. Much affinity subsisted between
 the Provençals and the more unmixed popula-
 tions of Italy. In the Provincia Romana, the
 municipal succession of the cities was uninter-
 rupted, the languages were kindred. Adalbert,
 the Marquis of Tuscany, suggested to Louis that
 Italy might be easily conquered. Hermengarda's
 child, not undegenerate, accepted the hazardous
 invitation; and from the Lombard Diet and the
 Roman electors, Louis received the royal and
 imperial dignities.

899—901 Expelling the great Berengarius for a time,
 Louis King of Italy and Emperor. and crowned King and Emperor, LOUIS esta-

blished his court at Verona, where he was received with pretended cordiality and loyalty. 888—912
 Reigning in full confidence, he disbanded his troops; when the treacherous Lombards, apparently so contented, surrendered him to Berengarius, who avenged himself by inflicting blindness upon his competitor. The horrible operation was performed with unusual mildness. Either in consequence of the executioner's unskilfulness or mercy, the glowing bason did not entirely destroy the visual power, and some faint glimmering of light remained. Rabid dissensions endured seven and twenty years. At length Berenger obtained the pre-eminence—sole Emperor, and during the twenty-seven years, king, or claiming to be king. 906
 The Magyars overwhelmed Italy, and the country was reduced to the utmost misery. Berengarius dallied with Arpad's hordes for the purpose of protecting himself against the Burgundian Raoul, but uselessly and fatally, and he died by an assassin's hand. Every convulsion in Italy at this period is of vast historical importance; and the throbbings of her wounds were felt throughout Western Christendom. Louis, blinded by Berengarius, returns to Provence. 915—924 Berengarius Emperor.

§ 3. Boso, king of Provence, detested by the Carolingians as an usurper, died about the period when Charles the Emperor was deposed, leaving his young son, the before-mentioned Louis. The matron Hermengarda assumed the regency in behalf of her boy; but this fine (See p. 836).
Provence. Boso dies about 887—8.

888—924

890

Louis son
of Boso ac-
knowledg-
ed as King
of Pro-
vence in
the Council
of Valence.

(p. 631).

country was persecuted by the Saracens, whose colonizations were even more alarming than their ravages: the sons of Arabia dwelt even amongst the snows of the Mons Jovis, Saint Bernard's kindly Hospice, then a murderous fastness. The Northmen also penetrated into Provence; and during an unsettled period of about two or three years, the country was almost without regular government, until, thanks to Hermengarda's talent, activity and wisdom, —the Provençals delighting in their "glorious Queen" — Louis, or Louis-Boso, was acknowledged as king in the great Council of Valence. Louis commenced prosperously. He acquired great part of the modern *Langue d'Oc*, the counties and dioceses on the Western bank of the Rhone, which he united to his kingdom. He espoused an Eadgiva, daughter of Edward the Elder, king Alfred's grand-daughter; his alliance with a Princess from such a distant land testifies his influence and renown. Possibly Eadgiva was receiving her education at Chelles; and the sagacious Hermengarda may have resorted to the Monastery with which the Merovingian, Anglo-Saxon, and Carlovingian Queens and Princesses were so closely connected, when planning an advantageous marriage for her son. We have related the miserable result of his Italian expedition: Louis, thenceforth called *l'Aveugle*, returned to Vienne, where he reigned unmolested and

governed prudently. His counsellors and people, ^{888—912} compassionating his misfortunes, continued faithful : he solaced himself by retaining the imperial title, and died in tolerable tranquillity, leaving ⁸⁹⁰ one Son, CHARLES-CONSTANTINE, who lost all his father's honours and dominions excepting the county of Vienne, afterwards Dauphiné:—the kingdom of Provence passed into other lines.

§ 4. The name of BURGUNDY stands forth prominently in every era of French history. The more recent portions of the Burgundian ^{Burgundy} annals, when her sovereigns became the pre- ^{—parti-} mier Dukes of Christendom, have received every ^{tions of the} elucidation which historical talent can bestow; but the anterior periods have continued comparatively disregarded, and the evidences accumulated by Benedictine diligence are left to furnish occupation for equivalent labour. By inheritance or usage, by constitutional acts or usurpations, the antient kingdom of Burgundy was partitioned into several dominations, well-known in their general aspect, but whose territorial boundaries are vaguely defined : subjected to rulers whose contested or conflicting rights offer as many problems as the demarcations of their territories. To the historical difficulties hence arising, must be added the circumstance, which, perplexing to the enquirer in every era of Carlovingian history, becomes here particularly troublesome—the recurrence of the same Christian

^{862—888}
^{879—880} names. All who ruled as Counts in any portion of antique Burgundia are indiscriminately called "Counts of Burgundy;" and there are so many Raouls and Hughs galloping about the field in armour of uniform fashion, and bearing the same patterned coronal on their helmets, that their identification may baffle the most attentive observer. Or, if we think fit to place the question in another aspect, the confusions of the times are reflected in the confusions of the historians.

^{887—921}
 Richard-le-Justicier's country, afterwards the modern "Duchy of Burgundy."

The French Chancery had, during the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, designated the monarch as King of "France and Burgundy." Louis-le-Bégué assumed the same style; but his authority in and within Burgundy, was practically intercepted by those who enjoyed the usufruct of dominion. A considerable portion had been detached by Boso; and three Counties had been also erected within the antient kingdom. Richard-le-Justicier, son of the astute and intriguing Theodorick, and brother or half-brother of King Boso, governed the Autunais, the Dijonnais, the Châlonnais and the Auxois, the Avalonnois and some other Bailiages, nearly equivalent to the illustrious Duchy of modern times, Burgundy Proper—the Burgundy so resplendently glorious in the creative age of fantastic chivalry.

Richard-le-Justicier's eldest son, RODOLPH or RAOUL, reserved for a higher destiny, did not receive any appanage, whereas his brother Hugh-

le-Noir, in the father's lifetime, held that gay and fertile and varied territory, afterwards known as the Franche-Comté, the valleys and the lower ranges of the Jura hills. 888—912

Transjurane Burgundy, principally consisting of modern Helvetia on this side of the Reuss and the passes of the Mons Jovis or the Great Saint-Bernard, constituted the third Burgundian County now held by another RODOLPH or RAOUL,—Rodolph the Guelph, son of the younger Conrad, Count of Auxerre;—he, following Boso's example, assembled his prelates and nobles in the solemnly cheerful valley of Saint-Maurice, and, crowned in the yet existing Basilica, established a new kingdom. Arnolph endeavoured to subjugate this rival; but Raoul strenuously defended his narrow realm of Alps and glaciers, and won and maintained his independence, governing with remarkable wisdom and equity. Rodolph or Raoul the Second, his son, uniting transjurane Burgundy to Provence, founded the Arelatic kingdom. 888—912
Transju-
rane Bur-
gundy
erected into
a Kingdom
by Rodolph
or Raoul
the Guelph.
(See p.
236).

These revolutions, descending from the Alps, dissevered a large proportion of countries speaking the Romane tongue from the Kingdom of France. The kingdom of Arles subsequently became united to the Empire. Rodolph of Hapsburg lost this kingdom, which insensibly passed under the French supremacy; nevertheless, according to the constitutional theory, the "Count

888—912 of Provence" was to be distinguished from the
 "king of France and Navarre," even until the
 888—889 Revolution.

888
 Rainulph
 of Poitiers
 attempts to
 assume the
 Royal title
 in Aquit-
 taine.

§ 5. RAINULPH the Second, son of the Marquis Bernard, flits before us as King of Aquitaine, Septimania, and the Spanish marches. This Rainulph, Count of Poitiers and Abbot of Saint Hilary, was brother of Ebles Abbot of Saint Denis, the good marksman, and father of *Ebles the mamzer*, also Count of Poitiers; and Ebles the mamzer was father of *Guillaume Tête d'étoupe*, the Husband of Rollo's daughter. Rainulph soon abandoned his pretensions; and the Chroniclers touch so hastily upon Aquitanian events, that we know next to nothing of the transactions in which this powerful Suzerain was engaged.

888—889
 Competi-
 tors for the
 crown of
 France,
 Arnolph,
 Guido and
 Eudes
 Capet.

§ 6. For FRANCE, or rather for so much of France as was not held by the King of France and the Kings or Counts of Provence, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Gascony or Armorica, three candidates appeared. ARNOLPH, who claimed an undefined supremacy over the whole Carlovingian Empire, GUIDO Count of Spoleto, and the Count of Paris, EUDES CAPET.

A fourth competitor, a nobleman, a statesman and a warrior, might have entered the arena with far higher pretensions than Arnolph or than Guido or than Eudes; for, at this period, a lineage combining the claims of legitimacy and seniority

had suddenly acquired extraordinary prosperity — the lineage descended from Charlemagne's loved son, Pepin king of Italy — noble, royal, imperial VERMANDOIS, Herbert the father now educating Herbert the son, and both successfully amplifying the dominions which they ruled with vigorous talent.

862—912

888—889

House of

Vermandois, Her-

bert I. and

Herbert II.

(See pp.

355, 356).

Peronne and the Abbey of Saint-Quintin composed the nucleus of their Principality; but, quietly and without contradiction, they had extended their sway over the heart of the kingdom of Soissons; and that antient Soissons, and the rock of Lâon, and Rheims, the prerogative city of the Gauls, were all within the geographical ambit of their territory. In such enclavures as we have named, Vermandois did not possess direct authority. Lâon, for example, had a Count and a Bishop, and was a royal domain.

Nevertheless the influence of the Vermandois potentates permeated these countries; and their hereditary right, their personal importance, and the possession of the localities rendered so venerable by historical and religious traditions,—all, it should seem, ought to have concurred in stimulating these lineal representatives of the Empire's founder to have asserted their claims; but they were matched in conflict by their compeers. "It has been the misfortune of France," observes the contemporary Regino, "that her princes are so equally balanced in wealth, power and ability,—none can obtain a permanent pre-

888—912 eminence.” Rival Burgundy and the rival Capets therefore restrained cautious Vermandois from contesting the throne. These families, including the antagonistic house of Flanders, had already become much allied by intermarriages, forming connections which created a unity of aristocratic feeling, without necessarily ensuring unity of interest. All were against the Carolingians, though dissentient amongst themselves; and, until the establishment of the third dynasty, the history of France becomes virtually an intricate history of factions,—the Counts of Vermandois endeavouring to gain the ascendancy, but missing their aim, king-makers, king-unmakers, king-restorers, king-deposers, but not enabled to be kings themselves:—Burgundy partially succeeding: the Capets falling, rising, yet always advancing: Normandy following in the wake of the Capets, and ultimately obtaining a station which, though undecorated by the name of royalty, was invested with full royal power.

Great influence of the House of Vermandois in the subsequent revolutions of France.

§ 7. Three national parties were formed, each desiring to carry the question their own way. Fulco, Archbishop of Rheims, Hincmar's successor, represented and headed the Franks of the old stock, holding to the constitutional doctrine of Carolingian legitimacy, but nevertheless considering that the extreme exigencies of the State enforced the postponement, if not the rejection, of the infant heir,—“Wo to the land whose king is a child,”—and Fulco therefore

deemed that the common weal imperatively dictated the selection of a mature and competent Sovereign. For this reason Fulco had concurred in the elevation of Charles-le-Gras, the late deposed Emperor. He now wavered between Guido and Arnolph : consanguinity might incline him to the first, but merit decided him in favour of the last. Theodorick of Autun, leader in every revolution since the death of Charles-le-Chauve, supported Eudes Capet. The Burgundians inclined to the Count of Spoleto ; but the Northmen constituted a fourth party, whose presence at this time and turn brought on a speedy practical decision of the question. They encamped in great force at Chezy, threatening Paris, and ravaging various other parts of the country. Who could resist them but Eudes, the triumphant defender of that city which we may henceforth consider as the Capetian Capital?—and his partizans, hastily convening at Compiègne, caused the Count of Paris to be proclaimed and crowned, Walter, Archbishop of Sens, performing the ceremony.

888—912
 888—889

888
 Mar.—Apr.
 Eudes
 Capet pro-
 claimed and
 crowned at
 Compi-
 ègne.

Guido before he entered France numbered an influential party, but he disgusted the French by his Italian frugality. “That fellow is not fit to reign over us,” said the Bishop of Metz, according to the current story, “who would be content to dine for ten farthings.” However Guido was proclaimed, and crowned at Langres by Bishop

888
 Mar.—Apr.
 Guido of
 Spoleto
 crowned at
 Langres,
 but aban-
 dons the
 contest.

888—912

Geilo. Had he persevered, he might perhaps have maintained himself as King of Burgundy, but disheartened by his unpopularity, Guido abandoned France and returned to Italy, where, in his first campaign, he defeated his late confederate, but now rival, Berenger.

888

Eudes Capet may be admired as the type of a *preud chevalier* when *preux chevaliers* were none, courteous, honourable and winning: kind, and merciful if he thought that kindness and gentleness would answer, but firm, even harsh, in dealing with his political opponents. Archbishop Fulco now strenuously endeavoured to aid Arnolph: so also Rodolph, Count-Abbot of Saint Vedast, and Baudouin-le-Chauve. Arnolph did not hasten to accept the invitation; but Eudes was willing to strengthen his own authority by acknowledging Arnolph's honorary suzerainty; and the King of Germany did not attempt any hostile operations against the Capet.

888
June 24.
Battle of
Montfau-
con. Danes
defeated by
Eudes.

Eudes therefore was the more at liberty to do his duty in defending France against the Northmen. It was for this duty that he had been exalted to the throne. On Midsummer-day he encountered the Danes at Montfaucon-en-Argonne. Some suppose that Rollo engaged in this battle. The Franks reckoned the Capetian squadrons at one thousand, the Danish army at nineteen thousand. Such colloquial estimates must simply be accepted as rude approximations,

vaguely indicating the relative proportions of the hostile forces. Eudes, displaying great personal prowess, was nearly cut down by the battle-axe of a Dane with whom he engaged in single combat, but he triumphed equally as a Champion and as a General, and acquired great glory. Eudes put the Northmen to flight seven times, and defeated them nine,—thus was it said or sung:—the passage in the chronicle containing this commendation seems to be a quotation or fragment translated from some popular ballad.

Montfaucon-en-Argonne told much in favour of Eudes. Hitherto he had been but grudgingly acknowledged in Belgic Gaul, where the Vermandois interest prevailed, but now he greatly increased in power. He exercised his prerogatives boldly and broadly. If an Abbey became vacant, King Eudes conferred the preferment upon some tough worthy blade, or kept the good thing himself. Thus did he treat the first which fell in, the Abbey of Saint Denis; and he confiscated the “honours” of his gainsayers whenever he had the power. Baudouin-le-Chauve performed homage. Other Nobles, north of the Loire, tacitly submitted. Arnolph graciously sent Eudes a royal crown, with which on Saint Brice’s day he was again solemnly inaugurated and proclaimed King. No consecration or further ecclesiastical confirmation seems to have been asked

888—912
—
888

888
13 Nov.
Eudes
again
crowned at
Rheims.

888—912 or required; and Eudes granted a general amnesty.

888—889
Rainulph
of Poitiers
submits to
Eudes.

Charles-le-
Simple
produced.

Aquitaine, however, was still unsettled; and Eudes, the Christmas festivities being over, repaired thither with a small train of Frankish soldiers. Rainulph humbled himself, and resigned his transient crown; but that nominal crown was far less an object of suspicion than the child whom he had in charge—Charles, the infant son of Ansgarda. How this child of sorrow came under the guardianship of Count Rainulph, we know not, but there he was; and all who saw the boy were struck with his likeness to Louis-le-Bégué his father, that father who had never beheld the babe, destined to humiliation, contempt and misfortune. The little Charles was presented to Eudes, Eudes concealed his vexation; and Rainulph, clearing himself by oath of all accusations, professed himself a liege-man of the Capet.

Neither the submission nor the oath of any of those who had become the homagers of Eudes amounted, however, to more than contrivances for saving appearances; and hardly so much. Amidst all changes, trials, triumphs, vicissitudes and misfortunes, the destructive spirit of untruth continued to possess the Carlovingian Empire with unabated pertinacity. Old England won her national character upon Runnymede; Lombard history dates from the field of Roncaglia; but

the Franks, high or low, clergy and laity, were all the representatives of the Luegen-feld. Archbishop Fulco and Baudouin-le-Chauve, and Herbert of Vermandois, and Pepin of Senlis, and the Burgundian Richard, and William of Auvergne, and Rainulph of Poitou, only endured the domination of Eudes till they could rid themselves of him. Some individuals might be friendly to Eudes if convenient, but every man considered it his paramount duty to consult his own interest by all means in his power: oaths, promises, and engagements disappeared whenever occasion required.

§ 8. We now revert to the Northmen, always keeping in mind the concurrent plague of the Magyars, their hordes rapidly approaching and bearing down against Germany and Italy, and the Saracens disporting in the Southern regions, occupying the Alpine passes, despoiling pilgrims on their way to Saint Peter's shrine.

Danish detachments continued about Paris, and they were numerous in the Seine-country, where Eudes was compelled to leave them undisturbed: the rayon of the Frankish operations was always very short: Eudes could only prosecute a confined and partial warfare. They spread themselves in all directions. Whilst Eudes was in Poitou, vast numbers ravaged other parts of the Loire-country, Burgundy also, and threatened Paris quite as formidably as before. In these incursions we vaguely discern the form of

888—912

889

889—891
The Danes
resume
their
attacks.

888—912 Rollo; but the narrative is perplexed, and the
 889—891 more difficult to unravel, because at this period
 there were besides him two or three Rollos afloat,
 a Rodo or Rollo also called Hunedeus, and a
 Rotland or Rollo, the son of Oskytel or Ketil:
 our hero however soon appears more distinctly,
 and Botho, his faithful friend and the friend of
 his yet unborn children, joins him. Méaux was
 besieged by Rollo. Count Theutbert and most of
 his soldiers, who defended the place valiantly,
 were slain by the Danish missiles. Upon Count
 Theutbert's death, Bishop Sigmund took the com-
 mand. This bold Prelate walled up the gates,
 enclosing a worse enemy than the Danes—fa-
 mine. The starved inhabitants surrendered, the
 Northmen promising to allow them to depart
 safely; but when they came forth, the North-
 men seized them, and burned the city.

889—890
 Northmen
 again be-
 siege
 Paris.

The battle of Montfaucon, instead of depress-
 ing the Danish audacity, stimulated them to fur-
 ther exertions. Again they presented themselves
 before Paris. They pitched their tents, and re-
 commenced a regular siege. This may be called
 the second siege of Paris. But the genius of
 Charles-le-Chauve kept them off; they could not
 make way through walls and bridge and bas-
 tilles; and after spending their strength in vain,
 they retreated. So much the worse for the Marne
 country, Lorraine and Champagne: Troyes had
 to pay the reckoning for Paris. When they

890
 The third
 Siege of
 Paris.

exhausted those fields, they tried their chance at Paris for the third time. Eudes immediately reoccupied his old position, of which the capabilities were so well known to him. But he was frustrated by the universal faithlessness. Eudes, bold and warlike as he was, could not help following the Danegeld precedents afforded by his predecessors. Provisions were scarce, defections were beginning amongst the Franks. If he continued long within the walls of Paris, his subjects without, would soon uncrown him. Eudes therefore offered money to the enemy, which they accepted: Rollo had his share, and, raising the siege, the Danes turned their forces towards the Armorican Marches.

888—912
890

Eudes compromises by a subsidy.

890
Armorican Marches invaded by the Danes.

Alan and Judicael, the two Breton Counts, were disputing desperately—all the better for the Northmen. It is very probable that the Channel-islands were occupied by them. Coutances, near the coast, had been dreadfully harassed by the Danes, and the Christian population of maritime Brittany, or the Côtentin, almost wholly scattered or extirpated. The “black book” of Coutances tells us that the desolation continued seventy years. Bishop Lista took refuge at Saint-Lo, on the other side of the river Vire; and, during centuries, though the Cathedral remained at Coutances, the Chair was removed. The Northmen besieged Saint-Lo. Want of water compelled the inhabitants to surrender: the Northmen pro-

The Côtentin ravaged, Saint-Lo destroyed.

888—912

890

mising them their lives, broke the promise, Bishop and inhabitants were slaughtered, and Saint-Lo, then a fine city, levelled with the ground. One very remarkable fragment of a church, decorated with uncouth sculptures, however, still exists, apparently of such remote antiquity that French archæologists suppose *Sainte-Croix* to have been built anterior to this invasion.

Rollo besieges Bayeux. Grants a truce.

Rollo and Botho had previously attacked Bayeux. The exact date of this movement is uncertain; but it was evidently connected with the general plan of the Armorican campaign. The city made a stubborn defence. Botho was captured. Rollo, much regretting the loss of his fellow-warrior, proposed to grant a twelve month's truce if the citizens would release his companion. By the family historian he is called "Count Botho," and very probably was so denominated in the Northern camp, the Danes, like the Barbarians during the Lower Empire, having begun to adopt the phraseology of their adversaries. Rollo lost no advantage by this partial cessation of hostilities, he had full employment in devastating the Seine territories; and having joined in besieging Paris, he presented himself again before Bayeux when the truce had terminated,

Bayeux besieged again by Rollo, and taken.

and attacked the city a second time. Bayeux resisted bravely, but yielded to the Northern force. Stormed, plundered and burnt, hosts of captives were carried away by the victor, amongst

them the little damsel known only by the fondling appellation of "Popa," the *poupée* or *pop-pet*, whom he married according to the Danish usages, and who gave him a daughter, Gerloc, and his son and successor Guillaume-Longue-épée. Count Berenger, the *Poppet's* father, cannot be distinctly identified, but her brother or half-brother was Bernard-de-Senlis or Senlis-Vernandois. The union, however rudely commenced, proved a happy one. Bernard-de-Senlis took heartily to Rollo and his family: trusted, and worthy of trust, he protected not merely the authority of Rollo's children and grandchildren, but their lives. Guillaume-Longue-épée, when friends and advisers were failing him, turned in full confidence to this uncle: Bernard-de-Senlis sheltered the young Richard Sans-peur, the son of Guillaume-Longue-épée, from the power of the inimical Louis-d'Outremer and his more inimical Queen, the wily Gerberga.—Rollo's line would have failed but for the efficient and ready help given by Bernard-de-Senlis.

The Breton Counts, when the danger came upon them imminently, suspended their mutual hostilities, and turned their forces against the common enemy; yet they could not learn to act in concert. Judicael, without waiting for Alan, attacked the Danes and was killed: Alan rallied the Bretons, and after much hard fighting, compelled the Danish forces to retreat. The

838—912

890—891

890—891
Danes partially evacuated Armorica.

888—912 Bretons boasted that of fifteen thousand Danes
 who had entered the country, only four hundred
 890—891 re-embarked. The number so specified may be
 correct as to some particular detachment, but
 the Danes, who evacuated the country in three
 divisions, the first crossing the Seine, the second
 the Loire and the third sailing away to Lothar-
 ingia, were unsubdued; and large numbers re-
 mained in the Armorican Marches and their vic-
 inities. When the "Terra Normannorum" began
 to settle into the character of "Normandy" under
 Guillaume-Longue-épée, there was no part of
 the country in which the Danish or Teutonic
 nationality still continued so decidedly marked
 as in the tract between the Saint-Lo river, the
 Vire, and the Olne, the Caen river. Here, more
 than in any other Norman district, do the names
 of places bear a Teutonic aspect and echo the
 Teutonic sound: Bayeux was ultimately the only
 city in Normandy where the Danish language
 lingered as a vernacular tongue.

Evreux
 taken by
 the North-
 men.

§ 9. Victorious Rollo again conjoined the
 Danish squadrons before Paris, or resumed the
 siege on his own account. There was a constant
 flickering of warfare, ever ready to break out into
 a blaze. According to Rollo's desultory fashion, he
 marched towards Evreux, evidently contemplating
 the breaking down of all points of resistance in
 or surrounding the territory he afterwards ruled.
 Evreux, Saint Taurin's city, was still prosperous

and opulent; and the well-watered Pagus Ebroi-
 cacensis, afterwards the county of Evreux, still
 continuing to be the most fertile tract in Nor-
 mandy. The province had been occasionally
 ravaged, but, as yet, the city remained untouched:
 possibly some lurking reverence rendered to the
 Sanctuaries may have deterred the invaders. But
 golden lamps and silver thuribles, shrines and
 decked altars, offered temptations which now
 overcame such imperfect veneration.

888—912

890—891

Rollo directed his forces against Evreux. Capture of
Evreux.
 Bishop Sebard, whose name, except on this
 occasion, appears but once in the fragmentary
 ecclesiastical annals of antient Neustria, held the
 command: the city was taken by storm, pillaged,
 and in great part destroyed. Some marvellous
 chance enabled Bishop Sebard to escape; and
 the monks of Saint-Ouen evaded with their trea-
 sures, relics of Saint-Ouen, and Saint-Leufroi,
 and Saint-Agofroy his brother, and Saint-Taurin,
 which the fugitives deposited in the Abbey of
 Saint Germain-des-près at Paris. The Abbey of
 Saint Taurin was completely subverted by the
 Northmen, and the Abbot of Saint-Germain-des-
 près kindly received the wanderers, relics and
 all. No Abbot could be a better protector, for
 the Abbot was sturdy Robert, Count of Paris.

Dudon de Saint-Quentin relates these inci-
 dents *con amore*. Fastidious criticism blames
 such monastic loquacity;—yet this is one of the

888—912 numerous instances in which apparently trivial
 890—891 circumstances tighten the vagueness of chronicle
 history. Upon Count Robert's request, Charles-
 le-Simple united Evreux Abbey to Saint-Ger-
 main-des-près, in order that the latter establish-
 ment might furnish subsistence to the despoiled
 Evreux monks. Dudon's relation is confirmed
 by diplomatic testimony; and the Royal charter
 confutes the gainsayers of the family history.
 The intensity of the devastations committed at
 Evreux has been evidenced by the discovery of
 the fire-destroyed ruins of the antient Carlovin-
 gian castle. All the circumjacent country shared
 the fate of the Cathedral city, and Rollo again
 harassed Paris.—Many districts purchased for-
 bearance by a Danegelt, yet whole populations,
 encouraged to resistance, refused their tribute,
 and Rollo cruized to England.

892—893
 Danes pe-
 netrate into
 central
 France.
 Eudes car-
 ries on ope-
 rations
 against
 them.

§ 10. Central France continued to attract
 the Danes. They repeatedly endeavoured to
 establish themselves in these provinces: had they
 succeeded, they might, like the Romans, have
 rendered this most defensible territory the nu-
 cleus of an Empire. Clermont is indicated as
 the scene of Rollo's exploits, without any par-
 ticulars of date or time. If the Pagans failed to
 fortify themselves amidst Velay and Auvergne's
 volcanic fastnesses, or were prevented from esta-
 blishing themselves permanently in the rich and
 teeming Limagne, this result was due to Eudes

Capet's valour and activity. Notwithstanding the troubles occasioned by disloyal adherents south and north of the Loire, he still held his judicial circuits in Burgundia and Aquitania with the regularity of a Carlovingian King. Périgord and Angoulême and Puy-en-Velay witnessed his *Grands-jours*, when Eudes administered justice in person according to the forms of antient royalty.

888—912

891—893

A soldier, raised to the throne by prowess, Eudes laboured to retain his well-deserved reputation. A favourite of the people in Aquitaine, most of the Aquitanian and southern chieftains, excepting the ambitious Count of Poitiers, again adhered to him, or refrained from opposing his authority. Troops joined King Eudes from Arles and from Orange, from Toulouse and from Nîmes. The Danes concentrated their forces in the river district of Auvergne, between Sioul and Allier. Eudes marshalled his troops at Brioude; invoking Saint Julian's protection, and laying his gifts upon the Altar, he marched onwards. The Danes were universally giving tokens of their intentions, seeking to convert their military occupancy into dominion, and, wherever they could, to establish a Danelaghe.

Consistently with this intent, they attempted to win the positions which would give them fast hold of the country; and the main body of their troops besieged Montpensier, so well known in

The Danes
besiege
Montpen-
sier. Bat-
tle of the
Allier.

888—912 history as the future Orleans-appanage. The
 891—893 castle of Montpensier, now wholly demolished, was situated upon a volcanic hill, and, therefore, from its situation between the rivers, the military key of the country. Here Eudes attacked the Pagans. The Capet encouraged his troops by his talent and valour: he reminded them how the Arverni of old had bravely defended their country against the Romans, earning the respect of their conquerors: why should not they equally signalize themselves against these foul and base barbarians? Such allusions were not displays of misplaced and paltry College erudition, prompted by frigid pedantry, but the utterances of real feeling. Rome lived around them; even now, the Auvergnat peasant points to the vast hill of Gergoye, and tells you how bravely the ramparts, lengthening along the sky-line, were defended against Cæsar.

Murder of
 Oskytel the
 Dane.

In the battle of the Allier the Danes were completely defeated, and Oskytel, their commander, the ravager of Croyland, captured.—Provided he would accept baptism, the victors promised to spare his life. Oskytel assented, but he was cruelly and basely slain by Ingo, the standard-bearer of King Eudes, whilst he was emerging from the baptistery. Eudes did not instigate this hideous crime, yet he became an accomplice after the fact, not only pardoning the perpetrator, but bestowing upon him munificent rewards. “It is

impossible to trust a Dane," replied Ingo, "and therefore I slew him for the good of the country;" a plea of which the validity was admitted by Ingo's royal master;—read *Saracen* for *Dane*, and the like would have been done by many a *preud-chevalier*.

888—912
891—893

§ 11. North of the Loire the indefatigable Danes were formidable to all parties: no matter against whom they combated, Eudes or Arnolph. Hastings cheated Rodolph, the Count-Abbot of Saint Vedast; and their cunning rendered them the more terrible. Very appropriate was their national ensign, the thievish, rapacious, artful raven. Lotharingia became the chief scene of the present campaign. Sigfried and Godfrey, reinforced by the detachments from Brittany, renewed their spirited warfare. A great battle ensued near Trèves. The Germans were discomfited, and the Archbishop of Mayence slain.

Transac-
tions in the
north of
the Gauls.

Arnolph hastened from Baioaria: the Danish kings entrenched themselves nigh Louvaine. Protected in the rear by the river Dyle, they selected this position as being best calculated for defence; but, contrary to their calculations, the defence proved their destruction. A marked improvement in the German tactics dates from Arnolph: he had raised an efficient body of heavy-armed cavalry, the first appearance of such a force in mediæval annals. The Northmen, borne down by the German squadrons, fled: more

891
Battle of
Louvaine,
Danes de-
feated by
Arnolph.

888—912 } perished in the sluggish insidious stream than by
 891—893 } spear or sword; and sixteen raven-banners were
 the victor's trophies. The slaughtered Pagans
 were reckoned by thousands, and the Germans
 reported that only one single Christian was killed.
 Arnolph, like an old Roman Emperor, held an
 allocution on the battle-field, solemn services
 were sung, and Arnolph acquired immense re-
 nown; yet there did not seem to be a Dane the
 less in the country. The Northmen occupied
 Louvaine as long as they thought fit, evacuated
 Lotharingia when it suited their convenience,
 and remained in great power about Amiens.
 All successes gained by the Franks or Germans
 were countervailed by the general unsteadiness,
 levity and faithlessness of chieftains and people.
 Eudes marched from Aquitaine to improve the
 advantages Arnolph gained; but the nobles of
 Belgic Gaul determined to desert him. Whilst
 in the Vermandois territory, Eudes was in peril
 of being surprised by the Danes: the Vermandois
 levies, on whom he relied unsuspectingly,
 either neglected their duty or betrayed him.

Baudouin-
 le-Chauve
 quarrels
 with Eudes.

A particular feud accelerated the impending
 Revolution. The great Abbeys were the capital
 prizes. Much difficulty attends the investigation
 of their history: the ecclesiastical historians,
 both antient and modern, ashamed of the abusive
 system which virtually rendered them lay-fees,
 try to conceal the transactions as far as possible.

Materials are scanty, and a judicious selection from the few known facts often leaves you in ignorance of the Abbot's secularity. Saint-Vedast, like Tynemouth, was a castle as well as an Abbey, the citadel in fact of Arras. Rodolph conducted himself valiantly, and greatly strengthened the fortifications; but at this critical period he died childless. The notion of property in the secularized Abbeys was becoming more settled and consistent; and examples can now be adduced of hereditary succession in such preferments. Upon the death of Rodolph, his kinsman, Baudouin-le-Chauve made suit to Eudes for Saint-Vedast as the heir. Eudes replied he would do what he pleased with his own.—Abbeys were peculiarly the King's own; but if Baudouin would repair to the King, the King would return a gracious answer. The Count of Flanders took offence, and rose in open hostility against the Capet. Archbishop Fulco, despite of his previous vacillations, which he would have justified as arising from a conscientious feeling of duty towards the kingdom, now became the loyal supporter of the Carlovingian line. The Vermandois party merely tolerated the Capet domination.

We last found Charles under the care of Rainulph: his friends then quietly and secretly sent him to England, where they kept him till the opportunity for investing the heir with his ancestral rights should arrive. The young prince,

888—912

891—893

Plans for
the restora-
tion of
Charles.

888—912 active, intelligent, winning in manners, well-
 taught, and having profited by his tuition, liberally munificent, with a love of enterprize only restrained by his greater love of ease and pleasure, and endued with all the elements of popularity, was fully ready for action; and Archbishop Fulco and Herbert and Pepin, the Counts of Vermandois, diligently worked for the royal Heir.

July 892.
 Revolt
 against
 Eudes in
 the Ver-
 mandois.

§ 12. A new and zealous partizan made the first demonstration. Amongst the Franks, the saying, "blood is thicker than water," did not hold. Consanguinity rarely mitigated enmity or averted hostility. Count Walter, nephew of Eudes, drew his sword against Eudes in the great Council of Verberie, and having passed over to the Carolingian party, surprised the rock of Lâon. Eudes besieged the fortress, compelled Walter to surrender, and then caused the assertor of legitimate royalty to be executed as a criminal. Walter was beheaded, and the Bishop of Lâon refused him Christian burial. Such summary judicial vengeance was rarely exercised. The severity practised by Eudes taught the Vermandois party the reward they might expect, and rendered them more cautious and also more pertinacious.

892
 Death of
 Rainulph.
 Eudes re-
 pairs to the
 South of
 the Loire.

Eudes thus engaged in the North, Rainulph Count of Poitiers died. Rainulph was said to have leagued with Rollo. Eudes, according to

report, had him removed by poison. Whether the suspicion could be warranted or not, there was a general tendency to assume that persons of eminence met their death unfairly. Rainulph was succeeded, though not immediately, by "Ebles the *mamzer*," whose illegitimacy became a part of his style.—*Abbot* Ebles, who had so strenuously assisted Eudes in defending Paris, possessed great power in Poitou, and, with other nobles, entertained inimical feelings against the Capet. The Vermandois party craftily contriving to draw King Eudes away from their part of the country, exaggerated this discontent, and made him believe that the Poitevins were plotting to deprive him of kingdom and life. Eudes and his brother Count Robert, immediately marched to Aquitaine, and the insurrection was suppressed. A stone cast from a balista killed the excellent marksman, *Abbot* Ebles; and the people said, that the soldier Prelate, so notoriously violating his vows and calling, well deserved his fate.

Eudes prevailed gloriously, unconscious that whilst thus triumphing, the son of Louis-le-Bégué had been conducted to the throne. The Vermandois Counts, Herbert and Pepin, and Fulco Archbishop of Rheims, were unquestionably the efficient organizers of the counter-revolution. During the time that the Capet was so busily employed in Aquitaine, the protectors of the Carlovingian Prince brought him over from England; and the

888—912

891—893

Counter-
revolution,
restoration
of Charles.

888—912
 893 nobles of "France," together with Richard-le-Justicier Count of Burgundy, and Guillaume-le-Pieux Count of Aquitaine, proclaimed him King. The inauguration ceremonies were cautiously completed: invested with the purple, and consecrated on the Feast of Saint Agnes, observed thenceforth by Charles as a solemn anniversary, a pause ensued, probably occupied in discussing the arrangements needed by the new government; and, on the feast of the Purification he received the crown.

893
 Jan. 28.
 Feb. 2.
 Charles
 consecrated
 and crown-
 ed.

893
 April, May.
 Eudes gains
 over the ad-
 herents of
 Charles. The young competitor's elevation, though sudden, could not have been altogether a surprisal. Eudes and Robert crossed the Loire from Aquitaine into "France," not very hastily, but interposing a due interval, during which expectations could be encouraged, apprehensions excited, and private intimations conveyed. All those who had concurred in recognizing Charles, appeared to rally loyally and strenuously round their young Sovereign. About Easter, the rival Kings and their armies were in sight of each other, so near that a battle seemed imminent; but, at this juncture, hostilities were dexterously avoided. Eudes applied himself to Fulco and the Vermandois Counts, to Richard-le-Justicier and Guillaume-le-Pieux, and to all who were mustered under the Carlovingian eagle. He addressed them temperately yet boldly. Had they not committed a great wrong, deserting him, the king of their

choice?—let them return to their willing obedience, and they should receive a gracious pardon. —So said, so done : a prompt and hearty response was made to the call. Few were the weeks which had elapsed since Archbishop Fulco, and Count Herbert, and Count Richard-le-Justicier, and Count Guillaume-le-Pieux, not coerced, but acting upon their sense of duty, had unanimously sworn allegiance to the son of Louis-le-Bégué ; and now, as unanimously, they slipped out of their oaths and abandoned him.

888—912

893—895

Raised to the throne in early Spring, when Summer came, Charles was a dethroned fugitive ; but trusting to the untrustworthiness of the Franks, and to the chances afforded by their marvellous versatility, he fled cheerily, and with good hope of regaining his ground.

894

July—Sept.
Charles expelled, but re-enters the Kingdom.

Like the diligent husbandman, his preparations were rewarded in the Autumnal season : by that time he had gathered a large and imposing force, re-entered France, and, with so much power, that a compromise ensued, Capet and Carolingian agreeing to divide the kingdom.—Eudes is to rule north of the Loire, Charles southward far as the Pyrenees, if he can command obedience ;—but the agreement was not kept, and indeed not intended to be so. The treaty took no effect. Had Eudes and Charles been willing to abide by their convention, their nobles were not : a worrying civil war, interspersed with fraudulent truces,

894

Compromise between Eudes and Charles ; Eudes to reign north of the Loire, Charles south.

888—912 occupied about three years:—no “great principles” were invoked, no “national interests” sought.
 894—895 Important as the results became in their ultimate consequences, the conflict between Eudes and Charles, when you approach the fray, dwindles into a complication of miserable feuds, destitute of sentiment or grandeur.

Charles receives investiture of France from Arnolph.

§ 13. The contest, though protracted, was unequal—the Capet King, an experienced and tried warrior, supported by his brother Robert: Charles, a boy, destitute of any coadjutor upon whom he could rely.—The skirmishes, scarcely to be called campaigns, were principally carried on within the Vermandois territory. Charles, driven into Rheims and besieged by Count Robert, saw his cause speedily abandoned by his men; they stole out of the city, but upon favourable terms granted by Robert. The latter did not seek to drive his adversaries to extremities. Charles himself was allowed by Robert to depart in safety, and he visited the Court of King Arnolph, whose assistance he implored. Arnolph welcomed the son of Louis-le-Bégué kindly, and Charles was willing to receive investiture of the kingdom from him; a great triumph for the Slavo-Teutonic Senior. Arnolph commanded the Lotharingians to assist the expelled sovereign; but Eudes, an able tactitian, prevented Arnolph's troops from entering the kingdom, and Charles retreated to Burgundy. Their barbarian enemies

were, as usual, profiting by the civil war:—Mag- 888—912
 yars pressing onwards, Northmen gnawing out
 the heart of the country. Arnolph, whose cha- 895—897
 racter displays much magnificence, was impa- Eudes and
 tient to justify his ancestry—his aspirations were Charles
 grand; he was seeking to be Emperor, a real summoned
 Emperor;—he now attempted to exercise his by Arnolph
 authority for the commonweal, and, by producing to appear
 concord to diminish the Empire's calamities. before him.
 He summoned the two kings of France to appear
 before him. Eudes complied: Charles, according
 to his recent submission, was bound to obey the
 mandate; but he spurned the subjection he had
 sought. Arnolph's mediation therefore failed, and
 the contest was renewed with greater pertinacity.

Herbert of Vermandois changed sides again, 896—897
 attaching himself to Charles; others followed his Successes of
 example. Eudes never faltered in demonstrating Eudes—
 his royal rights. All the power belonging to the Charles
 Sovereign by the Frankish constitution, over the takes re-
 possessions, beneficiary or otherwise, of his vas- fuge in Lo-
 sals, Eudes exercised to the fullest extent: ad- tharingia.
 herence to Charles he treated as felony: the
 nobles composing the party which supported
 Charles, he dispersed; he picked them out one
 by one. Peronne was taken, Saint-Quentin taken,
 till at last the Carlists had lost the whole of
 their towns and lands. Rheims alone held out
 against Eudes, who elsewhere enforced universal
 submission, even from Count Herbert; and

888—912 Charles took refuge under the wing of King
 Arnolph in Lotharingia, where he was protected,
 896—897 though unsatisfactorily, by Arnolph's son, the
 turbulent King Zwentibold.

Vigorous
 conduct of
 Charles.

Despite of all troubles and traverses, the courage of Charles was unabated: a naturally vigorous character received an additional support from the buoyancy of youth; he was inventive and full of resource: and he determined upon a measure, hazardous, almost desperate, but which the pressure of his position might suggest or justify. The Northmen were habitually cruising in the Seine, and the chieftain now occupying the river was a certain Hunedeus. This name is of singular sound, it never occurs before—possibly the reading is corrupt,—but the sudden apparition of “Hunedeus” is rendered more remarkable from the circumstance that others call him Rodo, or even *Rollo*.

Charles en-
 deavours to
 support
 himself by
 gaining
 over the
 Northmen.

Destitute of any adviser whom he could love or trust, Charles could not fail to discern that the Frankish prelates and nobles constituting his party, acted, when they did give him their uncertain support, for their sakes, and not for his own; and he formed the scheme of strengthening himself upon the throne by an alliance with the Pagan Northmen. Could he induce the Danes to unite their interest to the interests of France, he would infuse new blood, and the kingdom would acquire new

glory. The instinctive prescience, the shadow of ^{888—912} events cast before, is, in history, the observation ^{897—898} of the causes which conduce to the future event; and the policy now attempted by Charles was afterwards consummated by his compact at Saint Clair-sur-Epte. "Hunedeus," upon the request of Charles, was baptized; and the treaties thus commenced would, had they been perfected, have then created Normandy. But their operation was suspended. Archbishop Fulco impeded the transaction to the utmost of his power. The apparent conversion of the Northmen he counted for nought: Hunedeus, clad in the neophyte's white garment, would be as much a Heathen Viking as before: he upbraided Charles with seeking such detestable aid. If he joined himself to the Pagans, he would be no better than a Pagan himself—better not reign at all than reign *sub patrocinio diaboli*.—Had the Franks ever kept any oath which they swore on cross, relic, or shrine, the Archbishop's admonition would have been more cogent. Charles might have replied that Fulco's *own* oath-breakings excused *his* condonation of Danish unbelievers.

But, under existing circumstances, it was not practicable for Charles to work out any effectual or satisfactory results. The Danes spread themselves widely—more dissensions and troubles: a bitter feud raged between Raoul, Count of Cambrai, Baudouin-le-Chauve's brother, and Herbert

897
Charles un-
prosperous:
interces-
sions made
to Eudes
on his
behalf.

888—912 of Vermandois; Raoul was killed by Herbert
 when besieging Saint-Quentin; and the very few
 897—899 partisans whom Charles could muster, seeing
 that the Carlist cause was desperate, repaired
 on his behalf to Eudes. They became petition-
 ers on the desolate young king's behalf;—would
 not the Capet recollect that their Seigneur was
 son of the Capet's Seigneur?—and they besought
 that King Eudes would allow unto the young
 prince some portion of his paternal kingdom.
 This appeal to the conscience of Eudes was not
 unavailing. Eudes agreed to the proposed paci-
 fication. He received Charles kindly, granted
 certain appanages to him, promised more, and
 made friends with Herbert and Baudouin.

899
 Jan. 1.
 Death of
 Eudes.

Eudes, brave Eudes, during these transactions
 was preparing for death.—Scarcely exceeding
 forty years of age, exertions and anxieties had
 worn him out. He had long been exceedingly
 distressed by morbid sleeplessness: this affection
 caused occasional delirium, and he knew his case
 was hopeless. At La-Fère-sur-Oise the mortal
 attack came on. Languishing on his dying bed,
 he exhorted all who had access to him that
 they should observe and keep their faith to
 Charles. Eudes died on the feast of the Cir-
 cumcision; and the first king of the third dynasty
 received an honourable sepulture, with his Mero-
 vingian and Carlovingian predecessors, in the
 royal Abbey of Saint-Denis.

§ 14. "Le roi est mort—vive le Roi!" Within three days after Eudes' death, and in that same Abbey of Saint-Denis, Charles was again proclaimed king; and he re-entered upon the full exercise of his royal authority, uncontested, unopposed, hailed by all parties. A joyous hearty constitutional accession:—strange, that whilst the royal authority was becoming weaker in the king's person, the doctrines of royal legitimacy were pronounced more distinctly. Charles now employed a double date in his charters. He reckoned his regnal years from his first coronation, and also from this restoration, or, as the event is sometimes termed in these documents, the *reintegration* of his royal power. Robert Capet, the brother of Eudes, after a short delay, performed a simulated homage to Charles, and accepted a grant, or re-grant of the Duchy of France and County of Paris. Baudouin-le-Chauve, Count Herbert, Richard-le-Justicier and Guillaume-le-Pieux, all acted in the same manner, and again became the king's lieges. The Danes invaded the Vimeux, where they were defeated by king Charles, and his victory was gained by a force comparatively small. They were also beaten in Burgundy by Richard-le-Justicier; and circumstances fully warranted the expectation of tranquillity.

888—912
899
Jan.
Restoration
of Charles.

The suc-
cesses of
Charles.

But the nobles would not allow the mortar to set. Incessant and sanguinary feuds prevailed. Baudouin-le-Chauve continued embittered against

888—912 the Vermandois family, and he was also most intent upon the object of usurping the great Abbeys within or adjoining to his dominions.—These transactions, so often noticed, constitute a main feature throughout the Carlovingian era; but although constantly presented to us, we scarcely appreciate their full extent; the ecclesiastical annalists were grieved at these perversions and ashamed of them, and they conceal, as far as is practicable, the fact that so many of the Prelates who appear in their Fasti are lay-intruders.

898—900
Seculariza-
tion of ec-
clesiastical
endow-
ments.

898—900 The habitations congregated round Sithiu, or Saint-Bertin, had now become the flourishing Burgh of Saint-Omer: Saint-Vedast's Abbey and the abbatial Castle-garth constituted the most important quarter of Arras—Arras was identified with Saint-Vedast. These two tempting Abbeys had long been coveted by Baudouin-le-Chauve. Many a time and oft were these pieces of preferment assaulted and won and lost. At the present juncture, Archbishop Fulco held both the Abbeys, which he administered conscientiously and worthily. At Sithiu he had been much aided by the moral influence and talent of holy Grimbald—the Grimbald to whom tradition ascribes the well-known crypt under Saint Peter's in Oxford; for he soon found a welcome in England, where we know him as Bishop of Winchester and King Alfred's Chancellor. Fulco afforded efficient aid to Alfred in the restoration of the Anglo-Saxon

Disputes
between
Baudouin-
le-Chauve
and Abp.
Fulco.

Church; he was wise and pious, and the lamentable inconsistencies of his character must be ascribed to the political murrain which infected the whole State. Fulco's possession thwarted Baudouin-le-Chauve's views. Baudouin's vexation provoked him to the utmost against the clergy: he caused a priest to be publicly whipped, seized the churches, and rioted in anti-clerical disorder. Indeed the Church was in continual strife with the principalities and powers of the world: viewed historically, it seems truly marvellous that she did not succumb to her enemies.

888—912
 888—900

The Marquisate of Flanders had been erected in favour of Baudouin-bras-de-fer, for the purpose of opposing a barrier against the Danes. Baudouin-le-Chauve, busy in his quarrel, could ill perform his duty as a Lord-Marcher; the Danes were swarming, the Magyars rapidly approaching, and the reports of their devastation filling France with terror and confusion.

Charles assembled his army near the Oise, convening at the same time a great Council, for the purpose of considering how he could best deal with the Northmen. Baudouin-le-Chauve attended, but the defence of the country was the last thing in his mind. He pleaded before Charles for the restoration of Saint-Vedast; the King being considered as having the complete prerogative of dealing with these possessions according to his full will and pleasure. Archbishop

900
 Baudouin
 demands
 St. Vedast.
 Abp. Fulco
 murdered.

- 888—912 Fulco opposed the demand. Herbert of Vermandois supported Fulco, and Grimbald aided Fulco's cause by his arguments. The dispute, so far as it was personal, between Archbishop Fulco and Baudouin-le-Chauve, received a speedy termination. The Archbishop went to and from the court as usual, unprotected and without suspicion. A band of ruffians, headed by Baudouin's vassals, Winemar and Wilfrid and Everard, surrounded the old man, and basely murdered him. Proof cannot be furnished that Baudouin suggested this assassination, but he did not evince any disapprobation of the deed. Much confusion ensued, yet the Council continued. It should seem that measures were under discussion for renewing negotiations with the Northmen. King Charles chiefly advised with Count Robert Capet, Herbert of Vermandois, Richard-le-Justicier, and Manasses Count of Dijon. The counsellors were divided and factious. Count Manasses spoke disrespectfully of Robert Capet—some busy mischief-maker reported the words to Robert, who mounted his horse and rode off in anger, and the Council broke up in confusion. The only Chronicle upon which we can depend, breaks off as abruptly as the Council, and a chasm of about ten years ensues, during which we scarcely possess any knowledge whatever of French history.
- 900—911 § 15. These ten years constituted a period of trouble and disorder, the Empire continuing to

Quarrel in Council.

900—911
Singular
chasm in-
the mate-
rials of
French
history.

be cruelly infested by the Northmen; we only ^{888—912}
 guess at their devastations by the appearance of ^{900—911}
 public affairs: some insulated facts scantily en-
 abling us to feel our way until the voice of the
 witnesses is again heard. Charles had been
 living “gaily,” according to the common phrase:
 “dissolutely” would be less euphemistic, but
 more true. A wife or concubine dead or dis-
 carded had not given him any male issue; Gisella ⁹⁰⁷
 is considered to have been her daughter. Upon ^{Charles}
 the demand of his Proceres, anxious without ^{marries}
 doubt concerning the succession—for he was ^{Frederuna.}
 now (Vermandois being excluded) the only ac-
 knowledged throne-capable representative of
 Charlemagne—Charles therefore married: select-
 ing for his consort the noble damsel Frederuna,
 sister of Boso, Bishop of Chalons.

The parentage, nay, even the existence of
 Gisella, the state-offering to Rollo, has been
 treated as an important problem by recent French
 historians: they question her identity, her ex-
 istence, and we are therefore interested in
 Frederuna, whom some suppose to have been
 Gisella’s mother; but hardly any memorials exist
 in which this lady is named excepting the recitals
 testified by Charles in the Charter under his hand
 and seal, whereby he bestows on his Queen a
 somewhat scanty dowry, and the notices contained
 in certain other charters relating to her pious
 foundations—authentic evidence unquestionably,

888—912 yet meagre and jejune.—Consecrated and crowned
 at Rheims, Frederuna died about ten years after
 900—911 her marriage, and tradition pointed out her place
 of interment in the church of Saint-Remi, beneath
 the great corona-lucis, but undistinguished by
 any monument.

Herbert of
 Vermandois slain—
 succeeded
 by Herbert
 II. (See p.
 366.) Amongst the few reminiscences transmitted
 from this dim period, we learn the death of Her-
 bert of Vermandois. In fair and open warfare
 had the Seigneur of Peronne and Saint-Quentin
 slain Raoul of Cambrai, Baudouin-le-Chauve's
 brother: but a bitter feud arose. Herbert sought
 peace, Adeliza his daughter was betrothed to
 Arnoul, Baudouin's son, after him Count of Flan-
 ders, historically designated as Arnoul-le-Vieux,
 and lamentably conspicuous in Norman history;
 but no reconciliation ensued: and Count Herbert
 was massacred at the instigation of Baudouin,
 implacably avenging his brother's blood.

Herbert the second of Vermandois, who suc-
 ceeded his father, inherited and enlarged the
 dominions which imparted so much importance
 to the disinherited branch of the Carlovingian
 stem. Power, perverseness and activity, rendered
 this Herbert a participator in all political trou-
 bles so long as he lived. But the Capets were
 not to be stayed in their orbit; and Robert Duke
 of France, espousing Rothaida or Rothilda, dubi-
 ously connected with royalty, assumed a station
 in the realm inferior only to the king.

§ 16. Rollo returns from England, heading a gathering of warriors and soldiers, more ambitious, more strenuous, more determined than ever before.—Hitherto, renowned as Rollo had been, he did not appear predominant in the Danish host. Hitherto his fighting men had been accustomed to boast,—We are equal, we know no Seigneur;—but they now deferred the supreme authority to him, a king without a kingdom. Some of his squadron-crews were unquestionably Norskmén from Norway, others Anglo-Danes, Jutes, Englishmen :—whatever may have been the precise proportion of these national constituencies, the French were accustomed to call their language English; and it is remarkable, that the very scanty vestiges of their dialects preserved in local denominations, and in the single exclamatory phrase which we possess in Rollo's words, are rather Anglo-Teutonic in their sound.

The invaders extended themselves southward and northward. They plundered Aquitaine; the peasantry of the Gironde coast again pressed their grapes and filled their casks for the benefit of the guzzling Northmen. The Danish bands on the borders of the Loire received new accessions; but they prospered principally in the Seine territories, now so worn as to be in many parts completely waste and desolate, inviting a new population—Rouen, the ruined capital of a ruined country. Their occupation here was now rapidly

888—912

911

Rollo returns to the Gauls.

Increase of the Danish settlements.

888—912 } assuming the aspect of a permanent settlement ;
 911 } their dominion began to appear lawful. *It is
 nice to cut thongs out of other folks' hides.* The
 principles which, according to the ethics of civi-
 lization, justify or condemn the modes of exer-
 cising territorial acquisitiveness, are divided by
 boundary lines exquisitely fine, nay evanescent,
 when we attempt to discriminate between the
 moral right of the *squatter*, the *colonist*, and the
conqueror.—The Northman was all three com-
 bined.

The North-
 men and
 the Ro-
 mane popu-
 lation.

Whatever violence, fraud or injustice, had enabled the Northmen to gain possession of the Frankish territory, many of their children, being born of Romane mothers, were naturalized in the country ; and all, more or less, were conforming themselves to the nations amongst whom they were planted. Christianity made some progress amongst them, they affected the “civil-ity” and the usages of the Romanized populations. Amidst the tumults of the times, the ecclesiastical magistracy exerted their powers to mitigate hostility. Fulco, the murdered bishop of Rheims, had been succeeded by Hervé, a royal clerk, a chaplain of the Palace, mild, pious, benign, laborious and learned, and, as Primate of the Gauls, took earnest thought concerning the spiritual welfare of the Northmen. Not less earnest in the good cause was Witto or Guido, Archbishop of Rouen, an individual otherwise

wholly unknown; the like being the case with the greater number of the Neustrian and Armo-
 rican prelates during this calamitous era. The student opens the conscientious "Gallia Chris-
 tiana" for information; and he is answered by the Prelate's name, printed in capitals, mar-
 gined by hypothetical dates, and followed by a line of modest conjecture. Almost all ecclesiasti-
 cal documents perished during the invasions; and notwithstanding the labour bestowed by the in-
 defatigable Benedictines in compiling their excel-
 lent and, as yet, unrivalled repertory, they are
 compelled to acknowledge that even the chrono-
 logical succession of the ecclesiastical dignitaries
 cannot be determined with certainty.

888—912
 —————
 900—909
 Hervé
 Arch-
 bishop of
 Rheims
 (900—921),
 and Witto,
 or Guido,
 Archbishop
 of Rouen
 (892—909),
 labour for
 the conver-
 sion of the
 Northmen.

Idolatry—and ethnic usages—the sport or the festival, the funeral or the marriage, celebrated with antient rites, or contracted according to the antient dooms and laws of the Asi, which though not absolutely idolatrous, fostered idolatry—offered powerful obstacles to Christianity; but greater practically, were the difficulties occasioned by their adoption of an imperfect Christianity. Many of the Northmen, having been baptized and rebaptized, relapsed into their ancient superstitions: many of the Franks also, familiarized with the Danes, apostatized to their opinions and customs: cathedral chapters and monasteries had been in a great measure broken up or dispersed, and the priesthood driven away

888—912 or slain, save the few demoralized or degraded
 survivors.

900—909

These distressing perplexities were amongst the accustomed trials of the church. Analogous circumstances had produced analogous effects; they were no new things. Dismissing from consideration the apostolic era, the Church, acting through her organized hierarchy, had constantly and consistently striven against such evils, teaching as she had been taught, and thereby inured to the conflict. Each successive age enriched the treasury of experience: for in each successive age Councils, Popes and Fathers had adjudicated during similar exigencies; and the missionary saints, their lives and writings, afforded most instructive examples of the course to be pursued. From such materials, Archbishop Hervé, upon the request of Archbishop Guido, compiled a pastoral monition, containing twenty-three Chapters or heads of instruction, which he transmitted to the Prelate of Rouen for his guidance in labouring amongst the rude population of his diocese.

900—905
 Archbishop
 Hervé's
 pastoral
 monition.

900
 Pope John
 IX. his
 advice to
 Abp.
 Hervé.

Be mild, be considerate, be sparing of our weaker brethren, had been the advice given by the Supreme Pontiff, whose affectionate counsel guided the archbishop:—no novelties are propounded, no striking facts disclosed, yet the homiletic epistle, by declaring the errors which the teachers had to combat, and the exigencies they were required to meet, conveys a clearer idea

of the Danish mind than the vague Chronicle language. 888—912
911

§ 17. The Church thus working to procure peace, Charles was encouraged to resume the policy, which, under another aspect, Fulco had so strenuously condemned. The long-continued invasions had rendered the country extremely miserable: whole districts were thrown out of cultivation; and the complaints of the people excited the King to attempt a remedy for the prevailing evils.

Rollo ruled in Rouen. Franco, who became Archbishop after Guido, acknowledged the Dane as Senior or Lord, and Charles, the Archbishop mediating, concluded a three months' truce with Rollo, contemplating, (as evinced by subsequent events,) a cession of Neustrian territory. Among the Magnates of the Franks, there were, however, those who considered such pacific overtures as a national degradation: national pride was provoked by national weakness; and, the truce having expired, Richard-le-Justicier, Count or Duke of Burgundy, and Ebles the Mamzer, Count of Poitou, assembling their forces, attacked the Dane.

Rollo was exceedingly angered. Did the Frenchmen hold him cheap? he would make them feel his power,—challenged, he accepted the challenge: he determined to punish the country, and an exterminating war was renewed.

888—912 Rollo marched into Burgundy and plundered
 beyond Sens; his barges also entering the Seine
 911—912 from the Yonne, and combining with his land-
 forces, spread up the country, which they burnt
 and ravaged as far as Clermont in the Beauvoisis.
 Dudon relates the campaign's details with sin-
 gular precision. They must have been well re-
 collected in Rollo's family, for we can trace his
 route upon the map by and through the towns
 and rivers which Dudo enumerates. The desolat-
 ing host visited Fleury on the Loire, the monas-
 tery so venerated in the Anglo-Saxon Church,
 bearing Saint Benedict's name, and honoured
 by his mortal remains translated from distant
 Monte-Cassino: but a compunctious feeling in-
 duced Rollo to spare the Sanctuary. These slight
 touches enable us to estimate his character;—
 good temper, humanity, and perhaps Christian
 instruction already slightly received, or some fear
 of supernatural vengeance, contending against the
 interests and passions fostered by the vocation of
 the conquering pirate.

The Danes then occupied the opposite bank
 of the Seine, pillaged Etampes, an ancient and
 splendid palace—thence to Villemeux near Dreux,
 and threatened Paris.

Chartres,
 supported
 by the
 Frankish
 command-
 ers, pre-
 pares for
 defence.

Rendered desperate by their sufferings, the
 peasantry assembled tumultuously against the
 Danes. Rollo's light cavalry massacred the churls,
 and he then occupied the Dunois and the Pays-

Chartrain.—Chartres, impoverished and wasted ^{888—912} by the Danish hordes, was governed by bishop ⁹¹¹ Walthelm, the city well fortified, and the inhabitants stoutly determined upon resistance. The cathedral contained and yet contains a remarkable relic, a delicate silken web of Byzantine or oriental manufacture, fondly supposed to be the Holy Virgin's garment. The people confiding in her protection, prepared themselves for the peril, whilst Robert duke of France, Richard of Burgundy, and Ebles the Mamzer, the three great Frankish commanders, had, upon the approach of the Danes, mustered before the walls. A portion of Rollo's forces encamped upon a hill, the Mont-Levis, north of the city. The remainder of the Danish troops continued stationed in the plain.

On Saturday the twentieth day of July, a day celebrated at Chartres even until the Revolution, the combined Frankish and Burgundian forces gave battle to the Northmen; the townsmen at the same time sallying forth, bearing the relic as their banner. Rollo and his forces were shamefully routed, smitten, as the legend tells, with corporeal blindness. A panic fear assuredly fell upon the heroic commander, a species of mental infirmity discernible in his descendants: the contagious terror unnerved the host. Unpursued, they dispersed and fled without resistance. Six thousand eight hundred Danish corpses were counted on the field, and the name of the *Pré*

20 July,
911.

Battle of
Chartres.
Panic of
Rollo and
the North-
men.

888—912 *des Reculés*,—just without the *Porte Drouaise*,
 the gate leading to Dreux,—commemorates the
 911—912 raising of the siege and the delivery of Chartres.

The Danes
 recover
 from their
 panic, and
 storm the
 French
 camp.

Thanks to the imprudence of their enemies, the Danes immediately regained the superiority which they had lost without a cause: the Count of Poitou, Ebles the Mamzer, lagging behind, had not arrived opportunely to take his due share in the conflict. The Franks and Burgundians, glorying in their successes, mocked Ebles and his Poitevins: a foolish quarrel and foolish boastings ensued, and the Poitevins were scornfully told by their rivals in their own camp, that there were Danes enough remaining upon the Mont-Levis to try their metal—they might redeem their honour if they chose. Ebles accepted the challenge; but the Danes, advantaged by their position, repelled the Poitevins with great loss. In the dark of the night, the Northmen, sounding their horns and making a terrible clamour, rushed down the mount and stormed the Frankish camp. Ebles ran away and concealed himself in a fuller's workshop,—his recreancy was derided in popular ballads, which continued current (as it should seem) till the Plantagenet age:

*“ Vers en firent e estraboz
 U out assez de vileins mox.”*

and the Danes, the Frankish army being dispersed, rejoined Rollo.

The defeat of the Danes before Chartres, though

worthily deemed a local triumph, was an incident without any importance in the general fortunes of the campaign, except that, on the whole, the outburst of the Mont-Levis encouraged the Northmen.

The Danes pursued their warfare with systematic pertinacity, the French were pressed harder than ever; all now agreed in the necessity of a pacification: and a negotiation was opened on the part of King Charles, mainly conducted by Robert Capet.—Duke Robert was indeed the principal in these transactions. Any cession made to the Danes in Neustria would be at his expence, for he asserted a superiority, positive, though undefined, over all the dominions between Seine and Loire, and unless Duke Robert assented, no compact could be concluded. Many *pour-parlers* and propositions took place and were exchanged. On and off, Rollo had been in France during the greater part of his active life, fighting, negotiating, receiving French money: he knew the country and people well, the terms he should demand and the propositions he should reject; and he was resolved to secure a settlement in a territory where he might establish his future power.

§ 18. At length the conference took place on the left or eastern bank of the shallow gliding Epte, Charles occupying the little town of Saint-Clair. On the right or western bank stood Rollo, assisted and advised by Franco, Archbishop of Rouen,—he whom the Norman reminiscences

888—912

}

911—912

Charles determines to negotiate with Rollo.

911.
The conference of St. Clair-sur-Epte.

888—912
 911—912

confused with Franco Bishop of Liege, the counsellor of Charles-le-Chauve,—and surrounding and supporting Rollo were the eagerly expectant groups, chieftains and soldiers, old men, young men and growing boys, amongst whom the fragments of historical traditions enable us to discern some few ancestors of Normandy's stalwart aristocracy, the Danish men who had accompanied the prosperous warrior, sharing his fortunes or his dangers.

The fol-
 lowers of
 Rollo.

Numerous were Rollo's kith and kin. The names of two may be recalled,—*Gerlo*, who held the County of Blois, and *Huldrich* or *Malahulc*, the uncle of Rollo.—This Malahulc was the ancestor of a widely-spread noble sept, chief amongst whom were the renowned Houses of Conches and Toeny.

Botho, the well-trusted veteran, founded the opulent family of Tesson. According to popular etymology, a natural amusement of the human mind, the Tessons obtained their surname, "the badger," from their peculiar talent of burrowing or fixing their claws wherever they could gain possession: a significant if not a noble epithet.—"La-Roche-Tesson,"—it was also a common saying,— "holds one-third of broad Normandy: one-third of Normandy belongs to La-Roche-Tesson."

Near to Botho stands *Bernard the Dane*: supported by his son *Torf*; and eight or more

seignorial towns tell by their present names that Torf was their former Lord. Lofty were the banners raised by the Dane Bernard's progeny amongst the baronial blazonry of Normandy and of England;—the Harcourts displaying their cheering motto, *Le bon temps viendra*;—and Beaumont Earl of Mellent and Beaumont Earl of Warwic, Beaumont Earl of Leicester and Beaumont Earl of Bedford, and Tancreville, and Gournay, Aumalle, Elbeuf, and Eu, and more than we have room to reckon, all claim Bernard as their ancestor.

888—912
 911—912
 Bernard
 the Dane
 and his
 descend-
 ants.

Oslac or *Auslac*, his name misread or euphonized into the form of “Lancelot,” consorts with Bernard.—*Oslac*’s son *Thurstan* assumed the territorial denomination of “*Tourstain de Bastenbourg*.” From *Thurstan* came the Seigneurs of *Briquebec*, or *Birkbeck*, and the Counts of *Montfort-sur-Rille*.


Osfrid was the ancestor of *Hugh Lupus*, Earl of *Chester*. *Riulph*, rich and powerful in *Evreux*, became also Count of the *Côtentin*; and one more may be recognized, *Osmund*, from whom descended the family of *Osmond-de-Centvilles*; they who give the bearing also appertaining to the illustrious *Seymours*,—the *Vol*,—the wings displayed, the hieroglyphic significantly recalling the achievement which, preserving the liberty or life of *Rollo*’s grandchild, has entitled *Osmund* to so conspicuous a station in Norman history.

888—912
 911—912
 911.
 "Treaty"
 of Saint
 Clair-sur-
 Epte.

§ 19. The transactions ensuing are usually quoted as constituting the treaty of Saint Clair-sur-Epte, a designation somewhat inappropriate, inasmuch as the term "treaty" conveys the idea of a diplomatic instrument, to which the parties could appeal with certainty. This, however, was not the case. It is the cardinal fact in Norman history, that the Normans, during the period comprehended in the reigns of the first two Dukes or *Seniors*, never employed the art of writing in their political or legal transactions—the State was, in practice, absolutely illiterate—and the particulars of this celebrated compact can only be collected from oral traditions, not reduced into writing until Dudon de Saint-Quentin, the first historian of Normandy, took up the pen, and inscribed the first pages of her history.

The Franks
 urgent for
 peace.

When Charles concluded his three months' truce with Rollo, we have seen that the Franks were indignant at the compromise; but their pride was brought low, and they thronged upon their monarch to conciliate the dreaded Dane. Archbishop Franco, again mediating between the parties, but more immediately concerned for Rollo, employed all his influence. . State-marriages had been long considered as a legitimate mode of advancing the royal interest; and the advisers of Charles urged him to give a daughter in marriage to the Dane, the damsel Gisella. Charles assented, but Rollo did not glow towards the

Princess; he had his own *bonne-amie*, he cared 888—912
 nothing for Gisella. The old Soldier held out 
 with obstinate tranquillity against the praises 911—912
 bestowed by Archbishop Franco upon Gisella's
 beauty and procerity, accompanied by a full
 exposition of the advantages he would derive
 from the alliance; but the Frankish counsellors
 insisted: the Danish chieftains also strongly
 supported the proposition:—would not Rollo,
 through Gisella, become the father of a right royal
 progeny?—Thus courted and exhorted, Rollo
 agreed to accept the damsel's hand: his coy
 assent to the alliance being accompanied by a
 demand for a competent dowry.

Gisella
 given in
 marriage
 to Rollo.

Such a request had, of course, been antici- Offer made
 pated, yet considerable difficulties arose. When by the
 Charles was required to define and complete the French.
 covenant which should establish the Dane in
 Gaul, imparting a legal title to the acquisitions
 the Northmen had made upon the banks of the
 Seine, and settling them in the heart of the
 Frankish kingdom, he became jealous for his
 own dignity, and would fain have avoided fulfil-
 ling his own designs. He therefore endeavoured
 to restrict the donation to the narrowest bounds,
 and to part with no more than what he had
 already lost. Rouen, or the heap of ruins which
 constituted Rouen, could not be taken from
 Rollo: who could unlock his grasp? Osker had
 discovered the city for the Danes, and their suc-

888—912 } cessive occupations and invasions had kept up
 911—912 } their continual claim : the treaty with Charles-
 le-Chauve recognized their domination ; Charles
 his grandson was willing to declare that the
 desolated tracts about the ruined Rouen, un-
 stocked by the herdsmen, untilled by the plough,
 might belong to Rollo.

Cession
 made to
 Rollo com-
 prehending
 the district
 known as
 "Haute
 Norman-
 die."

But even the French King's counsellors sup-
 ported Rollo in rejecting this insufficient and
 almost affronting offer. Rollo must have where-
 withal he and his men can live—if Rollo and
 his men do not receive their needs, they must
 help themselves, of necessity, by robbing and
 reiving. The demand propounded by Rollo was
 large and ambiguous : from the banks of the
 Epte, whereon they stood, even until the sea.—
 To that demand an ample concession was reluct-
 antly yielded, a territory including those districts
 of the Duchy afterwards known as *la haute*
Normandie, to wit, the territory of the antient
 Caleti, the *Pays de Caux*, together with the
Comté d'Eu and the *Pays de Brai*, between
 the Brêle and the Seine—the *Roumois*, or Pagus
Rothomagensis, whose boundaries are the An-
 delle and the Rille,—and the *Vexin Normand*,
 or so much of the Pagus *Veliocassinus* as is
 included between that same Andelle and the
 Epte, which, rising near Bolbec, runs by Gisors,
 and falls into the Seine between Mantes and
 Vernon. There are few countries in which the

artificial or political demarcations are so neatly marked out by rivers and rivulets as Normandy; the streams forming convenient natural divisions, which, guiding the aboriginal inhabitants in their settlements, were permanently adopted in the civil and ecclesiastical repartitions of the country. The remainder of the Pagus Velicassinus, retained by Charles, acquired the name of the *Vexin Français*, and became a source of much trouble between France and Normandy. In the contest to gain or regain this border-land, William the Conqueror received the injury which brought him to the grave.

888—912
 911—912

But the terms of Rollo's asking, from the Epte to the sea, warranted the extension of the Danish dominion to the Atlantic. Charles would have preferred to send Rollo in the opposite direction, and offered him Flanders,—*ut ex ea viveret*—he would provide occupation for his son-in-law as far away as he could. Flanders proper, as we know, was now held by her own sturdy Count, Baudouin-le-Chauve, and Flanders was not the King's to give;—but probably under this familiar and colloquial term, Friezland was the country intended.

Discussions
 concerning
 the cession
 of territory.

The acute Rollo declined the proposition. Why should he resume his fight against the Frisons to win their swamps and marshes? Frisia was an ill-fated country for the Northmen: none had prospered there. Charles was contented to com-

Britanny
 granted to
 Rollo.

888—912 } promise by conferring another dominion upon
 911—912 } Rollo, which the Crown of France had virtually
 abandoned, Armorica, and whatever other territories such a royal grant might include, or enable Rollo to acquire. The Armorican Marches were already largely in the possession of the Northmen, and whether these Northmen would obey Rollo or not, he was well satisfied to accept whatever authority the grant might convey.

Rollo performs homage to King Charles.

§ 20. The dominion thus determined, Rollo, obeying the directions given by the Frankish counsellors, placed his hands between the hands of the king, and became the King's man; such an act as never had been performed by Rollo's father, or Rollo's grandfather, or Rollo's great-grandfather before him. Therefore from the king he received his investiture—the appointed land to be held *in alodo et in fundo*, and all Brittany: the land from the Epte to the sea. A custom subsisted in the Carlovingian court, that whoever asked or received any boon from royalty, kissed the sovereign's knee or buskin, in token of grateful humility. This mode of obeisance had no relation to "feudalism."—*La bouche et les mains* sufficed; merely as "Senior," the king could require no more; but the ceremony of *adoration* was a very ancient and universal mode of testifying subjection, and was rendered without difficulty by any suppliant for grace and favour. The incident would scarcely require much notice,

were it not for the dogged illiberality which has converted the usage into an accusation against the Bishops, who are charged with having introduced the practice for the purpose of humiliating the temporal nobility.

888—912

911—912

The demand, however, though accustomed, affronted Rollo, who indignantly refused—*ne si by Got*,—was his exclamation. The Franks insisting upon conformity, Rollo surlily consented that his proxy should render the worship claimed for the King, and Charles, as is well known, was rudely thrown backwards by the Danish soldier. Norman arrogance,—such as was displayed when Rollo's descendant, Robert-le-Diable, the conqueror's father, bullied the throne of the Eastern Emperor,—may perhaps be considered as confirming the story; and if it be not true, the family were proud of an insult fabled to have been offered to the French sovereign, which amounts to nearly the same thing.

Rollo refuses to kiss the King's foot.

A remarkable assurance given by Charles and his legislature to Rollo, (almost unnoticed by historians,) completed the cession.—King Charles and Duke Robert, and the Counts and the Proceres, the Bishops and the Abbots, promised to be faithful to the Patrician Rollo in life and limb, and the honour of the realm; and that the territory, as he held and possessed the same, should pass to his heirs and descendants from generation to generation for ever;

The assurance given to Rollo by King Charles, Duke Robert, &c.

888—912 and, the transactions concluded, Charles returned
 home, and Duke Robert and Archbishop Franco
 911—912 remained with Rollo.

Uncer-
 tainty as to
 the extent
 of the Feu-
 dal Suzer-
 ainty of
 the Crown
 of France.

§ 21. Thus was the Dane installed in the
 “Terra Northmannorum.”—What are the evi-
 dences declaring the relations subsisting between
 the Frankish Sovereign and the Norman chief?
 Over-loyal jurists have dreamed of letters patent
 issued by Charles-le-Simple, his great seal pendent
semé de fleurs de lis sans nombre. Others assert
 that Rollo accepted the country as a fief, recogniz-
 ing the sovereignty of the Carlovingian Crown.—
 When our first Edward proceeded to claim the
 rights which, as he alleged, resulted from the
 Scottish subjection, he produced some muniments
 from his treasury; but the proofs of the superi-
 ority of the English Crown, could not from their
 nature, be perfected otherwise than by connecting
 them with the testimony afforded by the chro-
 nicles of past times. These were not preserved
 amongst the records of the realm, and could only
 be found in ecclesiastical libraries. The English
 Sovereign therefore addressed his writs to the
 cathedrals and principal monasteries throughout
 England, commanding each Dean and chapter,
 Abbot, Prior and convent, to make search a-
 mongst their archives for all matters relating to
 Scotland, and to transmit the same to the king
 under their common seals; and the certificates
 transmitted accordingly, are still extant. Truth

was asked, truth was told, and due diligence employed by the plaintiff in the great Scottish cause.

888—912

912

Philippe-Auguste, asserting his “feudal-rights” over Normandy, and pronouncing sentence of forfeiture against John Lackland, did not direct any such search to be instituted; but we in a manner have done so; and in other portions of this work the reader will find extracted every existing text bearing upon the Norman question, by which his judgment may be guided. In the present instance, it is sufficient to state that Charles construed the cession to “Rollo” and his Counts, the “Northmen of the Seine,” as having been made *pro tutela regni*, whereas the same body of Norman Counts, in the time of Rollo’s grandson, Richard Sans-peur, boldly told the Carlovingian Monarch, “Duke Richard governs the Norman region as a king: he serves neither king nor duke, and owns no superior under Heaven.” Or, adopting the phraseology which gives such poetic force to the traditionary jurisprudence of the Teutonic races, they asserted that he held Normandy as a *Sonnen-Lehn*—“from God and the Sun.”

Denial of
the supremacy of
France by
the Normans.

§ 22. A confused, but very remarkable narration, compiled soon after the accession of Hugh Capet, would lead us to suppose that, hostilities having recommenced between Rollo and the Franks, the Northmen refused to accept Christianity until their conversion was enforced by Robert Capet’s prowess. It is quite impracticable

888—912
 912

to marshal the evidence satisfactorily. Nor can we dismiss an awkward suspicion, suggested by the Frankish chronicles, that Rollo, when he treated at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, was well known to Charles as a relapsed Pagan. Dudon de Saint-Quentin gives us no such hint: but we may excuse Rollo's descendants if they forgot any circumstances derogatory to the reputation of their great ancestor. His history is perplexing from beginning to end; the fragmentary and often contradictory statements which furnish much matter for critical—and perhaps tediously unprofitable—discussion, cannot by any means be all included in one consistent or coherent narrative. Any how the formal reception of Christianity by Rollo was retarded until the subsequent year. Robert Duke of France appeared as his sponsor, and, at the font, the name of Robert was given to the Dane. Dudon de Saint-Quentin denominates the hero by his baptismal appellation; and such may have been the courtly style; but the old Norsk name, the name which had honoured him in youth and in age, was alone recognized by the world; the world will ever know him as Rollo.

912
 Rollo bap-
 tized at
 Rouen.

Rollo signalized his baptism by donations to the Church; the Archbishop directed his bounty; and each of the seven days which elapsed whilst Rollo-Robert wore the white chrisma vestment (perhaps not for the first time) the catechumen

displayed some token of his liberality. On the first day, Notre-Dame of Rouen was compensated for the territories which the See had lost.— Saint-Exupere, of Bayeux, smarting under the wounds the Dane had inflicted, was aided on the second.—Dilapidated Saint-Taurin, at Evreux, on the third.—On the fourth, the Celtic Cell, the rock-sanctuary of Saint Michael, well denominated *in periculo maris*, received a grant, and the Archangel was adopted as the tutelary patron of the Northmen.—On the fifth, Saint-Ouen, then without the city boundary.—On the sixth, Jumièges, where the scared monks crouched in huts and hovels amidst the walls of the fire-scathed fabric.—Lastly, on the seventh, royal Saint-Denis obtained Brenneval, whose field was destined to become so mournfully memorable in the pages of Norman history.

888—912

912

Rollo's
donations
to the Nor-
man
church.

§ 23. A formal repartition of the ceded territory ensued, chieftains and soldiery taking or retaining their shares. The Carlovingian title of *Count* was adopted by the Leaders according to the natural course of events; for, without any effort, Rollo and the Romanized Danes conformed to the ethos of the Carlovingian monarchy. Listening to tradition, and repeating the only words we can use in the total absence of any deed or of any coeval testimony, the lands were divided by the *rope*, or according to measurement. Rollo's grandchildren were thus accustomed to describe the

Reparti-
tion of the
Terra Nor-
mannorum.

888—912 act of their ancestor, “*Illam terram suis fidelibus*
 ————— *funiculos divisit.*”—The *reebning*, or mensuration
 912 by the rope or line, supplied the technical term
 Norman of *hrepp* to the glossary of Scandinavian legis-
 measure- lation: archæologists have therefore pronounced
 ments, an opinion that the *Rapes* of Sussex, the divisions
 ranging from the Channel shore to the *Suthrige*
 border, were, according to Norwegian fashion,
 thus plotted out by the Conqueror.

We also find in England, more certainly bor-
 rowed from Normandy, the *leucata*, or *lony*, a
 circuit averaging a customary league in diameter,
 surrounding certain castles or towns, marking out
 the extent of jurisdiction.—In these examples,
 the *line* was unquestionably employed; yet the
 ancient landmarks, such as existed in the Gallo-
 Roman period, seem to have been rarely dis-
 turbed. The Pagus became a Bailliage, or a
 County, and the ambit of a Villa, a township or
 a seignory. Except during the heat and fury
 of conquest, the peasantry, the descendants of
 the ancient *coloni*, were not evicted by the Danes,
 but continued to dwell on the land they tilled, as
 is fully evinced by the preponderance of the
 Romane dialect.—The conquerors however gave
 the widest construction to the law of property:
 air, water and earth, were all to be theirs, fowl,
 fish, and beast of chase, where the arrow could
 fly, the dog could draw, or the net could fall—
 sportsmen, huntsmen, the Danish lords appro-

Peasantry,
 not evicted
 by the
 Danes.

priated to themselves all woodland and water, 888—912
 copse and grove, river, marsh and mere. Their
 usurpation of the rights previously enjoyed in 912
 common occasioned in the days of Rollo's great-
 grandson a fearful rebellion; and the spirit of
 the forest-laws, the pregnant source of misery to
 Old England, has perhaps acquired additional
 bitterness in our present age; we retain the evil,
 whilst our pariahs have lost the compensations
 which mitigated mediæval tyranny.

Rollo is said to have introduced an harmonious and perfect system of *feudality*, methodizing the laws and usages of tenure as they prevailed elsewhere, and profiting by all the improvements which experience had suggested.—
 His legislative talent (it is thus supposed) gave one origin to all rights of property, imparting to feudality a regularity hitherto unknown; and this Province, the most modern in Gaul, became a model for all others.—

“Fendal system”
 supposed by
 Siamondi,
 &c. to have
 been intro-
 duced by
 Rollo—
 doubts as
 to this
 opinion.

Such are the observations entitled to respect on account of the authority whence they proceed; and the theory thus enounced is incorporated, so to speak, in the *textus receptus* of Norman history; but, however recommended by simplicity, and conformable to our general prepossessions, the support of any evidence whatever is absolutely wanting. Not a single Norman deed or muniment, grant or charter, signed or unsigned, sealed or unsealed, can be found until

^{888—912}
⁹¹² the reign of Richard Sans-peur; and then very rarely—a dearth contrasting singularly with the diplomatic opulence of Anglo-Saxon England. The lieger-books of the Norman monasteries, anterior to the reign of William the Bastard, scarcely contain a document of importance: and, whilst we possess full information concerning the Anglo-Saxon tenures of land previous to Duke William's conquest of our country, we know absolutely nothing concerning the parallel circumstances of his own Normandy. The legitimate boundaries of historical doubt are therefore not over-stepped, if we consider the invention of the full "*feudal system*" by Rollo exercising the plenitude of his power, as a legal fiction in the most extensive sense of the term. Nay, it remains to be proved whether any system of Norman tenure had been matured into consistency by fiscal talent until after the seventh Duke of Normandy won the Anglo-Saxon Crown.

Was the
 system of
 tenures in
 Normandy
 older than
 the Con-
 queror?

§ 24. Rollo assimilated himself to the Roman modes of thought, art, and action, in all the concerns of human life or society. He caused the dilapidated towns and cities to be rebuilt: Rouen and her Cathedral demanded his primary care. Zealous antiquarians, kneeling on the pavement, and closely examining the basement courses of the northernmost tower, the *Tour de Saint-Romain*, decide that the masonry belonged to the original structure. There is a crypt, possibly of

the Roman Christian period, beneath the Church of Saint-Gervais; and Saint-Ouen displays, as it is thought, a portion of the Merovingian choir. With some such few exceptions, all the sacred edifices were reconstructed by or under the influence of Rollo.

888—912

Rouen :
Rollo's enlargement
of the City
and other
works
therein.

Ancient Rothomagus was refounded by the city's Danish Lord. Embankments and trenches restrained or absorbed the idle waste of waters : where Rollo found islands he left dry land, the channels were obliterated ; and the rocks, at whose foot, when he first entered Rouen, he staid his vessel's course, buried in the causeway. The *terres-neuves*, the land regained by the works which Rollo executed, doubled the size of the renovated metropolis. The whole was re-fortified, and the great castle, afterwards called the Vieux Palais, erected by Rollo. Every vestige of this building has perished ; and our curiosity is vainly excited by the notice that an *Alfred*, whoever he may have been, gave his name to one of the towers. Henceforward Rouen grew from age to age : successive sovereigns—Richard-sans-peur, Philippe-Auguste, Saint-Louis and Philippe-de-Valois,—enlarged the circuit. Suburbs and outlying villages were embraced by the expanding walls and ramparts ; and, counting Rollo's as the second, six new and concentric enceintes during the *ancien regime* encreased the flourishing city ; the area which they enclosed being now quadrupled within the boundary of the existing Octroi.

The Vieux
Palais, *Alfred's*
tower.

888—912

The three
Legends of
Rollo the
lawgiver.

§ 25. The reputation of Rollo the legislator
vied with the reputation of Rollo the conqueror;
and in the old time, three popular legends pecu-
liarly commemorated his love of justice.

Legend I,
the *Clameur de Haro*.

It was a "wise custom" in Normandy, established by Rollo's decree, that whoever sustained or feared to sustain any damage of goods or chattels, life or limb, was entitled to raise the country by the cry of *haro*, or *harou*, upon which cry all the lieges were bound to join in pursuit of the offender, *Harou! Ha Raoul!*—justice invoked in Duke Rollo's name. Whoever failed to aid, made fine to the Sovereign; whilst a heavier mulct was consistently inflicted upon the mocker who raised the *clameur de haro* without due and sufficient cause, a disturber of the commonwealth's tranquillity.

Legend II,
the *Roumare*.

Strict and severe, yet mild and equitable, was Rollo in the punishment of violence or wrong. In his time, the rivulet of Bapaume which falls into the Seine nearly opposite to Queville, expanded into a Lake or Mere in the centre of a pleasant forest; but Mere and forest have long since vanished amidst the fabrics which cover the country about the prosperous city, or have yielded to the spread of cultivation. Here Rollo was accustomed to take his pleasure, and it chanced that one day, after his sport, he and his companions having sat down to their banquet, the cloth spread upon the grass, the thought came across Rollo's mind that he would

measure the effect of his ordinances by exposing his people to temptation. Therefore, unclasping his bracelets, the well-known signs of his dignity, he suspended the golden circles to the branch of a tree, to be guarded only by the terror of his name.—When he returned, three years afterwards, there were the bracelets still pendant, untouched, unharmed, glittering in the sun; and thenceforth was the Mere called the *Rounnare*, the Mere of *Rou* or Rollo. 888—912

Rollo peculiarly sought to protect the husbandman. In the open field, by night or by day, plough and oxen, fork and harrow, stock and gear, were watched by the law; if loss were sustained, the Sovereign, taking the neglect upon himself, would indemnify the loser. Now there was a certain rustic in the village of Long-paon, who had an ill-conditioned wife, and he knew it, who, secreting harness and ploughshare for the purpose in the first instance of teasing her husband, enabled him to receive compensation for the damage he had not sustained.—Wife and husband were hanged; but, excusing the reader the details of an uncouth story, Rollo's stern decision savours more of harshness than of equity. Legend III,
the rustic
of Long-
paon.

§ 26. As cumulative proofs that the ancient legislation of the Terra Normannorum was purely oral and traditional, these three legends have their value: they display in some degree the practice, and in a greater degree the spirit of the Northman's law; but their verity would scarcely Examina-
tion of the
three legal
legends.

888—912

The *clameur de Haro*, the English hue and cry.

deserve examination had they not been accepted as portions of Rollo's historical character.—The *clameur de Haro* is the English system of hue and cry. The old English exclamation *Harrou!*—our national vernacular *Hurrah!* being only a variation thereof—is identical with the supposed invocation of the Norman chieftain; and the usage, suggested by common sense, prevailed under various modifications throughout the greater part of the *Pays Coutumier* of France.

The legend of the *Roumare*, common to many countries.

With respect to the suspended bracelets, Benoit de Saint-More, the Anglo-Norman Trouveur who versified the Latin chronicle, records, though he rejects, the more vulgar notion, that the *Roumare*, the "*Red Mere*," was so called from the good red-wine which sportive Rollo's revelling bravery poured into the blushing waters. But the truth of the anecdote, if any argument were needed, is destroyed by its universality. Travelling from Rouen to Caen, the pilgrim would meet another *Mare-des-anneaux*, and a third at Caen, near the site where Queen Matilda founded her abbey. The tale is echoed in England, Ireland, Denmark, and Lombardy. Alfred, Brian-Boroimhe, Frotho, and Theodoric the Ostrogoth, are all respectively commemorated as having tried the efficacy of their social policy by the same test; the myth being the symbol in which the people embodied their recollections of the confidence reposed in the administration of the laws.

The rustic tragedy of Long-paon has more

individuality. The general principle upon which the case is grounded conforms to the jurisprudence of the Scandinavians, amongst whom the members of the community were knitted together by the closest social bonds. The husbandman, if his own hinds failed him, could demand the gratuitous assistance of his fellow-yeomen in gathering his harvest: and with solemn earnestness the law proclaimed that the crop open to the trespasser and unwatched by the master, was under God's lock, heaven for the roof, though but the hedge for the wall. The pilferer who plucked the growing ears from the stalk incurred a grievous penalty; whilst the rapacious thief who stole the ripe corn out of the field, binding his burthen and bearing it into his own barn, forfeited his life and all his fee: and the hard if not unmerciful judgment of Rollo, is susceptible of numerous parallels. But it is a dream to accept the assertion that Rollo instituted a regular code.—The *Grand Coutumier* is comparatively of recent date. The customs of Normandy were not reduced into writing until after the Duchy was lost to Rollo's progeny.

888—912
The Long-
paon le-
gend—its
conformity
to Scandi-
navian ju-
rispru-
dence.

§ 27. The Pictish language has scarcely disappeared more thoroughly from Scotland, than the Danish from the Terra Normannorum. What was the speech of the pirates and the pagans?—Rollo is speaking English, said the courtiers of king Charles, when he astounded them by

Extinction
of the Da-
nish lan-
guage in
Normandy.

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 912 refusing to perform the Court ceremony: but this term might be applied to any Anglo-Danish dialect of Northumbria or East-Anglia, or any other German-sounding language.

Vestiges of
 the Danish
 language in
 Norman to-
 pography.

Of the Northman's speech we possess no example excepting the exclamation of Rollo—no rhyme, no proverb, no legal formula, no magical charm. Let the lexicographer search for any trace of Dansk or Norsk in the Norman French, and how will his search be rewarded? The "Norman of the Normans," Montgomery, could not have quoted a Dansk word: the Norman Jurist can find none in his *Sages Coutumes*. But language adheres to the soil when the lips which spake are resolved in the dust. Mountains repeat and rivers murmur the voices of nations denationalized or extirpated in their own land. Norman topography, local or provincial, therefore, becomes our only resource: the map discloses the tokens, if tokens they be, of Scandinavianism, wholly absent from the Glossary.—The *Holegate*, or *Houlgat*, at Hermoustier and Granville and Cormelles, and most particularly at Caen, where the road so called passed between the excavated rock;—the *Dérnethal* and the *Depedal*,—may respectively be construed into the *Hoehlegasse*, the *Hollowgate*, the *Derndale* and the *Deepdale*, without any difficulty. Places in whose denomination the syllable *del*, *dale* or *thal* is found to enter, abound in Normandy. There

are fifty or more *dells*, *dals* or *tals*, in the Bessin. 888—912
912

The term so familiar as an affix, the well-known Danish "*Bye*," a dwelling, an abiding place, a word which in other northern forms, or in Norsk, is spelt *boe*, *böjgd*, or *bygd*, occurs, though variously disguised, in a large proportion of Norman names—*Elbœuf* and *Belbœuf* and *Marbœuf*, and *Bourguebuf*, and *Carquebuf*, and *Tournebue*, are examples.

Names denoting the running water, the *beck*, *bek* or *bach*, are scattered in good number all over Normandy.—*Beaubeck*, and *Briquebec*, and *Caldebec*, and *Foulbec*, and *Houlbec*, the pleasant brook or the birch-fringed brook, or the cool rivulet, or the mud-stained rivulet, or the streamlet in the hollow channel.—*Fisigard* and *Auppegard* and *Epegard*, the Fishyard, and the Applegarth or Appleyard, hardly need a translation.—*Toft*, somewhat varied into *tot*, is tolerably common: the kingdom of *Yvetot*, Yvo's toft, is an illustrious example; and *bosc* or *busk*, the bush or the wood, abounds.

All these, with many others, are claimed as vestiges of the Northmen's occupancy, plausibly and possibly, yet not certainly—they may be no such. In the detritus of languages, covering the Northern Gauls, the crystals are so rounded and smoothed, that it is very difficult to pronounce with absolute precision on their primitive form;

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Danish language extinguished by the preponderant influence of the Romano-French language.

and we believe that amongst the Teutonic vocables which may be adduced, the greater majority possess an even chance of belonging to any of the Frankish, Alemannic, Belgic, Anglian or Saxon dialects. At all events, we may expect a due proportion of the latter, seeing that the Saxons of the Bessin, the *Otlingua-Saxonica*, had been established on the channel-coast centuries before the arrival of Rollo. But, in point of fact, the Danish language was never prevalent or strong in Normandy. The Northmen had long been talking themselves into Frenchmen; and in the second generation, the half-caste Northmen, the sons of French wives and French concubines, spoke the *Romane-French* as their mothers' tongue.

Romano-Danish names of places.

Norman chorography, to which we have appealed as the record of Northmanism, displays convincingly the general acceptance of the *Romane-French* by the Danish settlers. In England, where the Danes did unquestionably retain their language for a lengthened period, they generally compounded their local denominations out of a Danish proper name and a Danish or Anglo-Saxon noun. The *lurdanes* prided themselves in giving their names to their possessions. Asker called his Township *Askarby*, Ketil, *Kettleby*; and Clapa's heim, or *Clapham*, Osgod Clapa's home, is a very familiar example of the practice; but in Normandy, the Danes very often took the opposite

direction, compounding their local denominations 888—912
 out of a Danish proper name and a Romane noun.
 —*Gremonville, Tourville, Toufreville, Tancarville, Haqueville, Toustainville*, prove incontestably that *Gormund* and *Torf* and *Thorolf* and *Tancred* and *Haco* and *Thurstan* settled themselves as French nobles in the country.—The gallicized appellations thus bestowed upon their Seigneuries rendered them more kindly; the adoption of the French language conciliating the unpleasant foreign aspect of the Lords, and giving them more gentility. In the cities, Bayeux only excepted, hardly any language but French was spoken. Forty years after Rollo's establishment, the Danish language struggled for existence. It was in Normandy that the *Langue d'oïl* acquired its greatest polish and regularity. The earliest specimens of the French language, in the proper sense of the term, are now surrendered by the French philologists to the Normans. The phenomenon of the organs of speech yielding to social or moral influences, and losing the power of repeating certain sounds, was prominently observable amongst the Normans. No modern French gazette writer could disfigure English names more whimsically than the Domesday Commissioners.—To the last, the Normans never could learn to say "*Lincoln*"—they never could get nearer than "*Nincol*" or "*Nicole*."

Romane-French attains its greatest perfection in Normandy.

§ 28. The Normans dismissed all practical

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The Nor-
mans, as a
community,
repudiate
their Scan-
dinavian
character.

recollection in their families of their original Scandinavian ancestry.—Not one of their nobles ever thought of deducing his lineage from the Hersers or Jarls or Vikings who occupy so conspicuous a place in Norwegian history, not even through the medium of any traditional fable. Roger de Montgomery designated himself, as “Northmannus Northmannorum ;” but, for all practical purposes, Roger was a Frenchman of the Frenchmen, though he might not like to own it. This ancestral reminiscence must have resulted from some peculiar fancy : no Montgomery possessed or transmitted any memorial of his Norman progenitors. The very name of Rollo’s father, “*Senex quidam in partibus Daciæ*,” was unknown to Rollo’s grandchildren, and if not known, worse than unknown, neglected.

Foreign
talent en-
couraged
by the Nor-
mans.

§ 29. When treating of the “Normans,” we must always consider the appellation as descriptive rather than ethnographical, indicative of political relations rather than of race. Like William the Conqueror’s army, the hosts of Rollo were augmented by adventurers from all countries. Rollo exhibited a remarkable flexibility of character; he encouraged settlers from all parts of France and the Gauls and England, and his successors systematically obeyed the precedent.

Inclination, policy, interest, strengthened the impulse given by the diffusion of the Romance speech. Liberality was the Norman virtue. “Nor-

man talent," or "Norman taste," or Norman art, 888—912
 are expressions intelligible and definite, conveying 912—927
 clear ideas, substantially true and yet substantially inaccurate. What, for example, do we intend we speak of Norman architecture?—Who taught the Norman architect? Ask, when you contemplate the structures raised by Lanfranc or Anselm—will not the reply conduct you beyond the Alps, and lead you to Pavia or Aosta? the cities where these fathers of the Anglo-Norman Church were nurtured, their learning acquired or their taste informed. Amongst the eminent men who gloriously adorn the Anglo-Norman annals, perhaps the smallest number derive their origin from Normandy. Discernment in the choice of talent, and munificence in rewarding ability, may be truly ascribed to Rollo's successors: openhanded, openhearted, not indifferent to birth or lineage, but never allowing station or origin, nation or language, to obstruct the elevation of those whose talent, learning, knowledge or aptitude, gave them their patent of nobility.

§ 30. Rollo's marriage, so anxiously promoted, Rollo's separation from Gisella.
 produced those disappointments which any except statesmen could have foreseen, or which statesmen do foresee and do not regard. Grim wrinkled Rollo—three-score and upwards when he married her—never lived as a husband with blooming Gisella; and yet the unjoyful bond was

888—912
 912—927

attended with all the discomforts of love and jealousy. Two Knights were despatched by king Charles to his daughter. The Frenchmen gave no notice to the “venerable Patrician” of their arrival, and lodged themselves in Rouen, neglecting or avoiding all opportunities of coming before him. Information was brought to Rollo concerning these questionable emissaries; and the news was so conveyed as to encrease any suspicions which might naturally arise. The knights concealed themselves in Gisella’s mansion, were searched for, found, and by Rollo’s orders beheaded in the market-place:—and this, except a parenthetical notice of her death, is the last we hear about Gisella.

Rollo’s
 children:
 careful
 training of
 his son,
 Guillaume
 Longue-
 épée.

No children of Rollo are known, excepting those two whom he had by the Vermandois damsel,—a son, Guillaume, and Gerloc, otherwise the Adela, a daughter.—He returned to his *bonne-amie*, some say he married her according to the rites of the Church, when delivered from Gisella. Rollo’s inclination and policy equally concurred in inducing him to rear his boy in such a manner, as to render the future Duke of Normandy a fit companion for the Princes of the Carlovingian Empire. Wise and faithful Botho, now one of the Counts of the Palace, was appointed the child’s governor; but he equally continued under his mother’s care: he was taught to pride himself upon her illustrious

French descent. The clergy trained him in sound learning: the boy loved their society, their teaching, their life; his earliest, childish wish, was to enter a monastery, and he yearned for the solitude of Jumièges, the cell amidst the ruins. Gay, cheerful and generous, the personal performance of the works of mercy always constituted the relaxations of Guillaume Longue-épée.

Bright and varied natural gifts were inherited by Rollo's descendants, adaptability, vigour, cleverness in every sense, conspicuous even amongst those who tarnished their character by vice and profligacy. They flourished during an era when the mental cultivation of the superior classes of society was sedulously pursued: the best got the best, and they profited thereby. Noble and Royal families carefully kept themselves up to the highest standard. Had Rollo chosen to despise the *clergie* of his age, and to bring up Guillaume as a mere rough soldier, a half-tamed Berserker, Guillaume's sons and sons' sons might have grown up untaught. But the need of a sound education was transmitted to the Dukes of Normandy and Kings of England as a family doctrine: so long as Rollo's race subsisted, so long may we discern their inherent as well as their acquired talents, conflicting with their vices and failings, and obeying or surmounting the temptations to which royalty and power are exposed.

888—912

912—927

Talent inherited by the race of Rollo.

888—912

867—899

Arnolph
King of
Germany
and Empe-
ror. (See p.
630.)

§ 31. In the year when the compact of Saint Clair-sur-Epte was concluded with Rollo, a great revolution was consummated in Germany. The institutions of Charlemagne were completely subverted, and political changes ensued which had an important influence upon the fortunes of France as well as of the "*terra Normannorum*," soon to become Normandy, an integral portion of the French monarchy, and yet a rival. After the battle of Louvaine, Arnolph continued to advance in renown and power, the talent of the statesman being supported by the military organization which the extensive employment of heavy cavalry afforded. Arnolph destroyed the preponderance of the Moravian Slavi, and checked the progress of the Magyars. Some accuse him of having invited them, but at all events his force or policy rescued his dominions from their inroads.

The German nations persevered in their willing allegiance, but Arnolph's dominion was incomplete and unsatisfactory unless he could reign in the capital of Christendom. Two successive expeditions crossed the Alps, the first directed against Guido, Berengarius aiding Arnolph. The German king treated the Italians as rebels; and Count Ambrosio, who had stoutly defended the lofty rock of Bergamo, the Insubrian Pergamum, being taken, was hanged before the walls of the city. Such an execution of a Noble was unparalleled. The second expedition was directed against

Berengarius, his late ally. — All yielded to Arnolph: ^{888—912}
 the conqueror entered Rome in triumph. The ⁸⁹²
 Roman Senate and Clergy came forth to meet him
 with standard and banner. The Pontiff Formosus
 received him on the gradins of St. Peter's Basilica.
 The imperial consecration was bestowed *more*
majorum, Arnolph was hailed as Cæsar and Au-
 gustus, and the Roman people took the oath of
 fealty to their Sovereign. But after Arnolph
 had quitted Italy, threatening insurrections arose.
 Arnolph was troubled on every side. His Con-
 sort Uta was accused of adultery. She cleared
 herself by compurgation. Seventy-two witnesses
 swore to her innocence; but Arnolph's spirit was
 entirely broken. He died strangely: witchcraft
 and poison, are said to have been employed
 against him.

Painful mystery attends his end. The miser- ^{899.}
 able death of Charles-le-Gros was avenged upon ^{Arnolph's}
 his perjured betrayer; and men scarcely dared to ^{strange}
 whisper that Arnolph sunk under the most hor- ^{death—his}
 rible bodily affliction with which our nature can ^{son "Lud-}
 be visited—tormented and exhausted by swarm- ^{wig-das-}
 ing vermin. Arnolph left two children, the ille- ^{Kind" suc-}
 gitimate Zwentibold, who became king of Lotha- ^{ceeds him.}
 ringia, and *Ludwig das Kind*. Hardly anything
 is known concerning the events which occurred
 during the "child's" nominal reign, excepting
 the dreadful invasion of the Magyars and the
 bloody Babbenberg feud; alone sufficient to have

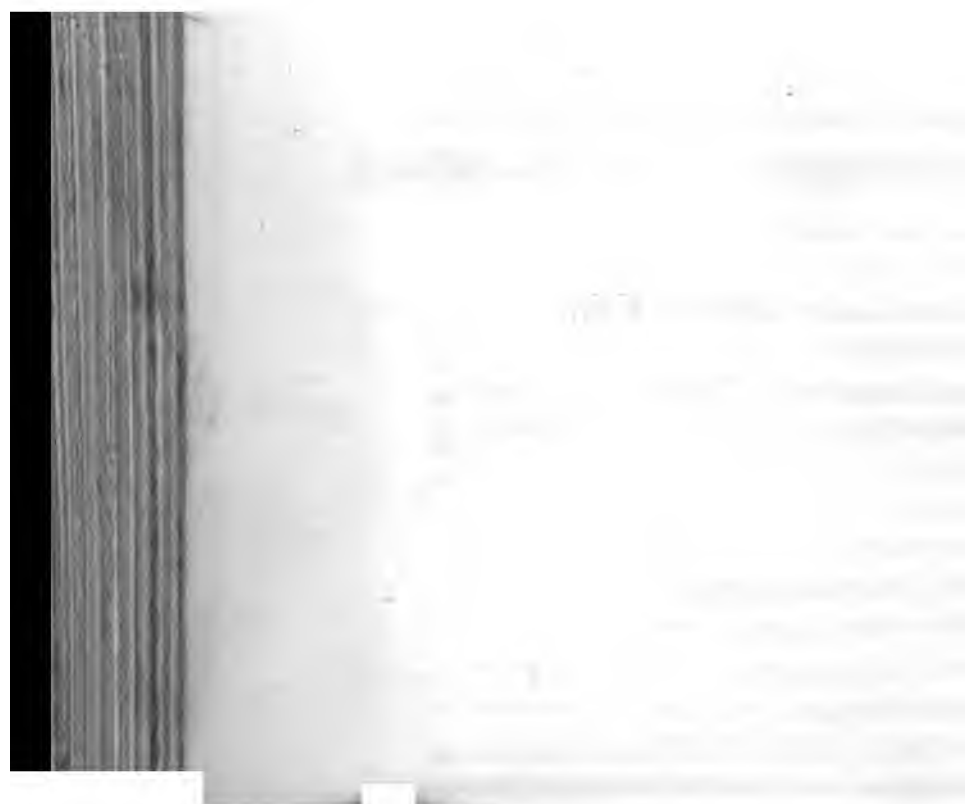
^{911.}
 Extinction
 of the Car-
 lovingian
 line in Ger-
 many in
 the person
 of "Lud-
 wig-das-
 Kind."

710 DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE.

882—912 brought the Empire to destruction. Germany
912—919 reappears as an imperfect federation, composed
of five predominant States, Duchies or Nations:
Frankenland, obeying the wise and venerable
Conrad—The Saxons, proud of their individuality,
under Otho, the illustrious Otho, magnanimous and wise—
The Bavarians had their Duke Arnolph—The Suabians
their Duke Burchard—and lastly Lotharingia, the border-
land, where Duke Rainer had acquired a paramount
authority. CONRAD THE FRANCONIAN, acknowledged by
all the nations except Lotharingia, acquired Germany.
Upon his death, the Germans elected HENRY THE
FOWLER, the Saxon, son of Otho the Illustrious, and
father of Otho the Great: and the race most hated by
Charlemagne completed the exclusion of his descendants
from Germany and the Empire.

919.
Henry the
Fowler.

NOTES.



NOTES.

FOR the purpose of facilitating references to the original authorities, I have adopted a plan (partially suggested by Luden's practice, in his excellent History of Germany) which, I believe, will render their consultation easy and interesting, should any of my readers wish to compare the work with the texts upon which it is founded. At the head of each chapter, or at the head of each series of sections, as the case may require, I enumerate, and usually describe, the principal chroniclers, or historians, whom I have adopted for the general substratum of the text: and the dates in the margin of that text will guide the inquirer to the corresponding portion of the chronicles. But he must keep in mind, that I have not always adhered precisely to the arrangement of matter exhibited by the original writers, if the clearness or credibility of the narrative has required otherwise. When special authorities (*i. e.* authorities not employed for the substratum of the text) supply facts not contained in the principal authorities, or corroborate or impugn them, or when it is needful to direct the attention of the reader to any particular passage in the principal authorities, a reference is given, or the passage is quoted at full length. With respect to matters of historical or literary notoriety subsidiary to the main narrative, or introduced as incidental illustrations, I have not thought it needful to increase the bulk of the work by references or quotations.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOURTH MONARCHY.

Decolution of Authority from Rome, p. 3.

IN the History of the Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, Chapters x., xi., xvii., xviii., xix., I have fully discussed this subject in all its bearings, except only those specially relating to the German Empire, therein narrating, rather than establishing by argument (for the facts prove themselves), the Roman origination of mediæval royalty, mediæval institutions, and, very particularly, mediæval feudality. The last branch of enquiry, however, can only be imperfectly examined, in consequence of the absence of information concerning the territorial institutions of

the Byzantine Empire. Possibly, documentary evidence may yet exist in the secret archives of some Greek monastery.

My authorities are fully adduced in the work to which I have referred: Allen employed many of them in his *Essay upon the Royal Prerogative*; we worked in the same field, concurrently, but without mutual communication, and Hallam adds others, [4, *Theory of Dates*, Supplemental Notes], corroborating, as I submit, the views I entertain. But I would observe, that the term "theory" cannot be properly applied, as in the heading of his note, to doctrines subsisting both in principle and practice, from the very commencement of every sovereignty constituting the European Commonwealth.

Sismondi incidentally, and Guizot substantially, accept the Romanization of the barbarian sovereigns as an incontestable fact.—"Clovis, Childébert, Gontram, Chilpéric, Clotaire travaillent incessamment à se parer des noms, à exercer les droits de l'empire. Ils voudraient distribuer leurs Ducs, leurs Comtes, comme les Empereurs distribuèrent leurs consuls, leurs correcteurs, leurs présidents: ils essaient de rétablir tout ce système d'impôts, de recrutement d'administration qui tombe en ruine." (Guizot, 8^{ème} leçon, p. 316).

Allen says that the "fiction of a King ruling by Roman rights is not peculiar to England: it is to be found in all the monarchies of Europe, established on the subversion of the Roman Empire. However different in other respects, all the governments agree in recognising, as a fundamental principle of their Constitution, that the sovereign power of the Commonwealth resides in the King."

This "phantom," Allen supposes to have been evoked by those powerful necromancers, the clergy and the jurists, to whom he ascribes the enthralment of mediæval society. Sismondi attributes the same potency to them, speaking with even greater acerbity, nor does Guizot entirely discourage the opinion. But at no period of Church-history have the priesthood been so little liable to the degrading imputation of sycophancy as during the dark and middle ages: they were bold almost to a fault; and the very writers who inveigh most against the servility of the clergy, equally reprehend them for their resistance against the Crown. Such doctrines as the clergy held regarding the reverence due to royal authority, were fairly and sincerely deduced from Holy Scripture.

Hallam has an excellent note [106, *Prerogative of English Kings*] upon the confused ratiocination of Allen, concerning the personal king and the ideal king. But, admitting to the fullest extent the influence of the clergy and jurists in strengthening the Roman prerogatives possessed by the mediæval sovereigns, and transmitted by them to the existing governments, the argument deduced from their co-operation is only a mode of stating the fact, that the two most intellectual and influential classes of society supported the authority with which the Sovereign was

invested. The Roman law subsisted traditionally, after the barbarian conquests, throughout the larger portion of the Western Empire. When the erudition and talent of the jurists gave fresh vigour to the civil law, they did not introduce any novelties: they only imparted more method and learning to a living system. With regard to the Germano-Roman Empire, properly so called, whether the actual power of the Emperor was greater or less, whether he were a Frederick the First or a Francis the Last, no one ever doubted but that his authority was, in the strictest sense, a perpetuation of the imperial authority. The supremacy of Cæsar was the first article of the Ghibelline political creed. Dante's profound treatise *de Monarchia* is an admirable exposition of the aspect under which the question was viewed during the great contests between the Tiara and the Crown.

Rome never conquered by the Barbarians, p. 18.

"Il y a, Messieurs, quand au développement de la Papauté en Europe, un fait primitif, dont on n'a jamais, je crois, tenu assez de compte. Non seulement Rome était toujours la ville la plus importante de l'Occident... mais Rome eut en Occident un avantage particulier: ce fut de ne jamais demeurer entre les mains des Barbares, Hérules, Gots, Vandales, ou autres. Ils la prirent et la pillèrent plusieurs fois; ils n'en retinrent jamais long-temps la possession, seule entre toutes les grandes cités occidentales; et, soit comme liée encore à l'Empire de l'Orient, soit comme indépendante, elle ne passa point définitivement sous le joug Germanique, seule elle resta Romaine après la ruine de l'Empire Romain." (*Hist. de la Civilisation en France*, 27^{ème} leçon, p. 63).

Degradation of Rome, p. 19.

These verses are quoted from Hildebert of Mans, and may be found in the topographical description of Rome given by William of Malmesbury, now best to be consulted in Mr Hardy's convenient and excellent edition (Lib. iv. § 351, p. 537).

Adherence to Roman architecture and insignia, p. 21.

Of these feelings, a remarkable instance is afforded by Crescentius, (A.D. 998, 999), whom Gibbon (Chap. XLIX.) calls the Brutus of the mediæval Republic. Previous to his elevation he is styled Senator. He not merely rose to the command of the city, but assumed the imperial authority, and, for some brief season, enjoyed the imperial name. (*Ademari Cabanensis Hist.* Pertz. T. vi. p. 130). In this capacity Crescentius issued a remarkable medallion, preserved in the Museo Maffei at Verona, and figured by the owner; (*Verona Illustrata*, P. III. c. 7). Crescentius upon this medallion takes the titles of "Imperator," "Cæsar," "Augustus," and "Pater patriæ;" but the reverse is even more remarkable. Crescentius is represented on horseback, holding a military allocution, exactly as the same ceremonial is shewn upon the medals of Hadrian and his successors.

The medallion is not inelegant. "*Si può conoscere,*" says Maffei, "*ancora da questo metallo come le belle arti in Italia non mancarono mai del tutto, mentre fin dal Secolo del novo cento, veggiamo qui un lavoro il cui disegno e maniera non si può dire dispregevole.*"—The circumstance that the medallion is a copy from an ancient medal, shews the earnest endeavour to cling to the ancient imperial type. The continued use of the Roman military ensigns, just as they appear on the Trajan and Antonine columns and other ancient monuments, is testified by the procession accompanying the memorable reception of the Emperor Henry IV. by Pope Pascal, A.D. 1111, as the account is given in the Chronicle of Monte Casino, Lib. iv. c. 38. Muratori, *S. S. R. R. Italianorum*, T. iv. p. 515.

I have elsewhere spoken upon this subject as connected with the cultivation of Art: (*The Fine Arts in Florence. Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXVI. pp. 336, 337.)

Municipality of Rome, p. 22.

Gibbon's very interesting chapter (XLIX.) on this subject, is grounded upon the erroneous assumption that the Roman Senate or Roman Community was restored in the twelfth century. It is certain, however, that the Roman Senate and the Roman people retained their unbroken national existence, their degradation contrasting strangely with the lofty pretensions which they made. An able account of the Roman municipal constitution has been recently given by Hegel, (*Geschichte der Städteverfassung von Italien*. Leipsic, 1847). A good deal to the purpose has also been previously collected by Von Raumer (*Geschichte der Hohenstauffen*, Vol. v. 214).

Classical Romances, p. 34.

A full, though not by any means complete enumeration of mediæval classical romances is given by Grässe: (*Die grossen Sagenkreise des Mittelalters*. Dresden, 1842).

The fondness for these themes has been noticed by Warton and others, and indeed the taste is so prominent that no writer on the History of mediæval poetry could neglect the observation. But it has been thought that the selection of such subjects was extraneous to the mediæval ethos, whereas, in fact, they were essential elements thereof.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROMAN LANGUAGE.

This chapter has been principally gleaned from the *Essays and Dissertations* of Muratori and Bonamy, the works of Raynouard, and an excellent note and chapter of Hallam's; (*Middle Ages*, chap. ix. pt. 1). But for the most complete, accurate and satisfactory investigation, we are

indebted to Mr. Cornewall Lewis: (*Essay on the Origin and Formation of the Romance Languages*). I have availed myself of his assistance as far as was consistent with my plan.

Bodenkos, p. 40.

Arnold, however, (*Rom. Hist.* i. 525,) seems rather to have put the question as if he expected it would be answered in the negative. If no Celtic root be found, to what language can we resort but to the Teutonic?

Isarnodor, p. 41.

See the life of Saint Eugendus or Saint Oyan, who was born there. "Ortus nempe est haud longè a vico, cui vetusta paganitas ob celebritatem clausuramque fortissimam superstitiosissimi templi Gallicà linguà *Isarnodori*, id est *ferrei ostii*, indidit nomen." (*Acta S.S. Ord. S. Benedicti*, T. i. p. 570). The temple was situated in the Jura. It afterwards became the Monastery of *Condate*.

The Suffetes, p. 43.

An account of these Judges, as well as the Hebrew etymology of their name, will be found in Arnold; (*Rom. Hist.* ii. 548). The existence of their office is evidenced in two very remarkable missives, (*Maffei, Istoria Diplomatica*, p. 78), whereby the cities of Themetria and Thimelgia severally accept Caius Silius Ariola as their Patron. The names subscribed are very remarkable, as shewing the thorough reception in these cities of the antient Punic nationality, notwithstanding the retention of the Latin in public affairs. Did any nation of true Semitic race, except the Jews compelled by their captivity, ever adopt a Japhetic tongue? The Semitic power of resistance to foreign influence has been remarkably exemplified by the Maltese.

Latinitas, p. 45.

See Du Cange. Thus Ordericus Vitalis, p. 777, speaks of Pope Urban having promulgated his anathema *in omni Latinitate*.

Romana Rustica, p. 46.

On this subject, see Niebuhr's *Lectures*, Lect. xix. Vol. ii.

Saint Jerome's scheme of education, p. 50.

Discat Græcorum versuum numerum. Sequatur statim et Latina eruditio: quæ si non ab initio os tenerum composuerit, in peregrinum sonum lingua corrumpitur, et externis vitiis sermo patrius sordidatur. (*Ep. ad Lætam*). But these instructions are only incidental in Saint Jerome's scheme, of which the main purport was to keep the child out of the way of all intercourse with those by whom her manners or morals might be injured.

Proscription of heathen literature, p. 57.

The Apostolical Constitutions, a miscellaneous collection methodized in the third century, and faithful expositors of traditions descending from the Apostolic age, leave no doubt of this principle. The Scripture warranties for the prohibitory Canon are sufficiently obvious, none more cogent than the words of St Paul. Can we imagine that the writer of the first chapter of Romans and the last of Philippians would recommend Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as a profitable study to Hermas, or present Clement with a copy of Aristophanes?

Τὼν ἐθνικῶν βιβλίων πάντων ἀπείχου. Τί γάρ σοι καὶ ἀλλοτρίους λόγους, ἢ νόμους, ἢ ψευδοπροφήτας, ἃ δὴ καὶ παρατρέπει τῆς πίστεως τοὺς ἀσφροῦς; τί γάρ σοι καὶ λείπει ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὥς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐθνόμυθα ὁρμήσεις; εἴτε γὰρ ἱστορικὰ θέλεις διέρχεσθαι, ἔχεις τὰς βασιλείους, εἴτε σοφιστικά καὶ ποιητικά, ἔχεις τοὺς προφήτας, τὸν ἰσθ, τὸν παροικιαστὴν, ἐν οἷς πάσης ποιήσεως καὶ σοφιστείας πλείονα ἀγχύσιαι εὐρήσεις, ὅτι Κυρίου τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ Θεοῦ φθογγαὶ εἰσιν· εἴτε ῥηματικῶν ὁρέγη, ἔχεις τοὺς ψαλμοὺς· εἴτε ἀρχαιογονίας, ἔχεις τὴν γένεσιν· εἴτε νομίμων καὶ παραγγελιῶν, τὸν ἐνδοξον Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμον. Πάντων οὖν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ διαβολικῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἀπέσχου. (Lib. 1. Cap. 6.)

Classical Latin inadequate to Christian literature, p. 58.

St Augustine not only exemplifies the imperfection of Classical Latin for Christian instruction, but insists upon the necessity of abandoning classical elegance or correctness: see his treatise *de Doctrina Christiana*, II. 11, 16, 19, 20. IX. 24. The influence of Christianity upon the Teutonic languages has been investigated by Rudolf von Raumer; (*Die Einwirkung des Christenthums auf die althochdeutsche sprache*. Stuttgart. 1845).

Fordun's classification of the Latin Dialects, p. 63.

It will be found in his curious disquisitions upon the laws of King Gaythelos, (*Scotichronicon*, Lib. I. c. 19. Ed. Hearne, p. 34). The digressive excursions of Fordun and his amplificator Bowyer, are instructive portions of these valuable, but neglected writers.

The Oaths of Strasburg, p. 66.

Of the transactions of Verdun and Strasburg I speak fully hereafter, p. 341. I add the oath, in *Roman*—"Pro Deo amur, et pro Christiano populo, et nostro commun salvament, dist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvras io cist meon fradre Karlo, et in adiudha, et in cadhuna cosa, si com om per dreit son fradre salvar dist in o quid il mi altresi fazet, et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai qui, meon vol, cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit."

Diffusion of the French language, p. 72.

Besides the instructions given in the *Speculum Regale*, or *Kongs-Skugg-Sio*, p. 23 (Soroe, 1763), composed in Norway somewhat later than 1250, the extraordinary number of romance poems, including the lays of Marie de France, translated into Norsk, and assuming the national denomination of *Sagas*, affords a most cogent proof of the cultivation of the language. When the famous, or infamous Bishop of Ely, Longchamp, was labouring to acquire popularity with the English public, he hired French minstrels "ut de illo canerent in plateis." (*Benedictus Abbas*, p. 702.) Upon the complete extinction of the Gothic language by the Romance I have observed elsewhere (*The Gothic Laws of Spain. Ed. Rev. xxx. p. 113*).

Latin Language retained in peculiar localities, p. 75.

For the hymn sung round the walls of Modena during the Hungarian invasions, see p. 414. It was first published by Muratori, *Ant. H. Diss.* 40. Another strangely uncouth specimen is the ballad commemorating the liberation of the Emperor Louis II. p. 372. From its tenor, one would suppose that it was not composed at Benevento, though probably in some neighbouring locality. With respect to the Lament of Fontenay, which I have inserted in my text, p. 331, the song may be considered as a proof of the continued use of the Latin language amongst the cultivated ranks of society.

July and August, p. 78.

Charlemagne invented the mariner's card. When he came to the throne, the Germanic nomenclature was limited to the four winds, or four quarters of the heavens. He added eight more, adopting the familiar modes of combination, *e.g.* Ost-Suudroni, Suud-ostroni, which have been encreased, till, with the original four, they give us the thirty-two points of the compass, and have thus been perpetuated, to the exclusion, in England and in some parts of France, of any Latinized names. The Franks had partially adopted Latin names for the months of the year, some had Latin names, some Barbaric. Charlemagne's Roman ethos did not diminish his personal nationality, nor his affection for the traditions of his forefathers; and he therefore sought to complete the *Teutonization* of the Calendar. *Wintermanoth, Horning, Lenzenmanoth, Ostarmanoth, Wunnemanoth, Brachmanoth, Heuuemanoth, Aranmanoth, Uuintumanoth, Windumanoth, Herbistmanoth, Heilagmanoth.* The denominations he bestowed were well chosen, significant and poetical; but, as Luden truly observes, the Roman Calendar gained the victory. Even an Emperor cannot command language,—his names were rejected in common speech. The attempts made by modern purists to revive their usage never succeeded. Luden records, and regrets the failure (*Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, Vol. v. p. 210.)

CHAPTER III.

Anglo-Saxon origin claimed for the Norman laws, p. 109.

So affirmed by Rouille, the Coke of Normandy, in his comment upon the Grand-Contumier (*Coutumier General*, Paris, 1724, Vol. iv. p. 1). A copy of Magna Charta, adapted to Normandy, was certainly current in the Duchy. This document, printed by Dachery, does not appear to have been noticed by any of the Norman writers. The Church of Normandy is substituted for the Church of England, and the city of Rouen for the city of London. I am unable to explain this species of phenomenon, which may in some degree be paralleled by the extraordinary manner in which the French employed the Coronation-oath, especially intended for our Anglo-Saxon kings. (*Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, Vol. I. p. 344.)

Formation of Chronicles, p. 117.

For the parchment and the plummet see the Monk of Worcester, (*Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 469). An extract from the Chronicle of Weissemburg (Pertz, T. v. p. 53) exhibits such memoranda in their genuine form.

- DOCCCVI. Ungarii vastaverunt Saxoniam.
- DOCCCVII. Adelbertus comes decollatus est, iubente Ludovico Rege.
- DOCCCVIII. Liutboldus dux occisus est ab Ungariis.
- DOCCCVIII. Burghardus dux Thuringorum occisus est ab Ungariis.
- DOCCCX. Ludovicus Rex pugnavit cum Ungariis.
- DOCCCXI. Ungarii vastaverunt Franciam.
- DOCCCXII. Ludovicus rex obiit, cui Conradus successit.
- DOCCCXIII.
- DOCCCXIII. Otto Saxonicus dux obiit.
- DOCCXV. Ungarii vastando venerunt usque Fuldam.
- DOCCXVI.
- DOCCXVII.
- DOCCXVIII.
- DOCCXVIII. Cuonradus Rex obiit, cui Heinricus successit.

The following is equally curious as a specimen of the dateless chronographies:

- Annus. Riderch filius Caradauc obiit.
- Annus. Bellum Guinnetal inter filios Caddugan Goronin et Lewelin et Resum filium Owini et ab eo victi sunt.
- Annus. Bellum Pullgudir in quo Trahern rex Norwallie victor fuit. Resus et Hoelus frater ejus a Trahairn filio Caraduc occisus est.
- Annus. Filius Teudur Resus regnare inchoavit.
- Annus. Menevia a gentilibus vastata est.

The Chronicle from which this extract is made, is annexed, together with other curious miscellaneous matter relating to Wales and the

Marches, to an abridgement of Domesday, amongst the records of the antient receipt of the Exchequer, now in the Public Record Office. The handwriting is of the reign of Edward I. After the Norman Conquest the Chronicle acquires more amplitude, and becomes very valuable for the later history of Wales, a history which, in all its branches, has been so apathetically neglected.

BOOK I.

CARLOVINGIAN NORMANDY.

CHAPTER I.

LOUIS-LE-DEBONNAIRE, HIS PREDECESSORS AND SUCCESSORS.

A.D. 741—824.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

(i.) Eginhardt's well-known life of Charlemagne. (ii.) The Chronicles respectively known by the names of the *Annales Laurissenses*, and the *Annales Einhardi*. Both commence A.D. 741; but A.D. 801, the first falls into the second, which concludes A.D. 820. This latter chronicle is an enlarged and continued edition of the first; both very sincere, and evidently grounded upon coeval information. This Einhardt, otherwise Eginhart or Aginhardt, has been conjectured, and not without probability, to be Charlemagne's son-in-law. (iii.) *Annales Mettenses*, A.D. 687—930. Originating in the pre-eminently Carlovigian monastery of Saint Arnolph, at Metz. (iv.) *Chronicon Moisiacense*, A.D. 500—840. The Chronicle of the great Abbey of Moisiac in the Toulousain, rich in facts, not found elsewhere.

(v.) The Chronicle usually quoted as the *Annales Fuldenses*, but the production of *five* several writers, as follows: (1.) Enhardus, probably a monk in the Abbey of St. Boniface at Fulda, is the author of the *first* section. Commencing with brief historical notes of the reign of Charlemagne, the annals expand in matter, and terminate A.D. 838. The marginal note marking where Enhardus desisted from his task, "*Huc usque Enhardus*," was added by his illustrious continuator, Rudolph of Fulda. (2.) No chasm ensues. Rudolph begins the *second* portion by completing the imperfect narrative of the year 838. Rudolph was distinguished in every branch of learning. He is very remarkable as being the only mediæval writer to whom Tacitus was known at first hand.

There is every reason to suppose that the Fulda manuscript of Tacitus was then the only subsisting copy, and that it is the codex in Lombard characters now in the Laurentian library. Rudolph rather alludes to Tacitus than quotes him : the passage has occasioned much discussion ; Ritter treats upon the subject in the preface to his recent edition of Tacitus. Rudolph was much in the confidence of Louis-le-Germanique, before whom he was accustomed to preach, being the royal chaplain and confessor. He was Master of the Schools of Fulda. His portion ends A.D. 863 ; and in the margin of the year, the formula which Rudolph employed to indicate the conclusion of his predecessor's labours, is adopted by his successor, "*huc usque Rudolphus.*" Infirmary probably compelled him to desist, for he died in 865, as recorded by his continuator, who adds the following remarkable encomium : "*Rudolphus, Fuldensis cœnobii presbyter et monachus, qui apud totius pene Germaniæ partes doctor egregius floruit hystoriographus et poeta, atque omnium artium nobilissimus auctor habebatur, viii. id. Martii diem ultimum feliciter clausit.*" (3.) According to the most probable opinion, Meginhardus, Rudolph's disciple, continuing his teacher's work, is the author of the *third* portion, ending A.D. 882. (4.) From 882 the work was carried on by two writers whose names cannot be ascertained.—A monk of Fulda gives us the *fourth* portion, ending 887 : the confusions of the times probably interrupted him. (5.) The *fifth* portion, also terminating abruptly, and, as we conjecture, for the same reason, A.D. 901, bears internal evidence that the writer lived in Bavaria. He is supposed to have been a monk of Ratisbon. These annals are extremely important, as presenting the German version of Carlovingian affairs, and they were very largely employed by subsequent mediæval chroniclers. By Adam of Bremen they are quoted as the "*Annales Francorum.*" Pertz (Vol. 1.) has published the *Annales Fuldenses* completely and continuously, distinguishing the several portions. The unfortunate plan adopted by Dom Bouquet, who distributes his excerpts in five volumes, II. 1739, V. 1744, VI. 1749, VII. 1749, and VIII. 1752, quite destroys the character of the annals ; and, whilst his volumes were appearing, must have rendered them nearly useless. Dubos, *e.g.* employed upon the History of France, in the year 1739, would have to provide himself with a Duchesne, or to wait thirteen years for a chronicle which would form an octavo of about 250 pages.

The before-mentioned Chronicles ascend and descend ; but the materials for the particular history of Louis-le-Débonnaire are remarkably authentic and interesting.

(VI.) We possess a complete biography of this Sovereign, composed by the anonymous historian, who is commonly quoted by the description of the "*Astronomer.*" The writer notices his conferences with Louis upon the subject of astronomical, or, as we should now term them, astrological phenomena, whence he is supposed to have been versed in the science.

He held, as he informs us in his Preface, an office in the Imperial Palace, and having entered into the service of Louis upon his accession to the Empire, continued with him till his death. The "Astronomer" stood by the King's bedside when he expired. He commences his biography from the birth of Louis at Casseneuil. The events, anterior to his personal knowledge of Louis, he received from Adhemar, *nobilissimus et devotissimus monachus*, who was the same age as the King, and brought up with him.—The remainder he tells from his own knowledge.

(VII.) Another biography of Louis-le-Débonnaire, by Theganus, is, so far as it extends, no less important. Theganus or Thegambert, born of a noble family, and distinguished by great talent, was Bishop-coadjutor, or Chorepiscopus, of Trèves. Intimately acquainted with Louis, and sincerely attached to him, Theganus appears to have written the history mainly for the purpose of testifying against the faithlessness of those who persecuted and abandoned the monarch. Theganus carries on the narrative until A.D. 835, and concludes with the following prayer: "Iste est annus vicesimus secundus regni domni Hludowici piissimi imperatoris, quem conservare et protegere diu in hoc sæculo dignetur feliciter commorantem, et post hæc discurrentia tempora perducere concedat ad societatem omnium sanctorum ejus, ille, qui est benedictus in sæcula sæculorum. Amen." Theganus evidently had completed the biography according to his intentions, for he is known to have been living in 844. The work was published after his death by Walafrid Strabo, who divided it into chapters, and prefixed a preface, apologising for the zeal which, as Walafrid hints, had seduced the author into some degree of unfairness.

Throughout this work I have derived much assistance from the historians of the French provinces.—Languedoc, and the South of France, (*Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, par Dom Vic et Dom Vaissette, deux Religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint Maur, 5 vols. folio, Paris, 1730—1745).—Britanny, two extensive works, (*Histoire de Bretagne*, par Dom Lobineau, 2 vols. folio, Paris, 1707), and (*Histoire Ecclésiastique et Civile de Bretagne*, par Dom Morice et Dom Talandres, et *Mémoires pour servir de Preuves*, 5 vols. folio, Paris, 1742—1756); improved amplifications of Lobineau, yet not superseding him (see p. 754).—Lorraine, (*Histoire Ecclésiastique et Civile de Lorraine*, par Dom Augustin Calmet, 5 vols. folio, Nancy).—Burgundy, (*Histoire Générale et Particulière de Bourgogne*, par Dom Plancher, 3 vols. folio, Dijon, 1739—1746).—Provence, (*Chorographie de Provence*, par Honoré Bouche, Aix, 1644); and occasionally from Muratori in his *Annali d'Italia*.

An Austin Friar, Père Anselme, emulating Benedictine diligence, laid the foundation of a work of the highest importance in the study of French history—I mean the *Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison royale de France, des Pairs, Grands Officiers de la Couronne et de*

la Maison du Roi, et des anciens Barons du Royaume. The third edition, due to the care of Père Ange and Père Simplicien (9 vols. folio, Paris, 1727), has been a constant aid to me in deducing the various lineages and successions: so also the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*. Yet in all cases it has been needful to examine their statements, and occasionally to depart from them.

Marriage and Concubinage, p. 144.

The Teutonic learning upon this subject will be found in Grimm's *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, (Göttingen, 1828) under the head *Ehe*.

Carlovingian Genealogies, p. 148.

These may be seen in greater length, with more details as to females and their descendants, and somewhat differently arranged, in Père Anselme's *Histoire*.

The Charta Divisionis, p. 151.

The existing text of the Charta Divisionis, *Recueil des Hist.* T. v. p. 771, is undated; the concurrent testimony however of all the chroniclers leaves no doubt but that the document is the record of the proceedings at Thionville. It is divided into twenty chapters: the eighteenth contains the memorable clause, prohibiting the enforcement of monastic vows upon members of the royal family. See p. 198.

Pepin, King of Italy, p. 156.

The Frankish historians are silent upon the subject of Pepin's defeat, which constitutes a conspicuous incident in Andrea Dandolo's Chronicle, (Muratori, T. xii.), as well as in the general recollections of Venetian history. See also Daru's *Histoire de Venise*, i. c. 23. Pepin rebuilt the magnificent Basilica of San' Zeno at Verona, near which he is buried. His sepulchre, without the walls of the Church, shews how carefully the Lombards still avoided the custom of interment within the sacred edifice.

Charlemagne's Entombment, p. 158.

The particulars of this strange and solemn deposition are given in a life of the Monarch, compiled by a monk of Angoulême (*Rec. des Hist.* T. v. p. 186). According to the *Deutsche Sagen* (ii. p. 173), the tomb was opened by the Emperor Otho III. when the corpse was beheld as described: the nails of the fingers had grown through the leathern gloves. The tomb was reverently closed; but in the course of the night, Charlemagne appeared in a dream to Otho, and foretold him that he would die childless and prematurely. The shrines and reliquaries of the Cathedral preserve many of the Babylonian gems which had belonged to the great Emperor.

Wetinus, the monk of Reichenau, pp. 162, 165, 166.

The prose narrative by Bishop Heitto, and the versification by Walafrid Strabo, are both given by Mabillon (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedicti*, v. pp. 265, 283).

For the constitution of the sodality between Saint Gall and Reichenau, A.D. 850, and the renovation thereof, A.D. 945, see Mabillon (*Ann. O. S. Ben.* xxvi. § 101, and xlv. § 87). The further history of the Festival is told by Fleury, *Hist. Ecc.* lxx. c. 5.

The visions of Fursæus and Drithelm—Feast of All Souls, pp. 163—165.

Both are given by Venerable Bede, whose ecclesiastical history has, thanks to Dr Giles, been rendered a popular volume. An account of Fursæus may be found in Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, a work which should always lie on the desk of the historical student, being the most honest and convenient hagiography which has yet appeared. An Anglo-Saxon version of the legend has, by Mr Wright's laudable exertions, been published from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, (*Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, Vol. i. p. 266). Tracing the course of thought upwards, through the visions of *Alberic* and *Owain Miles*, and the other compositions of a like nature, we have no difficulty in deducing the poetic genealogy of the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* to the Milesian Fursæus. For the recently-discovered East-Anglian frescoes, representing the probation or punishment of the departed, consult the transactions of the Norfolk Archaeological Society.—The *Paradiso* is derived from other sources. A highly poetical outline of a similar cosmology is found in Salomo ben Gabirol's noble hymn, the *Kether Malcuth* (see Sachs, *die Religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, Berlin, 1845).

Adelhard and Wala, p. 168. *Libel Literature*, p. 275—277.

The history of Adelhard and Wala is preserved in the very remarkable compositions of Paschasius Radbertus, which are only found entire in Mabillon's Collection (*Acta S.S. Ord. S. Ben.* T. v. pp. 306, 444, 453, 521).

To the life of Wala, Radbertus has given the singular, but not unexampled title (St Jerome having done the like) of *Epitaphium*, and Wala being designated throughout by the name of Arsenius, the work acquires the title of *Epitaphium Arsenii*. It is written dramatically: a conversation between various interlocutors, of whom Paschasius is one. All the characters are designated by fictitious names. The style is tedious and diffuse, but so very characteristic a memorial of the spirit of the times, that, to the historian, no part can be said to be superfluous. The Eclogue, the dialogue between the two Monasteries, is appended to the life of Adelhard.—Wala's name is sometimes written Walah, or Wallach.

Desiderata, p. 171.

The circumstances attending her marriage, and the share taken by Bertha in forwarding the match, are found, with more or less particularity, in all the Chronicles; but one only, the monk of St Gall (*Lib. ii. c. 26*), says, that Desiderata was *clínica*, and childless. It is the general opinion of Italian topographers, adopted by Mr Hope, that the huge Visconti palace stands on the site of the palace of the Lombard kings.

"Ludovicus Pius," p. 181.

The coin upon which he assumes this title is engraved by Pere Daniel, (*Hist. de France*, Paris, 1729, T. II. p. 283), and he is so styled by Theganus, writing in his life-time.—This is never the case with the mere familiar or historical epithets, such as *Martel*, *Balbus*, &c.

Varied talents of Louis-le-Débonnaire. Version of the Scriptures, pp. 179—188.

Theganus, c. ix., has given an ample account of the King's talents, and their cultivation, his affection for learning, and his diligence. Some passages, relating to his astrological knowledge, are found in his *Life* by the Astronomer. His *Conquestio*, his "Complaint" (p. 730), in which he relates the treatment he received from his children, is eloquently touching and impassioned. I have, following other guides, adopted the opinion, that the Cottonian MS. (*Caligula A. 7*) contains a portion of the metrical version to which the Latin preface (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VI. p. 256) belongs.

Imperial Signet, p. 194.

It is figured by Mabillon, *De re Diplomatica*, Tab. XXVIII.

Roman de la Rose, p. 201.

The whole passage (v. 9628—9696) contains a spirited view of the progress of society. I quote from Méon's Edition, T. II. p. 250. I have rather modernized the orthography.

Volcanic energies, p. 220.

Very recently, the waters which fill the crater of Leach were disturbed, and the fish killed.

Golden globes, p. 221.

I ought to have said golden eagles.

Charta Divisionis, p. 226.

See *Recueil des Historiens*, T. VI. 405—7.

Trial and condemnation of King Bernard, p. 230.

For Hermengarda's responsibility in this transaction, see the Chronicle of Andrea the Priest (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 680).

Guelphic Dynasties, p. 234.

These Guelphic genealogies are taken principally from the *Origines Guelphicæ*, the result of the continued and successive labours of Leibnitz, Eccard, Gruber, and Scheidius, (Hanover, 1750) T. II. Præf. pp. 2—5; and chapters ii. iii. v. vi.

Bera and Sanila, p. 240.

The circumstances of their combat are minutely described by Ermoldus Nigellus, Lib. III. vv. 550—638.

Bernard of Septimania, p. 242.

See De la Marca, *Histoire de Béarn*.

Expeditions against the Bretons, p. 254.

See Morice, *Hist. de la Bretagne*.

Harold, King of Jutland, p. 256.

In this, as well as in other circumstances relating to the Danes, and particularly as to the identification of the Danish chieftains, I have usually followed Suhm, whose indexes to the first and second volumes of his *Historie af Danmark* (Copenhagen, 1784), afford a sufficient reference with respect to any particular individual. The ceremonies of Harold's investiture are related minutely in Ermoldus Nigellus.

“Ego Ludovicus,” p. 262.

The Imperial Constitution, edited from a collation of the four Vatican exemplars, will be found in Baronius, an. 817.

Sismondi, in his chapter upon the relations between the Popes and the Emperors (*Républiques Italiennes*, i. c. iii.) does not even notice the document.

CHAPTER II.

LOUIS-LE-DEBONNAIRE AND HIS SUCCESSORS, TO THE FINAL DETHRONEMENT OF THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS-LE-DEBONNAIRE.

A. D. 824—840.

§§ 1—17, pp. 264—309.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

(i.) The *Annales Einhardi*, (ii.) *Annales Mettenses*, (iii.) *The Chronicon Moissiacense*, (iv.) Enhardus, and (v.) Rudolph of Fulda (i.e. the *Annales Fuldenses*), and (vi.) Theganus, continue as authorities in their several proportions. (vii.) The Astronomer, connecting all the other

authorities, accompanies us to the end of Louis-le-Débonnaire's life and reign.—But we receive a great accession from the Chronicle quoted as the *Annales Bertiniani*, a misleading designation, inasmuch as the work has no other connexion with St Bertin except through the accident that the manuscript was discovered in the Abbey Library, whereas the whole contexture points at other local origins.

The so-called *Annales Bertiniani* (viii.) consist of *three* separate but consecutive works. (1.) The name of the author of the *first* portion, A.D. 830—835, is unknown; but the writer is supposed to have lived somewhere in the Ardennes. (2.) The *second*, 835—861, is ascertained, both by external and internal evidence, to be the composition of the celebrated Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes. A Spaniard, his original name being Galindo, he is considered to have belonged to the family of the Counts of Arragon. Brought to France at an early age, and educated in the royal palace, his disputations with Erigena have gained for Prudentius a high station amongst theological writers. But in opposing Gottescalk's doctrines he incurred the charge of great error, or rather heresy. He composed his Chronicle in the reign, and under the patronage, of Charles-le-Chauve. (3.) The monarch lent his own copy to Archbishop Hincmar, who, in his turn, began the *third* and last portion, A.D. 861, which he opens by recording the death of his predecessor, who was cut short whilst relating the annals of the year. And in the same manner as Prudentius was stopped in his task by death, so was Hincmar, A.D. 882. Driven from Rheims by the Northmen (see p. 585), Hincmar died during his flight, some attending priest or chaplain having probably completed the last paragraphs. The several portions are properly and critically entitled and distinguished by Pertz, but not by Dom Bouquet, who breaks them up according to his fashion.

(ix.) Towards the conclusion of the reign, we enter upon the interesting Memoirs of Count Nithardus, undertaken by him, according to the suggestion of Charles-le-Chauve (pp. 335, 336), amidst the troubles and wars in which he was engaged, and which he describes with remarkable fidelity and accuracy. His history is comprised in four Books, the last of which ends abruptly, in consequence of his being called off into actual service and killed by the Danes. (x.) The life of Wala is also an authority of peculiar importance, not only for the facts, but the spirit of the age.

Political application of French History, p. 264.

I allude to Thierry's *Considérations sur l'Histoire de France*, an Essay affording a rapid and lively review of the French constitutional writers, by whom, as he says, the national memorials have been continued, for the purpose of truckling to political party. Yet he is true to himself, as well as to his compeers. The various theories to which Thierry alludes, and which he ex-

amines, criticises, opposes, or refutes, always with great talent, and often with success, constitute an instructive commentary upon the exertions made by the French to promote the study of their national history. It is the exposition, the doctrinal elucidation of an historical text, which makes it tell: the value thus bestowed is as appreciable by those who oppose the historian's opinions, as by those who adopt them. (See *Progress of Historical Enquiry in France*, *Edin. Review*, April, 1841.)

The young Charles-le-Chauve, p. 270.

See the Poem of Ermoldus Nigellus, Lib. iv. vv. 419—424.

Veni Creator, p. 273.

This hymn is ascribed to Charlemagne. (See Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, Vol. i. p. 213.)

Charles-le-Chauve's literary cultivation, p. 273.

No monarch ever deserved the title of a protector of literature more truly; and no protector of literature ever pursued literature with a more earnest enjoyment of the studies which he encouraged and practised. Charles-le-Chauve peculiarly delighted in history: we have seen how Nithard was excited to his work by the King's special direction. At his instigation, Lupus Servatus, generally known as Loup-de-Ferrières, composed a history of the Roman Emperors. The composition is lost, but the epistolary dedication exists, in which the author exhorts the monarch to imitate the glorious examples of Trajan and Theodosius. Encouraged by Charles-le-Chauve, Usuardus compiled his martyrology, the foundation of all subsequent works of the same class. Not being satisfied with the existing version of Dionysius the Areopagite, Charles caused another to be made by Erigena. Almost every theological work appearing during his reign was dedicated to him. His classical taste is peculiarly displayed in the classical name which he proposed to bestow upon Compiègne. As in the architecture of his Basilica, so in the denomination which Charles gave to his palatial city, did he adopt the ethos of Imperial Rome. "Carolus postquam Imperator effectus est, Ecclesias plures ædificavit in villa Compendio, quam de suo nomine *Carlopotim* appellavit. Nam ibi maximam civitatem ædificare proposuit: Ecclesiam sanctorum Cornelii et Cypriani construxit, et in eadem villa in suo Palatio Ecclesiam sanctæ Dei genitricis, quam pretiosissimis reliquiis adornavit. Ibidem etiam obtulit corpus S. Cornelii atque S. Cypriani, in quorum adventu composuit Responsorium, *Cives Apostolorum*." (Yperius, *Rec. des Hist.* T. vii. p. 270).

Wala taking the lead against Louis-le-Débonnaire, pp. 276, 277.

Wala's vehement conduct as leader of the opposition appears very fully in the Second Book of the *Epitaphium*, chapters i.—vi.

Expedition against the Bretons. Nominoë, p. 278.

This expedition constitutes the first incident in the *Annales Bertiniani*. For Nominoë, see Morice, *Hist. de Bretagne*.

Paris, p. 279—282.

The materials shewing the early condition of Paris are diligently collected and elucidated by the Benedictines (*Histoire de la Ville de Paris par les PP. Felibien et Lobineau*. Paris, 1724, 5 vols. folio). The island unquestionably enjoyed a considerable degree of municipal and mercantile importance; and Bonamy, with his usual acuteness, clearness and knowledge, has made the most of his case, in his *Recherches sur la célébrité et l'étendue de la Ville de Paris avant les ravages des Normands* (Mémoires de l'Acad. des Insc. Vol. xv.) Nevertheless the whole tenor of French history, anterior to the Capets, displays the secondary rank which Paris then held.

The Luegen-feld, p. 290.

See Luden, v. p. 357. The Siegburg was also called the Siegwald-burg. The antient names are emphatically commemorated by Nithard.

The Complaint of Louis-le-Débonnaire, p. 293.

This curious, but almost forgotten document, has been published by Duchesne, T. II. p. 336, from the transcript furnished by Petavius,—it bears the following title, *Conquestio Domni Chludowici, Imp. et Aug. piissimi, de crudelitate et defectione et fideiruptione militum suorum, et horrendo scelere filiorum suorum in sui defectione et depositione patrata*. It is inserted in the history of the translation of the relics of St Sebastian and St George, by Odilo, the monk of St Médard, printed completely by Mabillon (*Acta S. S. Ord. S. Ben.* VI. p. 387), and partly by Dom Bouquet (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VI. p. 323.) The basement story of the tower containing the cell in which Louis was imprisoned is still standing. Near the loop-hole window there is an inscription in French verse, in "gothic" characters of the sixteenth century, commemorating his misfortunes, which I believe has been quoted or published as having been inscribed by the royal captive.

Deposition of Louis-le-Débonnaire, p. 295.

This is one of the portions of French history which have not been sufficiently investigated. The conduct of the parties concerned should be considered calmly, and without invective. The proceedings were completely revolutionary in the modern sense, grounded upon the assumption that public safety required the deposition of the king. The Articles of the *Acta Exaurationis* constitute a formal impeachment. All the

documents are collected by Dom Bouquet, T. vi. pp. 243—251. Agobard's manifesto, or address to the people, is peculiarly remarkable. The limits of this work have prevented me from exhibiting the history of parties under Louis-le-Débonnaire to the full extent. Archbishop Ebbe behaved with shameful ingratitude, and was subsequently deposed.

The seventh partition of the Empire, p. 298.

The Præceptum, or Charter of Division, is only preserved in a fragmentary state, wanting the conclusion (*Rec. des Hist.* T. vii. p. 411). Baronius refers the document to A.D. 837; but I have adopted the opinion of Luden.

Pepin of Aquitaine, p. 303.

See the Benedictine history of Languedoc, Vol. i.

The thatched Lodge on the Pfaltz island, p. 309.

The directions given by Louis for the construction of the Lodge, his dying bed, are related by his biographer, the Astronomer. (*Rec. des Hist.* T. vi. p. 124).

Epitaph of Louis-le Débonnaire, p. 309.

See *Rec. des Hist.* T. vi. p. 267.

EVENTS FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES-LE-CHAUVE TO THE
TREATY OF MERSEN. A. D. 840—847.

§§ 18—32, pp. 309—346.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

The events comprehended in this division of the chapter include the first five years of the reign of Charles-le-Chauve. Nithard, the warrior and historian, furnishes the main foundation for the narrative. The other sources have been already indicated.

Alterations in the course of rivers, &c. p. 321.

See Depping (*Hist. des Expéditions maritimes des Normands.* Paris, 1844, pp. 148, 417).

The Eager of the Seine, p. 323.

The Monk of Fontenelle (or Saint Wandregisil), delineating the site of the monastery, introduces a forcible description of this phenomenon. Du Cange supposes, and probably correctly, that the name *Géon* is given

to the Seine in allusion to the river Gihon in Eden, see also his glossary for *Malinea*. I insert the entire passage as affording a view of the Norman landscape in the tenth century. Dudon de Saint-Quentin also mentions the *Eager*, in a passage which will be subsequently quoted (p. 740).

"Situs quippe ejusdem Cœnobii hujusmodi fertur esse. A tribus enim plagis, id est a Septentrionali, Occidua, atque Australi, montibus arduis ac frugiferis, Bacchique fertilissimis, silvisque est obsitum condensis. Ab Oriente item habet fontem uberrimum, qui ab ortu sue emanationis per spacia passuum plus minusve mille trecentorum manat: sicque cursu suo expleto, in alveum Sequanam influit ad meridianam ejusdem Cœnobii plagam. Ab Occidente item ibi fluvijs est mirabilis, in Aquilonari ejusdem Cœnobii plagâ ab imo progrediens, atque in meridiana Geon prædicti alvei profunda se demergens. Inter hæc duo mirabilia flumina, prata ejusdem Cœnobii sunt amœna atque irrigua. Quia admirabilis Wandregisili atque Venerandi Patroni nostri solertia inutilis quæque ablata vireta, militumque Christi ejusdem Fontinellensis Cœnobii degentium sudore solo coæquata, eorumdem necessitatibus aptissima sunt reddita. Ab Austro item maximus fluviorum Geon, qui et Sequana, commercii navium gloriosus, abundantia piscium præstantissimus, distans ab eodem Cœnobio passus octingentos. In quo scilicet fluvio ex infinito Oceano sive mari Britannico bini æstus diurno nocturnove tempore sibimet invicem compugnantes occurrunt: ut versâ vice alveus potius retrorsum converti quam ad ima videatur fluere. Talique cum impetu tempore malinæ accedunt, ut super millia quinque aut eo amplius et sonitus murmuris ejus humanas reperiatur aures, et aspectibus intuentium ceu farus altissimè lympham ejusdem penetret alvei. Talique impetu per meatus prædictorum duorum fluminum, perque prata illis contigua ceu Nilus Ægyptiacus per spatia passuum plus minusve octingentorum ad murum ejusdem accedunt Cœnobii, finitoque conflictu in Oceanum infusi unde venerant revertuntur." (*Spicilegium Dacherii*, 1659, T. III. p. 190).

Insular Rouen, p. 323.

Upon this subject see Licquet, *Hist. de la Normandie*, T. I. p. 104, Rouen, 1835, and Pluquet in his note upon the *Roman du Rou*, i. p. 58. Other information bearing upon the subject is afforded in the *Description Géographique et Historique de la Haute Normandie*, Paris, 1740; a very useful work, of which I have much availed myself.

Notker, p. 325.

Cum adhuc juvenculus essem, et melodiæ longissimæ sæpius memoriæ commendatæ instabile corculum aufugerent, cœpi tacitus mecum volvere quonam modo eas potuerim colligare. Interim vero contigit, ut presbyter quidam de Gemidia, nuper a Nordmannis vastata, veniret ad

nos, Antiphonarium suum secum deferens, in quo aliqui versus ad sequentias erant modulati.....ad imitationem tamen eorundem cœpi scribere.....(Notkeri præfatio in librum sequentiarum. Pezii, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus*, T. I. p. 17.)

Battle of Fontenay, p. 328.

The locality where this great battle was fought has been diligently investigated by the Abbé le Bœuf, who appears to have accurately ascertained the position of the armies. Fontenay is now called Fontenailles; but I preserve an appellation which has become historical. All the early French or German historians record this mighty conflict, which decided the fortunes of Charlemagne's Empire. Angelbert's rhythm or lament was discovered by the indefatigable Le Bœuf, in a manuscript of nearly cœval date (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 304). With respect to the custom of Champagne, jurists may have entertained doubts respecting the existence of the privilege, but the legal doubt does not diminish the historical value of the tradition.

Lotharingian Architecture, p. 344.

This is not the place to discuss the age of the buildings in question, nor the origin of their peculiar conformation (see *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, *Quarterly Rev.* Vol. LXXV. p. 389); but the uniformity of style prevailing in Lothair's share of the Empire is apparent to the eye of every traveller who, steaming up the Rhine, and crossing the Saint-Gothard, reaches Rome by Pavia. Much remains to be done for the architectural investigation of the Alpine countries and passes. The stone towers of the churches in those regions are probably cœval with the first establishment of Christianity. The churches themselves are, with very few exceptions, modern: affording a presumption that they were constructed of timber. The towers have many features in common with those in England, which antiquaries now suppose to belong to the Anglo-Saxon æra. The finest Campanile is that belonging to the Basilica of Saint-Maurice in the Valais.

Treaty of Mersen, p. 346.

The Capitular or Treaty of Mersen is given by Dom Bouquet, *Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 603. The quotation is from Chap. IX. The tenth and eleventh Chapters direct that negotiations should be opened with the Armoricans for the preservation of peace, and the like with the Northmen—"ut similiter ad Regem Nordmannorum, legati mittantur, qui eum contestentur quod aut pacem servare studebit, aut communiter eos infensos habebit." Then follow the rescripts made or issued by the three sovereigns, Lothair, Louis and Charles, to their subjects. In the rescript issued by Louis, he again notices, with some variation of expression, the proposed negotiations with the Armoricans and the Northmen.

SUMMARY OF CARLOVINGIAN HISTORY. A. D. 840—927.

§§ 32—59, pp. 346—408.

The authorities for this synopsis will be found generally in the preceding and subsequent chapters.

House of Vermandois, p. 355.

For the genealogy and history of this family, I have, besides the general genealogical works, consulted Collette's special history, (*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Province du Vermandois*, 3 vols. 4to. Cambrai, 1777), an ill-digested work, but containing much unused information.

Rollo's Bonne-amie, p. 356.

This celebrated damsel's relationship to Bernard de Senlis is unquestionably proved by Dudon de Saint-Quentin, see p. 571.

Partition of Lotharingia, p. 370.

This document has been commented on and explained with great diligence by Dom Calmet (*Hist. de Lorraine*, Vol. 1.). Yet much as he has effected, Calmet has only prepared the way for the future historian of Lotharingia, should such an one ever appear. The despair of the ancient French compiler of the venerable but historically worthless *Chronique de Saint-Denis*, when he gives up the rendering of the German names into any decent shape as an utter impossibility, is amusing, (*Rec. des Hist.* T. vii. p. 134).

Louis II. Emperor and King of Italy, p. 371.

A very accurate account of this important reign, wholly passed over by Gibbon as well as by Sismondi, will be found in Muratori's *Annali d'Italia*. In his *Antichità d'Italia*, Diss. 40, he has given the Benevento ballad as a specimen of colloquial Latinity.

Death and Funeral of Louis, p. 375.

See extracts from Andrea the Presbyter (*Rec. des Hist.* Vol. vi. p. 206).

Alexander the Great's Charter, p. 379.

This tradition certainly existed in various versions at a very early period: a certified copy of the Macedonian Charter, made A.D. 1239, exists in the Venetian archives. (Gallucioli, *Memorie Venete*, Venice, 1795, i. p. 173).

Robert-le-Fort, p. 407.

All that we know with any certainty concerning Robert-le-Fort's ancestry is contained in Richerius (Lib. i. c. 5), who, describing the eleva-

tion of Eudes, proceeds to state—"hic patrem habuit ex Equestri ordine, Rothbertum; avum verò paternum Witikinum advenam Germanum." The several theories relating to the origin of Robert-le-Fort have been repeatedly discussed in the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*,—in the preface to the tenth volume of the *Recueil des Historiens*,—and more recently by Thierry, Guizot, and Michelet. In the cœval chronicles, Hincmar's brief notice of Robert's joining the Armorican confederacy A.D. 859 (see p. 469) is the first announcement of the great Chieftain in history. The expression employed by Richerius, "ex equestri ordine," must not in any wise be taken as implying nobility of blood: the description simply designates the position which he held. We have not any proof that the early Capets endeavoured to exalt their ancestry, or thought about it: they were well or better content to be included in the ranks of the *new men* who acquired their rank for themselves. The faint voice of tradition always pointed out an ignoble origin; and Dante has only diffused throughout the world the ideas which from the old time had been current in France. Villon's ballad has been long known. Michel, *Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie*, par Benoit, Vol. II. p. 84, has given an extract of the *Chanson de Geste*, of which "*Hues Capex qu'on apelle bouchier*" is the hero; and, from a German romance which Michel quotes, 'it is evident that the history existed in a more complete form.

CHAPTER III.

THE NORTHMEN DURING THE TIMES OF CHARLES-LE-CHAUVE AND ROBERT-LE-FORT TO THE END OF THE REIGN.

A. D. 840—877.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

(I.) Prudentius of Troyes continues with us until A.D. 861, when he died, worn out by exertion and anxiety, his labours and his life ending together: "*vivendi et scribendi finem fecit*," says Hincmar, as he takes up the pen to complete the narrative of the transactions of the year. (II.) Thus commencing, the Archbishop accompanies us to and beyond the conclusion of Charles-le-Chauve's reign. Hincmar always works with an object, directing his labours for the benefit of the State, as we find when we arrive at the troublous times which ensued upon the death of Charles. Hincmar inserts many state-documents, writing as one well acquainted with men and motives: and his work must be reckoned as the firmest foundation of French history during the era which it includes. (III.) The *Annales Mettenses* do not, during this chapter, furnish much in addition to the

other chroniclers. (iv.) Rudolph of Fulda becomes very interesting, on account of the decided German feeling which he exhibits, evidencing the antagonism between the French and German nations, and the bitter enmity between the French and German Houses. And from A.D. 863 (v.) Meginhardus, the disciple of Rudolph, continues the work in the spirit of his master.

On the German side of the question we receive a valuable accession in a Chronicler, who now appears to us for the first time, (vi.) Regino, some-while Abbot of Pruhm. Regino grafts his work upon universal history, commencing with the Incarnation. A brief but respectable summary of Roman history introduces the Carolingian annals, until the death of the great Emperor. This Carolingian segment Regino compiled, as he states, from a book in plebeian and rustic Latin, which he reduced into grammatical language. Whether this work was in the *Romana Rustica* or not, we cannot judge. Probably, however, it only exhibited the colloquial or vulgar inaccuracies characterising the original manuscripts of Gregory of Tours, and effaced by the affectionate but injudicious care of modern editors.

The second book of Regino's Chronicle, commencing with the death of Charlemagne, includes, in the earlier periods, much which he learned from tradition. Regino was a diligent collector and a still more diligent observer, noting events as they arose, and telling the reader, as he proceeds, that he bears testimony to the events of his own time;—one of the many who, at that era, were writers of memoirs as well as Chroniclers. Regino completed his work A.D. 809, when he published it, with a prefatory dedication to Adalbero, Bishop of Augsburg, stating the intent with which he had undertaken his labours, and entreating that this Preface may be in nowise omitted by any transcriber whom his work may please. —What Hincmar is for France, Regino is for Germany; and although a primary authority for French affairs in all transactions in Lotharingia or Germany which concern France, his Chronicle is omitted by Dom Bouquet. Pertz reprints it with a carefully corrected text.

(vii.) So far as the breadth of the work extends, the History of the Counts of Anjou, or *Gesta Consulum Andegavensium*, composed by a Monk of Marmoutier, is singularly useful and interesting. Addressed by the author to Henry II., under whose patronage he wrote, the writer deduces the history of the family from Torquatus the Forester, to the time of Geoffrey Plantagenet, embodying all the traditions of the dynasty. This work, of great authenticity and value, is to be found only in Dachery's *Spicilegium*, T. x. A few scraps are given by Dom Bouquet.

(viii.) Towards the conclusion of this chapter, we begin to avail ourselves of Dudon de Saint-Quentin, *De Moribus et Actis Normannorum*, who, when we contemplate Normandy from within, must be reckoned as the principal source of Norman history during the reigns of Rollo,

Guillaume-Longue-épée, and Richard-Sans-peur (see pp. 99, 100, and p. 515). When employing Dudon, I concurrently consult the metrical translation made by Benoit de Saint-Maur, the Norman Trouveur who flourished in the reign of Henry II., which constitutes the first portion of his *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, edited by M. Michel from the unique MS. in the British Museum, (Paris, 1836), and included in the magnificent series of historical publications, commenced under Guizot's direction and patronage. Benoit's translation is usually faithful; and when he adds further facts, or traditions, they are always clearly distinguished from his original authority.—The *Roman du Rou*, the composition of Robert Wace, the clerk of Caen (edited by Pluquet, Rouen, 1828), departs more widely from the original, but is richer in traditional history. Dudon, only found in Duchesne's *Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui* (Paris, 1619), has been entirely neglected for his abbreviator, Guillaume de Jumièges, who omits matters of primary importance.

(ix.) Langebec and Suhm, in their great collection, *Scriptores rerum Danicarum mediæ ævi*, Copenhagen, 1783, T. i. pp. 496—561, and T. v. pp. 1—232, have excerpted all the passages contained in the Anglo-Saxon, as well as in the French, German, and other Continental historians relating to the conquests and expeditions of the Danes, constituting the whole of their external history to the conclusion of the ninth century. But, as I before observed, the history of the Danes is lame and incomplete, unless taken in connexion with the histories of the countries which they ravaged, or where they settled. Therefore I have in no case considered myself as dispensed from the constant employment of the writers from whom Langebec and Suhm have made their extracts. Very elaborate and judicious notes are added by these Editors, together with genealogical Tables. The work is as nearly perfect as possible, and yet it is incomplete, being maimed in its due proportions by the usual bane of such collections, the exaggerated scrupulosity of the learned Editors. They had a predecessor in the person of Eric Pontoppidan (*Gesta et Vestigia Danorum extra Daniæ*, Leipsic, 1740), whose collections became the foundations of theirs. Amongst the extracts from the early historians, Pontoppidan has intercalated many of later date, inscriptions also, and fragments of antient ballads, exceedingly useful, from the collateral information which they afford. These are omitted by Langebec and Suhm, though they might without difficulty have been inserted in the notes;—and consequently Pontoppidan's work continues to be as needful as before for the Danish historical library.—Suhm's Danish history is a trustworthy digest of all the materials which he and his predecessor assembled.

Zernebog, p. 409.

The deities of Walhalla are well known, the Slavonian Pantheon is perhaps less familiar. Sir Walter Scott has committed a curious, or

perhaps an intentional mistake, by introducing Zernebog as a Teutonic deity. Zernebog was purely Slavonian. The Slavonian mythology has been developed by Mone (*Geschichte des Heidenthums in Nordlichem Europa*. Leipsic, 1822).

"*Landking wilful*," p. 410.

There are various redactions of these verses—one has been published by Hickes; see also *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, by Wright and Halliwell, Vol. I. p. 316; Vol. II. p. 15. The text I have employed (modernising the orthography) is the most ample. It is contained in a Spelman MS. now belonging to Hudson Gurney, Esq.

The Magyars, pp. 383—410.

The slight notices of this valiant and unfortunate nation are gathered from the only authentic sources of their primæval history, the *Historia Ducum Hungariæ* of King Bela's Notary or Chancellor, and Johannes de Thurocz, who lived in the time of Matthias Corvinus; both given by Schwandtner (*SS. Rerum Hungaricarum*, Vienna, 1746, Vol. I.). The Chancellor addresses his work to his anonymous "Magister," for the purpose of answering, amongst other questions, "quare populus de terra Scythica egressus, per idioma alienigenarum, *Hungarii*, et in sua lingua propria, *Mogerii*, vocantur?"—Thurocz spells the name with an *o*.—The hymn is from Muratori.

Saracen Invasions and Settlements, p. 416.

Bouche, in his *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. I. furnishes us with an interesting, though perhaps somewhat uncritical, account of these settlements in the South of France and the Hautes Alpes.

Alterations in the bed and level of the Seine, p. 436.

The great inundation of 1740 suggested to Bonamy an historical dissertation on this subject, which he illustrates by a map (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscrit.* T. XVII.). The general street-level of extra-insular Paris has, since the thirteenth century, been raised from four to six feet. The map shewing the extent flooded in 1740, affords some notion of the spread of the river in the Carlovingian era. The earliest recorded inundation took place A.D. 583; and it appears from Gregory of Tours, that, in his time, a navigable *Broad* was formed between the city and the church of St Laurent.

Oscelles, p. 450.

Many learned men, besides those whom I have named, were involved in this discussion, affording matter for two *Mémoires* by Bonamy, and one by the Abbé le Bœuf (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscrit.* T. XX.). Such is the cleverness and learning of these writers, that the investigation is interesting.

Charles jealous over his Game, p. 453.

The qualified sporting license to which I allude, is contained in the thirty-second chapter of the Capitular of Kiersy, (see p. 519) by which Louis-le-Bègue was appointed Regent, during his father's absence in Italy. It is the only direct restriction upon his authority.

The Litany of Ste G  n  vi  ve, p. 460.

For the continuance of this prayer, see Michel's *Benoit*, Vol. i. p. 35. Till the demolition of the Abbey, the inscription was one of the curiosities shewn to visitors.

Fortifications erected by Charles-le-Chauve, p. 463.

For these, see p. 605, and note.

Brise-Sarthe, p. 491.

The church is near the high road leading from Sabl   to Angers. The account of Robert-le-Fort's death appears to have been derived from an eyewitness.

Armorica, pp. 490—500.

Consulting the great *Histoire de Bretagne*, I have condensed these passages from the original authorities. Much of Solomon's history is derived from the Chronicle of Nantes, included by Morice amongst the *Preuves*. Dom Bouquet gives only fragments.

The "New men," p. 501. *The Plantagenets*, p. 503.

The Monk of Marmoutier exemplifies the policy thus adopted, by the biography of the founder of the Plantagenets.

"Iste autem Torquatus sive Tortulfus genuit Tertullum, qui primus ex progenie Andegavensium Comitum per antiquos genealogi   illorum relatores computatus est: tempore enim Caroli Calvi complures novi atque innobiles, bono et honesto nobilibus potiores, clari et magni effecti sunt. Quos enim appetentes glori   militaris conspiciebat, periculis obiectare, et per eos fortunam temperare non dubitabat. Erant enim illis diebus homines veteris prosapi  , multarumque imaginum, qui acta majorum suorum non sua ostentabant: qui cum ad aliquod grave officium mittebantur, aliquem e populo monitorem sui officii sumebant, quibus cum Rex aliis imperare jussisset, ipsi sibi alium Imperatorem poscebant. Ideo ex illo globo paucos secum Rex Carolus habebat: novis militaria dona et h  reditates pluribus laboribus et periculis adquisitas benign   pr  bebat. Ex quo genere fuit iste Tertullus, a quo Andegavorum Consulum progenies sumpsit exordium, vir doctus hostem ferire, humi requiescere, inopiam et laborem tolerare, hiemem et   statem juxta pati, nihil pr  ter turpem famam metuere. Hoc profecto constat, quod Tertullus

quidem acer ingenio, fortunam suam et rerum tenuitatem, animi amplitudine supervadens, majora se cupere et aggredi ausus sit. Hæc ergo et similia faciendo nobilitatem sibi et suo generi peperisse refertur." (*Dacherii Spicilegium*, T. x. p. 408.)

Gerlo, p. 504.

See *Art de Vérifier les Dates*. There are difficulties in chronology concerning these Danish Counts of Blois; but not affecting the main facts.

Imperial Coronation of Charles-le-Chauve, p. 507.

Meginhard (*Rec. des Hist.* T. vii. p. 181), relating this transaction, equally displays his classical knowledge and his enmity:—"Quo inde discedente et promissionibus illius credente, ille quæcumque pollicitus est, mentitur, et quanta potuit velocitate Romam profectus est, omnemque Senatum populi Romani more Jugurthino corrumpit, sibi que sociavit; ita ut etiam Johannes Papa votis ejus annuens, corona capiti ejus imposita, eum Imperatorem et Augustum appellare præcepisset." Qualiter autem regnum illud postea cum suis disposuerit, qualiterve cum thesauris quos tulerat in regnum suum redierit, quantasque cædes et incendia in itinere exercuerit, quia certum non habui latorem, scribere nolui. Melius est enim tacere quam falsa loqui."

Duke Boso, p. 507.

A. D. 876. "Nonis Januarii Romæ exiens, Papiam redit, ubi et placitum suum habuit: et Bosone uxoris suæ fratre Duce ipsius terræ constituto, et corona Ducali ornato, &c." (*Hincmar, Rec. des Hist.* T. vii. p. 119).

Battle of Andernach, p. 510.

It is important to compare the accounts of this battle as given by Archbishop Hincmar, and the monk of Fulda. Hincmar implies that the conduct of Charles-le-Chauve was unduly inimical, whilst the German glories in the defeat of "Sennacherib."

Rollo, p. 513.

A. D. 876.—"Nortmanni cum centum circiter navibus magnis, quas nostrates *bargus* vocant, xvi Kalendas Octobris Sequanam introierunt." (*Hincmar, Rec. des Hist.* vii. 121.)

Dudon de Saint-Quentin, in the passage quoted below, (and which affords a curious notice of the *eager*) dates Rollo's first landing in Normandy in this year. So also the Chronicles of Nantes, A. D. 876, "Rollo Dux Normannorum in Gallias appulit" (*Rec. des Hist.* T. vii. p. 222, and Asser in his *Life of Alfred*.) All the antient, though subsequent writers, concur. Modern French historians have doubted the fact, principally for the reason that in 876 Franco was not Archbishop of Rouen. Hincmar, the contemporary, received his intelligence from the disturbed country, troubled by the invaders: Dudon de Saint-Quentin

obtained his intelligence traditionally, and after three generations had elapsed, yet both concur in the main. We find Franco, the Archbishop of Tongres, so constantly about Charles-le-Chauve at this period, and so trusted, that no reasonable doubt can subsist but that he was one of the Primores who had been despatched to the Northmen. The French verses are those of Master Wace, partly modernized in orthography.

"Anno igitur octingentesimo septuagesimo sexto ab Incarnatione Domini, nobilis Rollo consultu fidelium suorum libravit vela ventis navigeris, fluminis Scaldi alveum deserens, atque permenso ponto qua Sequana cæruleo gurgite perspicuisque cursibus fluens, oderiferasque excellentium riparum herbas lambens, fluctuque inflatiore maris sæpe reverberata secundum discrimina lunæ inundantis maris pelago se immitit, aggrediens navibus Gimeias venit.....Audientes igitur pauperes homines, inopesque mercatores Rotomo commorantes illiusque regiones habitatores copiosam multitudinem Normannorum adesse Gimegias, venerunt unanimes ad Franconem Episcopum Rothomagensem consulturi quid agerent." (*Dudo de Moribus*, p. 75.)

Rollo's landing at Rouen, p. 517.

See Dudon de Saint-Quentin, p. 76, and the *Roman du Rou*, p. 58.

Capitulars of Kiersy, p. 519.

Upon the construction of the ninth chapter of this Capitular, (*Rec. des Hist.* T. vii. p. 698), supposed, but erroneously, to have established the hereditary transmission of Fiefs, see *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, Vol. i. p. 514, Vol. ii. p. cccxcii. The Regency is appointed by the fifteenth chapter.

Assessment of the Danegeld. Rollo's Subsidy, p. 519.

Two documents are extant directing the levying of this Danegeld, for the benefit of the Northmen *qui erant in Sequana* (*Rec. des Hist.* T. vii. p. 697). The first is undated: the second has special reference to the year of Rollo's invasion.

CHAPTER IV.

FLANDERS, FRANCE, AND THE NORTHMEN, TO THE DETHRONEMENT AND DEATH OF CHARLES-LE-GRAS, AND THE FINAL DISMEMBERMENT OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

A. D. 862—919. (*Flanders*).

A. D. 862—888. (*France*).

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

(1.) Hincmar's Chronicle, increasing in interest as he proceeds, extends to Carloman's accession as sole King of France; but shortly after-

wards, A.D. 882, the work is abruptly stayed by the flight and death of the venerable Archbishop (see p. 585).—(II.) The *Annales Mettenses* continue, becoming more useful by supplying facts relating to Germany not found elsewhere,—valuable also with respect to the northern invasions.—(III.) *Regino of Pruhm* we also retain, his chronicle being the chief source of information for Germany generally, and for France also in connexion with Germany. Regino's local position at Pruhm in Lotharinga, between France and Germany, gave him opportunities, of which he fully availed himself, for obtaining intelligence concerning both countries; and he seems to have been much in the confidence of Charles-le-Gros.—(IV.) *Meginhardus*, the intelligent continuator of Rodolph of Fulda, lasts us till A.D. 882; and (V.) and (VI.), his two anonymous continuators (all quoted as the *Annales Fuldenses*) are full of information, though their attention is principally directed to Germany.

New authorities of great value arise, and aid us in telling the story. (VII.) Abbo's poem, abounding in incidents (p. 606), was commenced immediately after the raising of the first siege of Paris, January, 887. The first Book, in which the siege is described, was published about 889. We ascertain this fact from the circumstance, that, towards the conclusion of the Book, as well as in the preface or dedication to his friend, teacher and fellow-monk, Gosceline (not the Bishop), he speaks of Eudes Capet as king.

The research of Duchesne and his predecessors and contemporaries, whether in France or Germany, brought out nearly the whole stock of French and German Chroniclers; yet some escaped their diligence. A Chronicle of great value continued concealed in the Abbey of St. Bertin, till recovered for the world by the unwearied Abbé Le Bœuf.—(VIII.) The original manuscript of this Chronicle is considered by the Abbé as belonging to the tenth century: no title is prefixed, nor is there any external evidence enabling us to identify the author; but, inasmuch as the events concerning the Abbey of St Vedast are rather prominent, the Abbé Le Bœuf conjectured that the composition had originated there, and he has entitled it *Annales Vedastini*, accordingly. The Abbé Le Bœuf contributed an excellent analysis of the work to the Académie des Inscriptions (T. xxiv. 1756), and having liberally communicated his transcript to Dom Bouquet, the latter published it in the *Recueil* (T. viii. pp. 79—94). Pertz has repeated the text with corrections.

Commencing 877, these Annals constitute a new vein of information. They amplify Hincmar where the works are concurrent, and as well during that period as afterwards, supply information which we do not obtain from other authorities. The Annalist is peculiarly ample with respect to the troubles which ensued upon Louis-le-Bègue's accession. The Danish transactions of the æra, from Louis-le-Bègue onwards, especially those occurring in the Seine country, are principally known through the Vedas-

tine annals. Rollo is nowhere mentioned by name; nevertheless great light is thereby thrown upon his history; and by annexing a precise date to a particular incident, *i.e.* the death of Ragnald, Duke of Maine (see p. 746), unnoticed in any other Carlovingian Chronicle, we are enabled, as it were, to haul up Rollo's history into its right place. Details are given of the siege of Paris corresponding closely with Abbo's poetical narrative, yet neither writer copies the other: they write independently: therefore the Annalist and Abbo were both present in or near Paris during the siege, both decidedly espoused the cause of Eudes, both are Capetians. These are the circumstances which induce me to ascribe the composition to an inmate of S. Germain-des-Prés; and it would not be an unauthorized conjecture to suppose that the Annalist was Abbo's friend and teacher, Gosceline.

(ix.) For Normandy we continue, as before, to be guided by Dudon, correcting his statements and supplying his deficiencies by comparison with the Frankish Chroniclers, and particularly, as last mentioned, by the *Annales Vedastini*; and for Flanders, we have, besides the general authorities, (x.) the Chronicle of Yperius, (the real Chronicle of Saint Bertin) (*Martene Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, T. III.), from which Bouquet has given a few extracts, and the writers mentioned in the note below.

Judith Countess of Flanders—her Marriages, p. 528.

Her English marriages belong to English history. For the marriage-ritual, as well as the proceedings against Baldwin and Judith, see Dom Bouquet (T. VII. pp. 621, 650). The aid given to the lovers by Louis-le-Bègue is spoken of plainly by Archbishop Hincmar, and in still plainer terms by Yperius, the Chronicler of Saint Bertin (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 268). St Gregory's decision is accepted as a portion of the ancient Canon-law intended for the regulation or restraint of second marriages.

The Foresters of Flanders, p. 530.

For these legends, and several facts connected with Baldwin and Judith, I am indebted to Peter van Oudegherst, as edited by Lesbroussart (Ghent, 1789), and also to the *Chronyke van Vlaenderen* (Bruges, 1727). The description of the country I have endeavoured to extract from Lesbroussart's notes, and from Gheldolf's translation of *Warnkönig (Histoire de la Flandres*, Brussels, 1835). There are variations in the lists of the ten Flemish Counties (p. 538); but it is not needful for our present purpose to enter into minute inquiries.

Coronation of Louis-le-Bègue, p. 543.

The Fealties of the Bishops, Lieges, and the "Fessio" or Covenant of Louis-le-Bègue, are inserted textually in Hincmar's Chronicle. It is very possible that the instruments were drawn by him (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VIII. p. 27).

Judith, Queen of Louis-le-Bégué, p. 545.

She is supposed to have been the sister of Wilfred, Abbot of Flavigni, in Burgundy. Historians denominate her by her epithet of *Adela*, or *Adeliza*, but that her real name was Judith, appears from a charter which she granted to the Abbey of Saint Sixtus at Placentia. Her genealogy is deduced from Alpaida, great grandmother of Louis-le-Débonnaire (see Père Labbe, *Tab. Gen.* p. 577, and Père Anselme, T. i. p. 35). The noble Abbey of Chelles or Cala, on the Marne, is about six miles from Paris. The house was founded by Clotilda, and re-endowed by Bathilda (*Gall. Christ.* T. vii. p. 558). For the abduction of the Adeliza from the monastery, see the Chronicle of Richard of Poitou (*Rec. des Hist.* T. ix. p. 21,) and the continuator of Aimoinus, (T. ix. p. 137).

Parties or factions supporting or opposing the children of Louis-le-Bégué, p. 554.

The following passage shews how strongly the opinion of the illegitimacy of Ansgarda's children (see p. 548) prevailed :—

"A. D. 880. Rex Francorum Ludovicus Balbus moritur, uxorem suam ex se gravidam relinquens. De regno ejus Francis variè sentientibus: aliis illud Ludovico et Carlomanno filiis Ludovici Balbi ex concubina debere judicantibus; aliis Bosoni Provinciæ Regulo ad illud injustè invadendum adsentientibus; aliis verò illud regno Germaniæ resociare volentibus; nascitur interim ex legitima uxore Ludovici Balbi filius, qui ex nomine avi Karoli, *Karolus* nominatus est. Filii tamen Ludovici Balbi ex concubina, Ludovicus et Carlomannus dicti, interim regnum Francorum inter se dividentes, regnant annis quatuor, et Bosonem semper persecuti sunt." (Sigeberti Gemblacensis Chron. *Rec. des Hist.* T. viii. p. 308.)

Regrets occasioned by the division of the Empire, p. 555.

For a strong expression of these feelings, as they arose upon the division of the Empire, and which after the death of Louis-le-Débonnaire unquestionably greatly assisted in facilitating the election of Charles-le-Gros, see the complaints of Florus the Deacon (*Rec. des Hist.* T. vii. p. 315). They are also testified in the above-quoted passage of Sigebertus.

King Boso, p. 560.

The documents relating to King Boso's election are given by Bouche (*Hist. Gén. de Provence*, Tom. i. p. 758—769). His ample history of King Boso is one of the best portions of the work. See also the *Histoire de Languedoc*. Bouche preserves the remarkable portrait of King Boso. In Boso's capital all his monuments and memorials have been destroyed. After a careful search in the fine cathedral of Vienne, I could find no trace of his epitaph, said to have existed till within the last thirty years. The antient fortifications, however, so valiantly de-

fended by Hermengarda, on behalf of her husband, are very perfect. The noble Roman remains which still adorn Vienne, shew how thoroughly the city bore a Roman aspect.

Caroletto, p. 566.

This affectionate name was given to him when he first appeared in Italy, A.D. 875. "Ludovicus misit filium suum, quem homines cœperunt *Caroletum* nominare"—(Andreas Presbyteri Chron. *Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 206).

Death of Louis the Saxon's child, p. 571.

"(Annales Mettenses, 882.) Puerulus de fenestra cecidit, et confractis cervicibus statim exspiravit. Quæ non tantum immatura, quantum inhonesta mors non solum regi et reginæ, verum etiam omni domo regis maximum luctum ingessit." It is somewhat difficult to assign a precise meaning to the epithet *inhonesta*.—A friend, to whom I owe many obligations, observes:—"inhonesta seems to me to mean, a death not fit for a gentleman, a phrase conceived in the same feeling that made Achilles chafe at the thought of being drowned by the combined efforts of the Xanthus and Simois, and Æneas weep in the near prospect of shipwreck."

Battle of Saulcourt, p. 575.

Isembard, the traitor, was Patron of Centulla, or Saint-Riquier, *Advocatus* or *Defensor*, in the old phraseology. Hence the battle of Saulcourt constitutes an important event in the history of the Abbey. Popular songs in the Romance language, sung about the streets, commemorated Isembard's treachery. It is evidently to such ballads, and not to the Teutonic rhythm, that Hariulphus refers in his Chronicle (see *Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 275; also *Hist. Ancienne et Moderne d'Abbeville*, par Louandre, Abbeville, 1834, and Depping). The *Ludwigs-Lied* was first discovered by Mabillon in the Abbey of St Amand, and constitutes an important monument in the history of German poetry, as well as of the German language. (See *Antient German and Northern Poetry*, *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XXVI. 1816.) When I wrote that Essay, I could only use the imperfect text in Schilter's *Thesaurus*; but the original MS. has since been recovered, and the text given with accuracy. (*Elnonensia, Monumens des Langues Romane et Tudesque*, par Fallersleben et Willelms. Gand. 1837, and, from this publication, by Depping.) The lay is spirited and bold; and the dialect evidently shews that it was composed in the countries on the Eastern side of the Rhine.

The Roman Camp of Estreuns, p. 577.

The Camp at Etrun is described by the Abbé de Fontenu, who contributed to the *Académie des Inscriptions* (Tom. X.) a very curious series

of memoirs upon the so-called Camps of Cæsar, the generic name given in France to every antient entrenchment. This denomination affords a remarkable proof of the preponderance which the Romans obtained over the national mind: very few are the local traditions in the Gauls which do not speak of Rome. This Camp of Etrun is in Artois: there is another Etrun, also with a Roman camp, in Hainault, at the confluence of the Scheldt and the Sansat. It is a curious coincidence, or rather a further proof of Roman military skill in the choice of their positions, that, during the march, when Marshal Villars occupied the Roman Camp upon the Scarpe, the Duke of Marlborough also encamped within the Roman entrenchments in Hainault. (See Piganiol de la Force, *Description de la France*, Paris, 1754, T. iv. p. 432.)

Death of Louis III., p. 580.

The annalist of St Vedast gives the narrative which I have adopted, and the great grief which ensued: "unde ægrotare cœpit, et delatus apud Sanctum Dionysium, Nonis Augusti defunctus, magnum dolorem Francis reliquit, sepultusque est in Ecclesia Sancti Dionysii." Hincmar is silent as to the cause of the King's death. The continuator of Aimoinus, rejected by Dom Bouquet's text, but from whom an extract is given in a note (T. viii. p. 36), adds: "vir plenus omnibus immunditiis et vanitatibus."

Arnolph's Oath, p. 583.

All these transactions are fully and accurately told by Luden, Vol. vi. Book xiii. c. 12.

Death of Carloman, p. 591.

See Ann. Vedast. (*Rec. des Hist.*) T. viii. p. 94. This appears to be the most accurate account.

Free Friezeland, p. 595.

I have attempted a short investigation of the history of this most interesting country, to which I must here refer: (*Antient Laws and Constitutions of the Frisons*, *Edinb. Review*, Vol. xxii. 1819.)

Rollo's re-occupation of Rouen—Death of Ragnald, Duke of Maine, pp. 603, 604.

In Dudon de Saint-Quentin, after the landing of Rollo, the narrative is continuously pursued without a date. The notice in the Vedastine Annals of Duke Ragnald's death, with a specific date, month, and year, is one of the coincidences which enable us to chronologize Rollo's history.

"Ragnoldus vero Comes, congregato majore exercitu priore, iterum conatur eos invadere. Nortmanni autem se conglobantes strictim accubaverunt se, ut parvissima putaretur summa eorum. Illico Ragnoldus

init bellum, suæ sorti non profuturum. Daci verò per aciem Ragnoldi inconvulse pergentes, prosternebant duris verberibus plures. Videns autem Ragnoldus suos deficere, cœpit celeri cursu fugere. Cui quidam piscator Sequanæ attributus Rolloni, obviavit ei, teloque transverberatum occidit. Ragnoldidæ suum Seniore[m] videntes mortuum, fugam torquentes nimium equos expetiverunt. Tunc Rollo persequens eos multos occidit, pluresque captos ad naves deduxit. Convocatisque fidelibus suis dixit: Age, nunc navigemus Parisius, civesque qui prælia fugerunt requiramus." (*Dudo de Moribus*, p. 77.)

"885. Mense itaque Julio, viii. Kal. Augusti, Normanni Rotomagum civitatem ingressi cum omni exercitu, Francique eos usque in dictum locum insecuti sunt: et quia neodum eorum naves advenerant, cum navibus in Sequana repertis fluvium transeunt, et sedem sibi firmare non desistunt. Inter hæc, omnes, qui morabantur in Neustria atque Burgundia, adunantur, et, collecto exercitu, adveniunt quasi debellaturi Nortmannos. Sed ut congregi debuerunt, contigit ruere Ragnoldum Ducem Cinomanicum cum paucis: et hinc rediere omnes ad loca sua cum magna tristitia: nil actum utile.

Tunc Nortmanni sævire cœperunt.....Franci parant se ad resistendum: non in bello, sed munitiones construunt. Castrum statuunt super fluvium Hisam in loco qui dicitur ad Pontem Hisaræ.....Parisius civitatem Gauzlinus Episcopus munit.....Nortmanni vero dictum igne cremaverunt Castrum, diripientes omnia inibi reperta.....Hac Nortmanni patrata victoria valde elati Parisius adeunt." (*Annales Vedastini*, *Rec. des Hist.* T. viii. p. 84.)

"*Parisius* sine flexu interdum pro ipsa Parisiorum urbe usurpatur" (Ducange). In the earlier writers, *Parisius* is the more common appellation.

Charles-le-Chauve's Fortifications of Paris, p. 605.

In describing the defences of Paris, I have followed Bonamy (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscrip.* T. xvii. pp. 289—295), comparing his essay with Felibien. It is certain that before Charles-le-Chauve erected his fortifications, the Northmen entered Paris at pleasure; and equally certain that Paris was afterwards able to offer a stout resistance. For the adoption of the Carlovingian cycle of Romance by the Italians, see Panizzi's excellent Introduction to the *Orlando Innamorato*. I have adopted Ariosto as an historian of the Siege of Paris; for, once read, it is impossible to dismiss the magnificent animation of his pictures from one's mind.

The Danish Boat, p. 615.

Dug up in 1806, and described by Mongez, (*Mém. de l'Institut. Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, T. v.).

CHAPTER V.

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE: EUDES AND CHARLES-LE-SIMPLE. ESTABLISHMENT OF ROLLO IN NORMANDY.

A.D. 888—912.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

(i.) Abbo, having concluded the siege of Paris, becomes, in the second Book of his Poem, the historical panegyrist of King Eudes. Allowing for this avowed object, the story is told faithfully, though obscured by the perplexities of his verse. There are some few chronological difficulties, yet not greater than might have occurred if he had written in prose. The third Book of Abbo, devoted to St. Germain's miracles, remains unpublished, though probably containing historical information.

(ii.) Regino continues, as before mentioned, till A.D. 906. His continuator, mainly devoted to German affairs, is, at the commencement, somewhat meagre. (iii.) Not so the continuators of Rudolph, in the *Annales Fuldenses*, from whom we collect the most useful information concerning German history: they also enter largely and satisfactorily into the affairs of France. (iv.) The history of Eudes, and a considerable portion of the reign of Charles-le-Simple, would scarcely be known but for the *Vedastine Annals*. Rich and satisfactory, they increase in interest as they advance, till they bring us to the edge of the singular chasm, A.D. 900, which disappoints us during the most eventful era in French history.

Yet we now begin to receive instruction from (v.) Frodoardus Remensis, singularly distinguished by his learning, not less so by the excellence of his character, brought into intercourse with the principal personages of his age, and furnished with materials of which he fully availed himself for the historian's task. The Cathedral archives were entrusted to his care; from these sources, and his own knowledge, Frodoardus composed the history of the Church of Rheims, deduced to his own time. In the fourth Book, the influential position maintained by the Archbishops conducts their biographer and historian amply into politics and dissensions. Archbishop Fulco was a prime mover in the political events and revolutions by which Charles-le-Simple was exalted or depressed, sometimes supporting the young monarch, sometimes opposing him; and the quarrels and dissensions between the Archbishops and the Counts of Flanders and the Vermandois render them very important personages in the general affairs of Northern Gaul.

In the Ecclesiastical history, these transactions, however, hold only a subordinate place; for Frodoardus, a very able historian, had well considered the relative proportions of the ecclesiastical and secular materials; and the matters which he excluded from his *Historia Remensis* he re-

served for his (vi.) Chronicle, the most valuable of its era. Beginning with a fragment of the year A.D. 877, a chasm immediately occurs until A.D. 919, so the *Chronicon Frodoardi* cannot avail us in the present chapter of our history; though we shall find it of the greatest use hereafter.

The Chronicles of Eckhard, Abbot of Urangen, and Trithemius, Abbot of Hirschau, respectively contain extracts from a Chronicler not employed by any other mediæval compilers. Eckhard flourished in the twelfth century, Trithemius in the fifteenth; but no intermediate writer has the passages; and from the time of Trithemius, until very recently, all traces of the source were lost. Richerius, a monk of Saint Remi, well known by various theological and poetical compositions, whom Trithemius quotes as his authority, was an individual enjoying considerable literary eminence. Yet the Manuscript from which Trithemius made his extracts disappeared; and, though much enquired after by the learned, all attempts to recover it were fruitless. "Il est étrange," say the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (T. vi. p. 504), "qu'un ouvrage aussi intéressant pour notre nation, qui existait au moins à la fin du quinzième siècle, ait été tellement négligé qu'on ne le voit plus paraître nulle part."

The indefatigable research of Pertz has been happily aided by a species of fox-hound instinct, enabling him to scent out that game which, unearthed by previous sportsmen, still lurks in or between the close covers of public libraries. Thus he discerned at Brussels, for the use of the British archæologist, the long-lost Poem of Guido of Amiens, describing the Conqueror's siege of London. The same combination of luck and diligence guided his eye and hand to the Chronicle of Richerius, in the Cathedral library at Bamberg. Apart from its historical value, this Manuscript is very interesting: the Codex is the author's holograph, passages altered, inserted, corrected, expunged; yet Richerius probably considered it only as a draft, inasmuch as the last vellum page contains notes for the continuation of the Chronicle, for chapters which Richerius never completed. Death probably stayed the writer's hand. The work, thus left imperfect, and never published by the author, was not multiplied by transcribers; and the original, known only to Eckhard and Trithemius, was laid by and forgotten, till brought to light by the fortunate diligence of Pertz. His literary modesty is as praiseworthy as his acuteness. Instead of parading his discovery, he included the Chronicle of Richerius (vii.) in his great collection, Vol. vi. working upon it, as might be expected, with the utmost care. A fac-simile, which he has added, shews the original state of the manuscript in a manner which never could have been effected by printing-types. In such cases, fac-similes of manuscripts are much more than mere specimens of palæography: they are essential elements for the critical knowledge of history. The Chronicle has been reprinted by the Société Historique

(Paris, 1840). The work, consisting of four Books, opens with the accession of Eudes, and concludes just before the death of Hugh Capet. From the dethronement of Charles-le-Simple, Richerius becomes a primary authority. The earlier portion gives us valuable and authentic information concerning Eudes, and much respecting Rollo; but the first book of Richerius, like the last fragments, must be considered rather as a collection of historical notes than as a connected history. There is no attempt at chronology; and Richerius has so evidently confounded *our* Rollo with another Danish chieftain bearing the same name, that I have not attempted to reconcile him with the other authorities.

(VIII.) The transactions relating to the settlement of Normandy depend mainly upon Dudon de Saint-Quentin. Whatever inaccuracies there may be in the form or arrangement of his narrative, I do not see any just reason for distrusting his general accuracy. In fact, unless we accept Dudon, such as he is, we must abandon the history of the first three Norman sovereigns.

Berenger and Guido, p. 628.

Gibbon and Sismondi have elided these monarchs, whose reigns constitute a most stirring era. A general reference may be made to Muratori. The Monza relics are known to most travellers.

Louis, King of Provence, p. 632.

See, besides the history of Languedoc, Bouche, *Hist. Générale de Provence*, T. i. pp. 775—784.

Richard-le-Justicier, Transjurane Burgundy, p. 634.

See the Benedictine *Histoire de Bourgogne*.

Vermandois, p. 638.

See Collette.

Guido's parsimony, p. 639.

"Metensis vero Episcopus, dum cibaria ei multa secundum Francorum consuetudinem ministraret, hujusmodi responsa a Dapifero suscepit:—Si equum saltem mihi dederis, faciam ut tertia obsequii hujus parte sit Rex Wido contentus. Quod Episcopus audiens, Non decet, inquit, talem super nos regnare Regem, qui decem dragmis vile sibi obsonium præparat." (Luitprandi *Hist. Rec. des Hist.* T. VIII. p. 131.)

Battle of Montfaucon, pp. 640—644.

Montfaucon-en-Argonne is a small town or hamlet in the Rethelois, on the banks of the Meuse.

Méaux besieged by the Danes, pp. 644, 646.

"A.D. 888. Normanni Meldis Civitatem obsidione vallant," *Ann. Fedast. Rec. des Hist.* T. VIII. p. 87. The account of the siege follows.

This account enables us to date the undated narrative of Dudo, p. 87. By some historians Meldis has been confounded with Melun or even Mellent.

Ravages of the Côtentin and St Lo, pp. 645, 646.

See *Gall. Christ. T. x.* p. 857, which contains the extract from the famous Black book of Coutances, stating that divine service was intermitted for seventy-three years, in consequence of the Danish ravages. The names of the Bishops of Lisieux are wanting from A.D. 876 to 990.

Popa, or the Poppet, p. 647.

For the capture and abduction of the damsel, see Dudon, p. 77, whom all other Chroniclers have copied, or abridged, or misrepresented. That Bernard de Senlis was the uncle of her son Guillaume-Longue-Épée, is proved by the respective declarations of Guillaume and of Bernard. Dudon, pp. 95 and 118.

Storming of Evreux, p. 648.

Besides the Chronicles, and the matter in the *Gallia Christiana*, I have also employed Le Brasseur (*Histoire Civile et Ecclésiastique du Comté d'Evreux*, Paris, 1722).

Battle of the Allier, pp. 650, 651.

It is only from *Richerius*, Lib. i. c. 7—11, that we collect the details of Eudes' campaign in Auvergne, and the histories of Osketyl and Ingo. All that concerns Eudes is clear and consecutive; but I suspect some unrectifiable confusion as to Ingo.

Hunedeus, p. 662.

"A.D. 895—896. Per idem tempus iterum Normanni cum Duce eorum, Hunedeo nomine, et quinque barchis iterum Sequanam ingressi: et dum Rex ad alia intendit, magnum sibi et regno malum accrescere facit..... Normanni vero jam multiplicati paucis ante Nativitatem diebus Hisam ingressi, Cauciaco sedem sibi, nullo resistente, firmant." (*Ann. Vedast.*)

"896. Northmanni iterum cum Duce eorum, qui Rollo dictus est nomine, rursus Sequanam ingressi, jam multiplicati ante Nativitatem Domini Hisam ingressi," &c. (*Chronicon de Gestis Normannorum in Francia*. Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. S. S. T. II.* p. 530). In this Chronicle Duchesne employed two manuscripts; one reads *Rodo*, the other *Rollo*. The *Recueil des Historiens* does not at all remove the necessity of consulting Duchesne.

"896—897. Posthac Normanni usque Mosam in prædam exierunt, nullo sibi resistente. A præda verò illis revertentibus occurrit Regis exercitus: sed nil profecerunt. Verum Nortmanni ad naves reversi, timentes multitudinem exercitus ne obsiderentur, in Sequanam redierunt: ibique

tota demorantes æstate prædas agebant, nullo sibi resistente. Karolus vero Hunedeum ad se deductum Cluninio Monasterio eum de sacro fonte suscepit." (*Ann. Vedast.*).

"896. Carolus Rex Hunedeum Regem Northmannorum baptizari fecit, eumque de sacro fonte suscepit." (*Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Rec. des Hist. T. viii. p. 310.*)

Archbishop Fulco's Objurgations, p. 663.

See Frodoard, (*Hist. Remensis*, Lib. iv. cap. 6).

The Quarrel in Council, p. 668.

It is with this incident that the Vedastine Annals suddenly terminate, as if the pen had been struck out of the writer's hand during the dissensions.

Frederuna, p. 669.

Her dowry, Corbigny and Pontyon, is granted by Charter, dated at Attigny, 907, "anno xv regnante Domno (i. e. Domino) Karolo gloriosissimo Rege, redintegrante decimo" (*Rec. des Hist. T. ix. p. 504*). In this Charter he styles her "quædam nobili prosapia puella," whom he takes in marriage by the advice of his counsellors. Another Charter, granted in favour of the Church of Saint Remi, in which he notices her coronation, is dated "anno xxv regnante Karolo Rege gloriosissimo, redintegrante xx, largiore verò hæreditate indepta vi." (p. 530.)

Archbishop Herod's Pastoral, p. 674.

This will be found, together with the letter of Pope John IX., in Dom Bessin's collection of the Norman Councils, (*Concilia Rothomagensis Provincia*, Rouen, 1717). Were any proof required that it is most inexpedient to sever the civil and ecclesiastical memorials of the mediæval era, it would be afforded by the circumstance that these important documents are excluded from the *Recueil des Historiens*.

Battle of Chartres, p. 676.

This event occupies a prominent position in French history. I consider Dudon de Saint-Quentin as the main source of my narrative (pp. 80, 81), engrafting, as far as is practicable, his account upon the brief chronicles of Anjou, (Dom Bouquet, T. viii. p. 252), the fragment of French history, p. 302; *Hugo Floriacensis*, p. 318; and Benoit's metrical paraphrase vv. 5169—6004. The notice of the satirical songs by which Ebles of Poitou was defamed, is found only in Benoit. There is much uncertainty as to the exact date of the battle, but I have adopted the most probable; rejecting also those incidents which do not appear trustworthy. For the *Pré des Reculés*, see Michel's *Benoit*, Vol. i. p. 271.

The Followers of Rollo, p. 680.

I have ventured to assemble all the Danes who are in any wise recorded as founders of Norman families. The concluding Book (VIII.) of Guillaume de Jumièges, enlarged and continued by another monk of the same monastery, contains many important genealogical notices: some are scattered in Ordericus Vitalis; and Duchesne's genealogies, appended to his editions of these Historians (*S. S. Hist. Norm.* pp. 1069—1104) have paginal references to the passages upon which they are grounded.—Four folio volumes, richly adorned by armorial bearings, have been devoted to the descendants of Bernard the Dane, by the industrious gratitude of Giles André de la Roque, (*Hist. Généalogique de la Maison de Harcourt*, Paris, 1662).—Some families, and in particular La Roche Tesson, are amply illustrated by M. Vaultier (*Recherches Historiques sur l'Ancien Pays de Cinglais, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 2^e Serie, T. IV. pp. 1—293). The Crespin family are said to be descended from Rollo by a daughter, Crispine.

Pluquet (*Roman du Rou*, Vol. I. p. 152) has a notice concerning the family of Osmond de Cent-villes—"présentement Ducs et Pairs de France." So also Goubé (*Hist. de la Normandie*, Rouen, 1815, Vol. I. p. 91). Roger de Montgomery styles himself *Normannus Normannorum*, but unfortunately he and all his contemporaries forgot to tell us the name of his ancestor. Ademar of Chavanes says (*Rec. des Hist.* VIII. p. 232) that Rollo's followers accepted him as King.

Cession made to Rollo, p. 684.

The Frankish Proceres, in urging the marriage and the cession, held out as an inducement the homage which Rollo would render:—"Rollo, Dux Northmannorum tibi amoris et amicitie inextricabilis, quinetiam servitii pactum. Si dederis filiam tuam, ut ei dixisti, conjugem, terramque maritimam in sempiternam per progenies progenierum possessionem, manus suas se subjugando tibi dabit fidelitatis gratia, tuumque servitium incessanter explebit." (Dudo, pp. 82, 83.)

Archbishop Franco makes a most energetic claim on behalf of his patron: "... non conciliabitur tibi, nisi terram quam daturus es, in sacramento Christiane religionis juraveris, tu et Archipresules et Episcopi, Comites et Abbates totius regni, ut teneat ipse et successores ejus ipsam terram ab Eptæ fluviolo ad mare usque, quasi fundum et allodium in sempiternum."

Duke Robert and the Prelates and Proceres equally so: "Tunc Flandrensem terram, ut ex ea viveret, voluit Rex ei dare: sed ille noluit præpaludium impeditione recipere. Itaque spondet Rex ei Britanniam dare, quæ erat in confinio promissæ terræ." (Dudo, p. 83.)

Frodoardus (*Hist. Rem.* Lib. IV. c. 24) does not make any mention of the King, but connects the transaction with the baptism of the Danes after the battle of Chartres: "fidem Christi suscipere receperunt, conces-

sis sibi maritimis quibusdam pagis, cum Rotomagensi quam pene deleverant urbe, et aliis eidem subjectis."

The exact extent of the cession made by Charles-le-Simple has been much debated by Licquet and others.

For all matters relating to the antient geography of the Duchy, we are exceedingly indebted to the labours of the late Honourable Thomas Stapleton, whose introductions to the great Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy, as published by the Society of Antiquaries, (1840—1844), condense and almost exhaust all the information upon the subject, whilst his map brings every particular before the eye. Maps executed with such clearness and accuracy afford great aid to the study of mediæval history. Mr Stapleton's map is the most satisfactory specimen of this class hitherto produced at home or abroad.

Superiority of Brittany, p. 686.

"Emit namque Rex Francorum Karolus pacem atque amicitiam a Rollone primo Duce Normannorum, ac posteriorum parente, natam suam Gialam in matrimonium, et Britanniam in servitium perpetuum ei tradens Exoraverunt id fœdus Franci, non valentes amplius resistere Gallico ense Danicæ securi. Exinde Comites Britannici e jugo Normannicæ dominationis cervicem omnino solvere nunquam valuerunt, etsi multotiens id conati, tota vi obluctando." (*Guil. Pict.* p. 191.) It seems as if Guillaume de Poitou, the commencement of whose history is lost, had somewhat more information than we now possess.

All these Norman transactions will also be found bearing upon the *mouvance* of Brittany, that is to say, they elucidate the antient feudal dependence of Brittany, one of the most vexed questions in French constitutional history: a practical question also, for the French Legists argued that certain important privileges exercised by the Crown after the final reunion of the province by the marriage of the last heiress, Claude, daughter of the Duchess Anne with Francis the First, were to be decided thereby. A discussion, therefore, which, upon its first aspect, appears to be ranked only amongst the dullest, or, as some would consider, the most useless labour of archæology,—for, if thoroughly sifted and debated, it must be taken up from Clovis and a good while beyond—acquires a living interest from its connexion with the rights and franchises of the most independent and sensitive member of the French monarchy under Louis-le-Grand.

Historical literature profited greatly by this same discussion.—The States of Brittany, in order to sustain their pretensions in the least plausible manner, sought the historical advocacy of the congregation of *la Rochelle*. Dom Lobineau undertook the task, actuated equally by royal and antiquarian enthusiasm, and the result was one huge folio and another huge folio of *preuves*, chronicles and legends,

and a selection from fifteen thousand deeds and charters, constituting an invaluable treasury of information.

Such was the production of the Benedictine Religieux.—A courtly Historiographer, his opponent, celebrated for the facility with which he was accustomed to release himself from the encumbrance of authentic evidence,—*grand merci, mon siège est fait!*—took up the gauntlet, and vindicated the authority of the Louvre in a neat duodecimo. This was one of the cases in which an acute and clever superficial writer has the means of triumphing over laborious and conscientious erudition. The Benedictine replied modestly, but ineffectually. If the cause of “Dom Lobineau *versus* the Abbé Vertot” had been brought before the Académie des Inscriptions, there can be little doubt but that judgment would have been given for the defendant.—Abbé Vertot, however, though in the right, was as angry as if he had been in the wrong, and, meanly seeking revenge, he obtained a *lettre-de-cachet* against his adversary. The wisdom and moderation of the great D’Aguisseau alone saved the historian of Brittany from close, and perhaps life-long imprisonment; but such was the dread inspired by the Bastille, that, on the Breton side, the controversy was completely silenced.

Rollo's Homage, p. 686.

“—Francorum coactus verbis, manus suas misit inter manus Regis, quod nunquam pater ejus, et avus, atque proavus cuiquam fecit. Dedit itaque filiam suam, Gislam nomine, uxorem illi Duci, terramque determinatam in alodo et in fundo, a flumine Eptæ usque ad mare, totamque Britanniam de qua posset vivere.” (Dudo, p. 83).

Rollo's refusal to kiss the King's foot, p. 687.

“Cumque sui Comites illum ammonerent ut pedem regis in acceptionem tanti muneris oscularetur, lingua Anglica respondit, *Ne se, bî Goth.*”—(Chron. S. Martini Turon. *Rec. des Hist.* VIII. p. 316.)

Assurance given to Rollo by the Franks, p. 687.

“Cæterum, Karolus Rex, Duxque Rotbertus, Comitesque et Proceres, Præsules et Abbates, juraverunt sacramento Catholicæ fidei Patricio Rolloni vitam suam, et membra et honorem totius Regni, insuper terram denominatam, quatinus ipsam teneret et possideret hæredibusque traderet; et per curricula cunctorum annorum successio nepotum in progenies progenierum haberet et excoleret.” (Dudo, p. 84.)

Charles-le-Simple's construction of his Grant, p. 688.

In a grant to the Abbey of Saint Germain-des-prés he excepts that portion of the lands of the Abbey of the Croix Saint-Ouen — “quam annuimus Nortmannis Sequanensibus, videlicet Rolloni suisque comitibus, pro tutela Regni.” (*Rec. des Hist.* T. IX. p. 536.)

Supremacy of France denied, p. 689.

Hugh the Great joins the Norman Proceres in declaring, when Louis d'Outremer threatens to invade young Richard's Duchy—"Tenet sicuti Rex Monarchiam Northmannicæ regionis.—Richardus nec Regi nec Duci militat, nec ulli nisi Deo obsequium præstat." (Dudo, p. 128.)

Was not Rollo a relapsed Pagan? p. 690.

Richerius presents us with the adventures of a Rollo, the son of Catillus, or Ketyl, who is stated to have been conquered by Duke Robert, which cannot in any wise be brought into conformity with Dudon de Saint-Quentin. Nevertheless, the narrative of Richerius (Lib. i. chapters 29, 33, 50), combined with the probability that Hunedeus is to be identified with Rollo, raises the suspicion of Rollo's relapse, which, though we may not urge its acceptance as a fact, cannot be excluded from Rollo's history.

Legends of Rollo the Lawgiver, p. 696.

See Dudon de Saint-Quentin (p. 85), Guillaume de Jumièges, Lib. ii. c. 20; Wace, v. 1942—1984; and Benoit de Saint-Maur (v. 7145—7469). For the doctrines of Scandinavian jurisprudence to which I have here alluded, I may refer to an Essay written years ago (*Antient Laws of the Scandinavians*, Edinb. Rev. xxxiv. 1820).

Vestiges of the Danish Language in Norman topography, p. 700.

Depping, in his note or excursus, *Des Noms Topographiques d'origine étrangère en Normandie*, has thoroughly investigated this subject. See also De la Rue, (*Hist. de la Ville de Caen*, Caen, Vol. i. p. 56).

Rollo and Gisella, p. 706.

It is Licquet, who in his history of Normandy rejects the whole of this history of Gisella's marriage. Depping takes the reasonable side of the question.

Arnolph's Death, p. 709.

"..... profectusque in propria, turpissima valetudine expiravit. Minutis quippe vermibus, quos pedunculos aiunt, vehementer afflictus, spiritum reddidit." (Luitprandi Hist. Rec. des Hist. T. viii. p. 133.)

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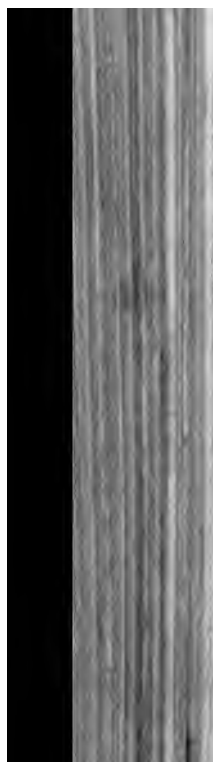
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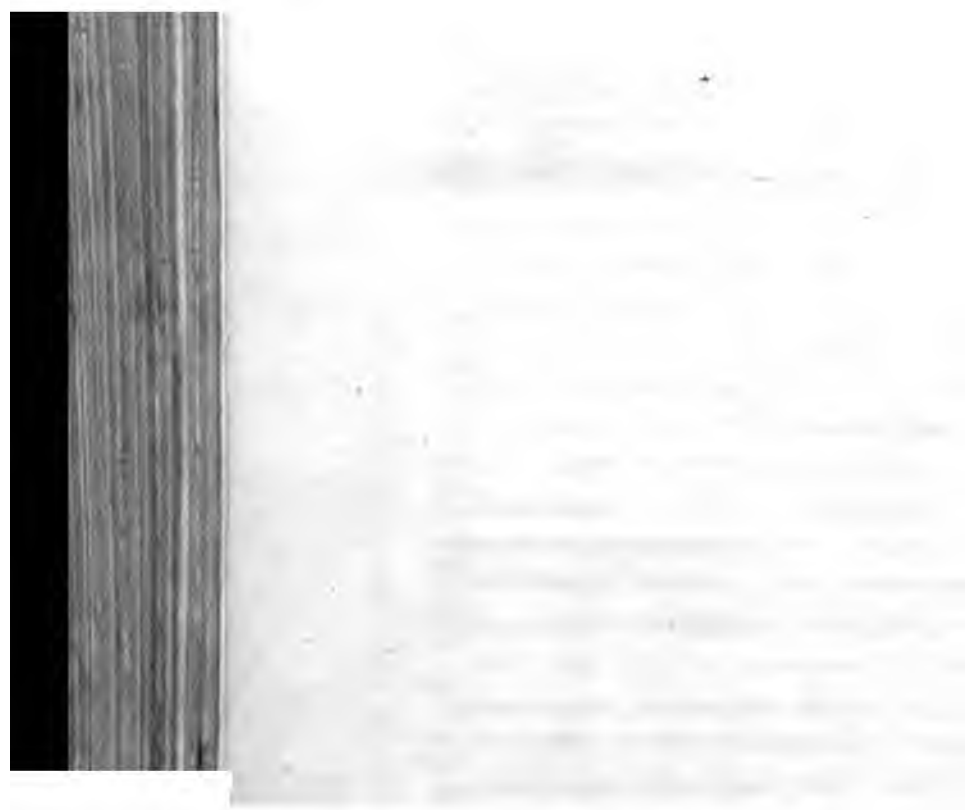
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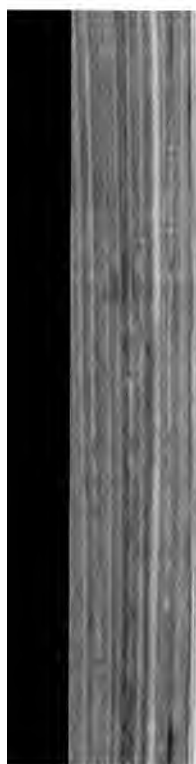
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